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REMARKABLE EVENTS
IN THE
HISTORY OF AMERICA,

FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE YEAR 1848.

Compiled from the best Authorities.

BY JOHN FROST, LL.D. *ve 1822*

AUTHOR OF "PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD," "PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES," &c. &c.

EMBELLISHED WITH
SEVEN HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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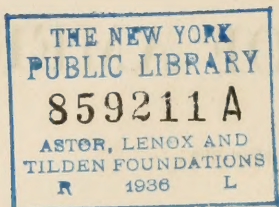
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PREFACE

THE plan of this work is indicated in the title, viz. : to give the most striking, remarkable, and influential events in the history of the country, without attempting a connected and consecutive history. The chronological order of events has, nevertheless, been observed as carefully as such a plan permitted. .

The principal authorities used are, Belknap's American Biography, Graham's and Murray's Histories of the United States, Hewitt's History of South Carolina, Smith's History of New York, Proud's History of Pennsylvania, Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Belknap's History of New Hampshire, Elliot's American Biography, Ramsay's American Revolution, Murray's British America, the Port Folio, the Analectic Magazine, the Democratic Review, Congressional Documents and the Despatches of officers

engaged in the present war with Mexico. Other authorities of less note have been occasionally referred to. In so extensive a work, it is hardly to be expected that errors will not sometimes have escaped notice; but in all important matters, the work is believed to present a true historical narrative of events.

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THE NORTHMEN.



It is now pretty generally admitted by intelligent historians, that America was discovered and colonized by the Northmen, some five hundred years before the time of Columbus. A recent American writer remarks that "the Northmen, at the time when the discovery is supposed to have been made, were the greatest navigators in Europe. They were just in their palmy state of expansion and activity. Their piratical squadrons showed themselves successively on the coast of almost every known region, and constantly maintained the ascendancy that results from superior activity, energy, and courage. During the two or three centuries preceding their discovery of America, they had spread themselves over all the islands of the British Archipelago, and had finally seated one of their princes; the great Canute, upon the throne of Alfred. At about the same time, they conquered one of the finest portions of France, to which they gave their name of Normandy. When the Saxon blood temporarily regained the ascendancy in England, one of their chieftains, as if to vindicate the honour of the stock, crossed the channel from Normandy, crushed by a single decisive blow the feeble array of his competitor, at the battle of Hastings, and secured to himself and his posterity the British sceptre. Not content with these conquests, the Northmen entered the Mediterranean, took possession of Sicily and the northern coasts of Italy and Greece, and for a time gave law from the thrones of Jerusalem and Constantinople



THEY displayed everywhere a hardihood and enterprise, in which they have never been surpassed by any maritime nation; and, could they have anticipated by a century or two the discovery of the compass, would have given to their influence upon the ocean the same universal extent,

which a similar dominion has since assumed in the hands of the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and, for commercial purposes, the United States. With all their wild habits of predatory violence, they were nevertheless a highly imaginative and poetical people; in their later period, they became a refined, accomplished and literary one. Iceland was for a time one of the seats of the monkish learning of the middle ages. In more southern climates, the Norman nobles tempered their original roughness with the gentle graces of civilization, and in the long wars that were undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, they led the van of the chivalry of Europe. While yet in their earlier period,—at the time when we meet them in America,—they justified completely the beautiful description given of them by Scott, in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, in speaking of the Western Islands:—

Thither came in times afar,
Stern Lochlin's sons of roving war,
The Northmen, train'd to fire and blood,
Skill'd to prepare a raven's food,
Kings of the main, their leaders brave,—
Their barks, the dragons of the wave.

Among the less considerable achievements of the earlier history of the Northmen, were the colonization of Iceland, in the year 875, and that of Greenland, in the year 986. The leader of the colony which settled in the latter region was *Eric Rauda*, or *the Red*. He established his residence at a place which he called Brattalid, situated on an inlet, to which he gave the name of Ericsfiord. He bestowed upon the country the attractive name of Greenland—as a lure to emigrants. His principal companions, in like manner, gave their names to their respective places of residence. Heriulf fixed himself at Heriulfsness, or Cape Heriulf, on Heriulfsfiord—Rafn, at Rafnsfiord, and so of the rest. It may be remarked here, that these names are still preserved in the geography of Greenland, and while they serve to perpetuate the memory of the first settlers, identify

them, for the present purpose, as real historical personages, in contradistinction to the imaginary heroes of a mere fiction.

The colonization of Greenland by the Northmen was the event that led immediately to the discovery of America. Even before this time it was obviously in no way improbable that some of their ships navigating between Norway, the British Archipelago and Iceland, all which countries were then in their possession, should be driven out of their course by strong easterly winds as far as the coast of America. Some such accidents are, in fact, alluded to by the Icelandic writers, and others may have happened without leaving any trace in history. But when the Northmen had extended their settlements to a point so near the American coast as Greenland, occurrences of this kind became almost matters of course. We find, accordingly, that the year succeeding their establishment in that country, is the one assigned by the Icelandic writers to the discovery of America. The account of the latter event, as given by these writers,—omitting a good deal of extraneous matter, some of which, as we shall have occasion to mention, is of an obviously fabulous character,—is briefly as follows.

Among the companions of Eric Rauda, or the Red—the leader of the colony which settled in Greenland—was Heriulf, whose name is still attached to the southern promontory of Greenland, called, by the English, Cape Farewell. Heriulf had a son named Biarne, who is represented in Icelandic chronicles as a young man of great merit. He had early engaged in commercial enterprises which had been attended with success. It was his practice to pass his winters alternately in foreign parts and at home with his father. In pursuance of this habit, he had passed the winter of the year, when his father emigrated to Greenland in Norway, and on returning home the next summer found him gone. He determined at once to follow, and having obtained the assent of his crew, set sail without discharging his cargo, though unacquainted with the course.

After losing sight of land they met with northerly winds and fogs, and were driven about many days and nights without knowing where they were. When the fog cleared away they made sail, and the same day saw land. The coast was low and sandy, rising gradually into hills covered with wood. As it did not correspond with the description given of that of Greenland, they left it to larboard and steered a northerly course. After another day's sail they made land a second time. It was low and woody as before. They now put to sea again, and, after sailing three and a half days with a south-west wind, made land a third time. It proved to be a bold shore surrounded with ice, and on further exploration they discovered it to be an island. Once more leaving the land behind them, and pursuing their way to the north, after two days' and two nights' sail they made the southern cape of Greenland, where Biarne found his father. The chronicle adds that this was his last voyage; that he thenceforth lived

with his father, and after his death took possession of the homestead where he fixed his residence.



LANDING OF THE NORTHMEN.

The discoveries of Biarne naturally became a subject of much conversation in Greenland. At length Leif, a son of Eric the Red, the leader and chief of the colony, determined to undertake another voyage in the same direction. He accordingly purchased Biarne's ship, and engaged a crew of thirty-five men, including a German named Tyrker, who had lived from his youth in Eric's family. It may be remarked, that it was about this



THE NORTHEMEN DISCOVERING GRAPES IN VINLAND.

time that Christianity was introduced among the Northmen, and Leif is described as the person by whom it was brought into Greenland. Being at Drontheim a few years before, he had met with Olaus, King of Norway, who had come to that place, for the purpose of converting the natives to Christianity ; was converted by him, and on his return carried back the new faith with him to Greenland.

The date of Lief's voyage is assigned to the year 1000. On leaving Greenland, he first made the land, which had been last seen by Biarne, and found it as described by him, a barren coast, rising into lofty mountains covered with ice and snow ; the space between them and the shore being a naked rock, entirely destitute of herbage. He gave the country the name of *Helluland*, from the Icelandic word *Hella*, which signifies a flat rock. They put to sea again, and on making land a second time, they found the appearance of it corresponding with that of the coast first seen by Biarne. It was a level shore, covered with white sand, and rising into hills crowned with wood. They called it *Markland*, from the Icelandic word *Mark*, which signifies *wood*. They now put to sea a third time with a north-easterly wind, and, after two days' sail, once more made land. There was an island near the coast, upon which they landed : the weather was pleasant, and the grass covered with dew, which on tasting it, they found of a singular sweetness. They sailed westward, through a strait which separated the island from a promontory projecting northerly from the shore, and finally reached a place where a river, issuing from a lake above, fell into the sea. Here Leif determined to establish his colony, and having transported his effects, in boats, from the ship to the shore of the lake, he erected wooden huts for the temporary accommodation of his men. Afterwards, when they had made up their minds to stay, they built larger houses, and called the settlement *Leif's Budir* or *Booths*. When the work of building was finished, Leif divided his men into two parties, one of which regularly kept watch at home, while the other explored the country, but not so far as to be away more than a day at a time. Leif himself alternately accompanied each of the parties. The chronicle here interrupts the narrative, to remark that Leif was a tall and robust man, uncommonly dignified in his personal appearance, and very prudent and judicious in the management of his affairs.

One evening, on the return of the exploring party, it appeared that the German, Tyrker, was missing. Leif was much alarmed at this, and set forth with twelve men in search of him ; but had not proceeded far when he met him returning. He gave as a reason for his delay, that he had been gathering grapes, of which he had found a great abundance. This was a fruit unknown to the Northmen, but with which and its uses Tyrker, as a German, was acquainted. In consequence of this discovery, Leif gave to the country the name of *WINELAND*, to which his countrymen seem to

have subsequently added the epithet *Good*, as it is generally mentioned in the chronicles, under the name of *WINELAND THE GOOD*. The men now employed themselves alternately in gathering grapes and in cutting wood, with which they loaded the ship. The river abounded with fish, and particularly salmon of a large size. The climate was very mild; there was no frost or snow; and the grass faded so little that the cattle were kept out at pasture all the winter. On the shortest day of the year, according to the translation of the chronicle given by the Danish Antiquaries, the sun rose at half-past seven o'clock in the morning, and set at half-past four in the evening. This occurs about the latitude of Cape Cod, so that if the translation can be depended on, there is no doubt of the identity of Wineland with Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It is proper to add, however, that the meaning of this passage is a matter of dispute among the learned. The following spring, Leif set sail, with his cargo of wood, and arrived safely in Greenland, having on his way rescued fifteen shipwrecked mariners, from a rock near the coast. Leif obtained great consideration, as well as profit from his voyage, and was ever after designated as *Leif hin heppni*, or *the Lucky*. His father Eric died the same year, and Leif appears to have taken no farther personal share in the exploration of the new-found territory.

The land first seen by Leif, and by him named *Helluland*, is identified by the Danish antiquaries with Labrador. *Markland* they suppose to be Nova Scotia, and *Wineland the Good*, as we intimated just now, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The island mentioned in the chronicle, as lying near the coast of Wineland, is thought to be Nantucket, and the promontory Cape Cod; the river and lake are found in Narragansett harbour with its tributary streams, and *Leif's Booths* are placed on the shore of Mount Hope Bay.

The discoveries of Leif, of course, increased the interest that had been excited in Greenland by those of Biarne. The following year, (1001,) Thorwald, a brother of Leif, determined to explore still farther the new-found region, and borrowing Leif's ship for the purpose, set sail upon the expedition. He arrived, without any particular adventure, at Leif's Booths, where he passed the winter, employing his company chiefly in fishing. In the spring, Thorwald despatched a party of men in the boat, to explore the country to the southwest. They found it beautiful and well wooded, with but little interval between the woods and the sea, which abounded in islands and shallows. They saw no traces of human habitation, excepting a wooden shed upon one of the islands. The party returned in the autumn to Leif's Booths.

In the following spring, (1002,) Thorwald sailed eastward in the ship, and finally doubled a cape, upon which he was afterwards shipwrecked. To this cape he gave the name of *Kialarness*, or Keel Cape. It is

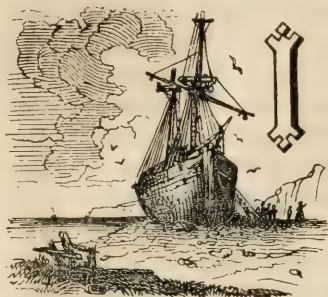
supposed by the Danish Society to be Cape Cod, which in fact bears some resemblance, in the general outline, to the keel of a ship. After repairing his vessel, Thorwald pursued his course to the west, until he reached a promontory covered with wood, which he thought so beautiful that he determined to make it the seat of his settlement. At this place the Northmen found three canoes, each having on board three of the natives, whom the chronicle calls *Skraellinggar*—the name given in Greenland to the Esquimaux. A skirmish ensued, in which eight of the natives were killed: the ninth escaped, and soon after returned with an accession of force. Another engagement then took place, which terminated in the retirement of the natives. In the course of it, however, Thorwald, the leader of the expedition, received a mortal wound under the arm from an arrow. He summoned his followers around him, and inquired whether any of them were wounded, to which they all replied in the negative. "As for me," continued Thorwald, "I have received a wound under the arm from an arrow, and I feel that it will be mortal. I advise you to prepare immediately for your return: but ye shall first carry my body to the promontory which I thought so beautiful, and where I had determined to fix my residence. It may be that it was a prophetic word which fell from my lips, about my abiding there for a season. There shall ye bury me, and ye shall plant a cross at my head, and another at my feet, and ye shall call the name of the place *Krossanes*—Cape Cross—through all future time."

Thorwald died, as he anticipated, of his wound, and was buried by his companions in the manner which he had directed. It will be recollected that his brother Leif was the first convert to Christianity in Greenland; and it was doubtless by him, that Thorwald had been instructed in the new religion. The companions of Thorwald returned to Leif's Booths; and the following spring, (1005,) they sailed again for Greenland.

Kialarness, or Keel Cape, is supposed, by the Danish Society of Antiquaries, as we remarked just now, to be Cape Cod. Admitting this supposition to be correct, the promontory where Thorwald was buried must be somewhere in Massachusetts Bay. The Danish Society suppose it to be either Gurnet Point, near Plymouth, or Alderton Point, at the extremity of Nantasket Beach, near Boston. On their map, Gurnet Point is marked, as *Krossanes*, or Cape Cross. On the other supposition, the monument of Thorwald would fall within the precincts of the little village of Hull, which is, in fact, one of the most beautiful spots in the neighbourhood of Boston.

On the return of the expedition to Greenland, Thorstein, a third son of Eric, determined to proceed to Wineland, and bring back his brother's body. He accordingly fitted out the same ship, with a crew of twenty-five men; taking also with him his wife Gudrida. This voyage proved an un-

successful one. They were tossed about upon the ocean all summer without knowing where they were, until at the opening of the winter they finally reached Greenland. Thorstein died soon after, and his widow Gudrida returned to the family residence at Ericsfiord.



IN the course of the following year, (1006.) there arrived in Greenland two ships from Iceland, one of them commanded by Thorfinn, significantly called *Karlsefne*, that is, a man of promise. He was a wealthy and powerful person of illustrious lineage, being descended from Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Scotch and Irish ancestors; some of whom were kings, or of royal descent. He was accompanied by Snorre Thorbrandson, also a person of distinction in Iceland. They remained in Greenland through the year, and kept the festival of Yule, or Christmas, at Brattalid, the residence of Eric, who was now dead. During the winter, Thorfinn became enamoured of Gudrida, the widow of Thorstein, and obtained the consent of Leif to marry her. The discovery and exploration of the new-found region of *Wineland the Good* were still the principal subjects of conversation in the family. Thorfinn was strongly urged by his wife, and other friends, to undertake a voyage in that direction, which he finally determined to do. Accordingly, the following spring, (1007,) he fitted out an expedition, composed of three ships, carrying a hundred and forty men. He took the command himself of one of the vessels, on board of which he was accompanied by his wife Gudrida and his friend Snorre. One of the other ships was commanded by Biarne Grimolfson, of Breidefiord, and Thorhall Gamlason, of Austfiord, in Iceland. The third belonged to Thorwald, who had married a natural daughter of Eric, named Freydisa. She accompanied her husband, who also took with him Thorhall, an experienced huntsman, and confidential servant of the late Eric. With this little fleet, about equal in force to that with which Columbus made his first voyage, Thorfinn set sail from Greenland.

After landing at Helluland and Markland, he proceeded on a south-west course, having the land on his right, until he came to Kialarness. This Cape is described in the chronicle of his voyage, as consisting of unexplored deserts, skirted by a long, sandy shore, to which he gave the name of *Furdustrandar*—a far extended strand, or as some explain it, a wondrous strand, or beach. Here the navigators remained a few days, and made some slight exploration of the country; in the course of which they found grapes and wheat growing wild. They then continued their course, until they came to a frith or inlet at the entrance of which was an island. The currents ran with great rapidity round the islands, and in the frith itself.



INDIANS TRADING WITH THE NORTHMEN.

in allusion to which circumstance, Thorfinn gave the island the name of *Straum-Ey*—Stream Island, and the inlet that of *Straum-Fiord*—Stream-frith. They found the island frequented by such an immense number of birds, that it was hardly possible to walk, without treading upon their eggs. Here Thorfinn landed, and fixed his residence for the winter. The following spring, Thorhall set forth with eight of the men, in search of Wineland, but was driven by westerly gales across the ocean, upon the coast of Ireland, where they were made slaves. Thorfinn with the rest of the company took the other direction, to the south-west, and soon reached Leif's Booths, which were situated, as has been seen, on the shore of a lake that discharged its waters into the ocean, through a river. Before the mouth of the river there were large islands. Thorfinn gave to the lake the name of *Hop*—equivalent to haven or bay. He found wheat growing wild on the low grounds, and vines on the hills.

The Northmen erected additional dwelling-houses, at a little distance from the bay, and passed the winter at this place. The climate appeared to them, as it had to Leif and his company, extremely mild. No snow fell, and the cattle were kept out at pasture through the winter. Early in the spring, the settlement was visited by the natives in canoes, who carried on a friendly intercourse with the Northmen, exchanging furs for milk-soup and cloth. About this time, Gudrida, the wife of Thorfinn, gave birth to a son, who was named Snorre. At the opening of the fol-

lowing winter, the natives appeared again, in greater numbers, and with hostile intentions. A skirmish ensued, in which some of the Northmen were killed, but in which the natives were finally repulsed, not without the active interference of the Northern women, and particularly Freydisa. The hostile disposition shown by the natives, seems to have satisfied the Northmen, that the country, notwithstanding its natural advantages, would be an uncomfortable residence. They accordingly determined to abandon the idea of a settlement, and prepare for returning to Greenland. With this view, they left Hop, and proceeded to Straum-Ey, where they passed the next winter. The following spring, (1011,) after a three years' abode, they took their departure from Wineland, and having touched on the way at other points on the coast, and taken on board some of the natives, arrived safely in Greenland.

The island, called, by the Northmen, Straum-Ey, is supposed by the Danish Antiquaries to be Martha's Vineyard, and Straum-fiord, Buzzard's Bay. It is a rather remarkable coincidence, between the present state of those islands, and the description given in the narrative, that one or more of them are now denominated Egg Islands. The name *Hop* is supposed by the Society to be retained in the Mount Hope of the present day. The bay described in the narrative, is Mount Hope Bay; and the river which runs from it into the ocean, Pocasset River. Leif's Booths, as has been remarked before, were supposed to have been placed upon the shore of Mount Hope Bay, and Thorfinn is believed to have erected his houses, which are said to have been on higher ground, on the elevation above.

Such are the principal, particulars given in the chronicles of the most important expedition which was ever fitted out by the Northmen for the exploration of the new-found region. It appears to have resulted in the abandonment, by those who were engaged in it, of the plan of establishing a colony, on account of the ferocious character of the natives. On his return to Greenland, Thorfinn engaged in trading expeditions to Norway, and in 1015 purchased an estate in Iceland, where he passed the remainder of his life. His son, Snorre, who was born in Wineland, succeeded him in the estate and became a person of high consideration in the country. On the marriage of Snorre, his mother, Gudrida, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and after her return retired to a convent for the rest of her life. A numerous and illustrious progeny descended from Thorfinn, through his American-born son, Snorre, among whom may be mentioned Bishop Thorlak, (a grandson of Snorre, by his daughter Elfrida,) who was the author of the oldest work on the ecclesiastical law of Iceland, published in 1123. To him we are probably indebted for the accounts of the voyages of his ancestors to Wineland. The record of the several generations of this remarkable family has been continued unbroken up to the present day.

The list of the descendants of Thorfinn includes a large number of persons distinguished in different ways in the administration and magistracy of the northern kingdoms—in the church, in letters, and the arts. Among them are priests, professors, judges, bishops, earls and ambassadors. One of them married a sister of the Danish historian, Torfæus, whose connection with the family may, perhaps, have led him to undertake the work on Wineland, to which we have alluded. Among the representatives of Thorfinn and Gudrida, now living, or deceased since the commencement of the present century, are three professors at the University of Copenhagen, one of whom, Finn Magnussen, is still living;—the late Chief Justice of Iceland, Magnus Stevenson;—the late Bishop of Iceland, Geir Vidalin:—and finally no less a personage than the celebrated Bertel Thorwaldsen, since the death of Canova, by general acknowledgment, the first sculptor of the age.

Subsequently to the great expedition of Thorfinn, there are very few particulars mentioned in the Icelandic writers respecting the new-found regions. These appear to have been pretty soon virtually abandoned, and finally almost forgotten. The same year, however, (1011,) in which Thorfinn returned, Freydisa, who had accompanied him, fitted out a single ship, in which she sailed herself, in company with two Norwegians, Helge and Finnboge, recently arrived in Greenland, a crew of about thirty-five men and a number of women. She returned the next year, without having attempted a settlement, and her companions are represented as having destroyed each other in private quarrels.*

In 1026, an Icelander named Gudleif embarked for Dublin. The vessel being driven out of her course, came near what is supposed to be the American shore, where the crew were seized by the natives and carried into the interior. Here they were accosted by a venerable chief, who addressed them in their own language, and inquired after several persons in Iceland. He refused to tell his name; but as he sent a present of a gold ring to Thurida, the sister of Suorre Gode, and a sword to her son, he was supposed to be Biorne the Bard, who had been her lover, who had left Iceland in the year 998.

After this period we have but few and scattered notices of the colony of the Northmen in America. The conquests of this enterprising people in the southern parts of Europe are sufficient to account for their abandonment, not only of the colony on the shores of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, but of the larger and older colony of Greenland. It suited their warlike propensities better to make descents on the shores of England, France, and Italy, than to cultivate their distant colonies on the comparatively inhospitable shores of North America.

* Democratic Review, April, 1838.



COLUMBUS.

DISCOVERY OF COLUMBUS.

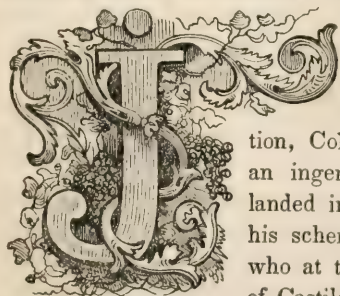


OLUMBUS, notwithstanding the discovery of America by the Northmen, deserves as much credit for his noble enterprise, as though the continent had never been previously visited by any European. He was probably ignorant of what had been done by the Northmen, or if he acquired any knowledge of their discoveries, it is not probable that he would ever imagine there was any connection between the inhospitable countries which they described and the luxuriant Indies which he sought.

Christopher Columbus was born at Genoa in 1441. It has been asserted that his origin was humble. This is of the least possible consequence, or it would not be difficult to produce evidence that he was well descended. He studied awhile at Pavia, but quitted the university at an early period to follow a maritime life. Between thirty and forty years were spent by him in voyages to various parts of the world, during which geometry, astronomy, and cosmography, occupied much of his attention.

At length he settled at Lisbon, where he married the orphan daughter of Palestrello, an Italian navigator.

From a long and close application to the study of geography and navigation, Columbus had obtained a knowledge of the true figure of the earth, much superior to the general notions of the age in which he lived. In order that the terraqueous globe might be properly balanced, and the lands and seas proportioned to each other, he was led to conceive that another continent was necessary. Other reasons induced him to believe that this continent was connected with the East Indies. As early as the year 1474, he communicated his ingenious theory to Paul, a physician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge of cosmography. He warmly approved it, and encouraged Columbus in an undertaking so laudable, and which promised so much benefit to the world. Having fully satisfied himself with respect to the truth of his system, he became impatient to reduce it to practice. The first step towards this was to secure the patronage of some of the European powers. Accordingly he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, making his native country the first offer of his services. They rejected his proposals, as the dream of a chimerical projector. He next applied to John II., king of Portugal, a monarch of an enterprising genius, and no incompetent judge of naval affairs. The king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to a number of eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. These men, from mean and interested views, started innumerable objections, and asked many captious questions, on purpose to betray Columbus into a full explanation of his system. Having done this, they advised the king to despatch a vessel, secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus had pointed out.



JOHN, forgetting on this occasion the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted their perfidious counsel. Upon discovering this dishonourable transaction, Columbus, with an indignation natural to an ingenuous mind, quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain in 1484. Here he represented his scheme, in person, to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. They injudiciously submitted it to the examination of unskilful judges, who, ignorant of the principles on which Columbus founded his theory, rejected it as absurd, upon the credit of a maxim under which the ignorant and indolent, in every age, shelter themselves, "That it is presumptuous in any person to suppose that he alone possesses knowledge superior to all the rest of man-

kind united." They maintained, likewise, that if there were really any such countries as Columbus pretended, they would not have remained so long concealed; nor would the wisdom and sagacity of former ages have left the glory of this discovery to an obscure Genoese pilot.



MEANWHILE Columbus, who had experienced the uncertain issue of applications to kings, had taken the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, to negotiate the matter with Henry VII. On his voyage to England he fell into the hands of pirates, who stripped him of every thing, and detained him a prisoner several years. At length he made his escape, and arrived at London in extreme indigence, where he employed himself some time in selling maps. With his gains he purchased a decent dress, and in person presented to the king the proposals which his brother had intrusted to his management. Notwithstanding Henry's excessive caution and parsimony, he received the proposals of Columbus with more approbation than any monarch to whom they had been presented.

After several unsuccessful applications to other European powers of less note, Columbus was induced, by the entreaty and interposition of Perez, a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with Queen Isabella, to apply again to the court of Spain. This application, after much warm debate and several mortifying repulses, proved at last successful, though not without the most vigorous and persevering exertions of Quintanilla and Santangel, two vigilant and discerning patrons of Columbus, whose meritorious zeal in promoting this grand design entitles their names to an honourable place in history. It was, however, to Queen Isabella, the munificent patroness of his public-spirited enterprise, that Columbus ultimately owed his success. Having thus obtained the assistance of the court, a squadron of three small vessels was fitted out, victualled for 12 months, and furnished with 90 men. The whole expense did not exceed £4000. Of this small squadron Columbus was appointed admiral.

On the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus left Spain in the presence of a crowd of spectators, who united their supplications to heaven for his success. He steered directly for the Canary Islands, where he arrived and refitted, as well as he could, his crazy and ill-appointed fleet. Hence he sailed, September 6th, a due western course into an unknown ocean. Columbus now found a thousand unforeseen hardships to encounter, which demanded all his judgment, fortitude, and address to surmount. Besides the difficulties, unavoidable from the nature of his undertaking, he had to struggle with those which arose from the ignorance and timidity of the



SAILING OF COLUMBUS

people under his command. On the 14th of September he was astonished to find that the magnetic needle in their compass did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This new phenomenon, which is now familiar, though the cause remains one of the arcana of nature, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. Nature itself seemed to have sustained a change; and the only guide they had left, to point them to a safe retreat from an unbounded and trackless ocean, was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, assigned a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears, or silenced their murmurs for some time. The sailors, however, discontented and alarmed at their distance from land, several times mutinied, and once proposed to throw their admiral overboard.

Columbus was now fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed, with great uneasiness, the fatal operation of ignorance and of fear in producing disaffection among his crew; and saw that it was now ready to burst out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect presence of mind. He affected to seem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance; like a man satisfied with the progress which he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to soothe his men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition or avarice, by magnificent

descriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their dastardly behaviour, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man whom they had been accustomed to reverence were weighty and persuasive; and not only restrained them from those violent excesses which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer. As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the south-west.

Columbus, in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been guided in several of their discoveries by the motion of birds, altered his course from due west towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But after holding on for several days in this new direction without any better success than formerly, having seen no object during 30 days but the sea and the sky, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost.

The officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men: they assembled tumultuously on the deck, expostulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to any of his former arts, which, having been tried so often, had lost their effect; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men in whose breasts fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it was no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures, to quell a mutiny so general and so violent.

It was necessary, on all these accounts, to soothe passions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He promised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany him, and obey his commands for three days longer; and if, during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprise, and direct his course back to Spain. Enraged as the sailors were, and impatient to turn their faces again towards their native country, this proposition did not appear to them unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himself to a term so short.

The presages of discovering land were now so numerous and promising,

that he deemed them infallible. For some days the sounding line reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased; and were composed not only of sea-fowl, but of such land birds as could not be supposed to fly far from the shore. The crew of the *Pinta* observed a cane floating which seemed to be newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the *Nigna* took up the branch of a tree with red berries perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm; and, during night, the wind became unequal and variable.

From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the 11th of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie by, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes; all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land which had been so long the object of their wishes. About two hours before midnight, Columbus, standing on the fore-castle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Gutierrez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. At 2 o'clock next morning Roderic Triana discovered land, and the joyful sound of *Land! land!* was heard from the *Pinta*, which kept always ahead of the other ships. But having been deceived so often by fallacious appearances, every man was now become slow of belief, and waited, in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day.

As soon as morning dawned, all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God; and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation.

This office of gratitude to heaven was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well-concerted plan; and passing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man whom they had so lately reviled and threatened, to be a person inspired by Heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order



LAND DISCOVERED.

to accomplish a design so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages. As soon as the sun arose, all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the island with their colours displayed, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view.

Columbus was the first European who set foot in the New World which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed; and, kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix, and, prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such a happy issue. The island was one of the Bahama islands, to which he gave the name of *San Salvador*, and took possession of it in the name of their Catholic Majesties. In this first voyage he discovered several other of the Lucayo or Bahama Islands, with those of Cuba and Hispaniola. The natives considered the Spaniards as divinities, and the discharge of the artillery as their thunder: they fell prostrate at the sound. He afterwards touched at several of the islands in the same cluster, inquiring everywhere for gold, which he thought was the only object of commerce worth his attention. In



LANDING OF COLUMBUS.

steering southward he discovered the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, abounding in all the necessities of life, and inhabited by a humane and hospitable people.

On his return he was overtaken by a storm, which had nearly proved fatal to his ships and their crews. At a crisis when all was given up for lost, Columbus had presence of mind enough to retire into his cabin, and to write upon parchment a short account of his voyage; this he wrapped in an oiled cloth, which he enclosed in a cake of wax, put it into a tight cask, and threw it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world.

He arrived at Palos in Spain, whence he had sailed the year before, on the 15th of March, 1493. He was welcomed with all the acclamations which the populace are ever ready to bestow on great and glorious characters; and the court received him with marks of the greatest respect.

In September, 1493, Columbus sailed upon his second voyage to America, during the performance of which he discovered the islands of Dominica, Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Montserrat, Antigua, Porto Rico and Jamaica; and returned to Spain in 1496. In 1498 he sailed a third time for America, and on the 1st of August attained the great object of his ambition, by discovering the CONTINENT of America, near the mouth

of the Oronoko. He then coasted along westward, making other discoveries for two hundred leagues, to Cape Vela, from which he crossed over to Hispaniola.

Columbus lived to experience the ingratitude of the sovereigns whom he had so faithfully served. They sought to deprive him of the reward they had promised; and it was only by a long and expensive lawsuit that his son succeeded at last in establishing his rights and founding a noble family, whose descendants are still among the highest grandees of Spain.

Columbus's readiness and address are well illustrated by the following anecdote:—"Soon after Columbus's return from his first voyage, a splendid entertainment was proposed, to which he was invited, again to recount the particulars of his voyage in a more familiar and detailed manner than he had done before. There were many of the courtiers who secretly envied the good fortune of Columbus, and tried to disparage his success, by hinting that anybody might have done the same thing—that there was nothing very marvellous in discovering a western world—that, if he had not done it, somebody else would—that the thing was, after all, by no means difficult. Upon this Columbus took up an egg, and civilly asked those present if they could make it stand on either of its ends. The courtiers tried, and tried, and tried again without success; and, after a while, were forced to give up the point. 'You see,' said Columbus, 'it is impossible.' Columbus then gave the egg a slight blow on one end, so as just to break in the shell. The egg stood immediately. 'There,' said he, 'it is possible, after all; but I found out the way to do it, which none of you could.' The queen laughed heartily, and declared that Columbus was the victor."





AMERICUS VESPUTIUS.

DISCOVERIES OF VESPUTIUS.

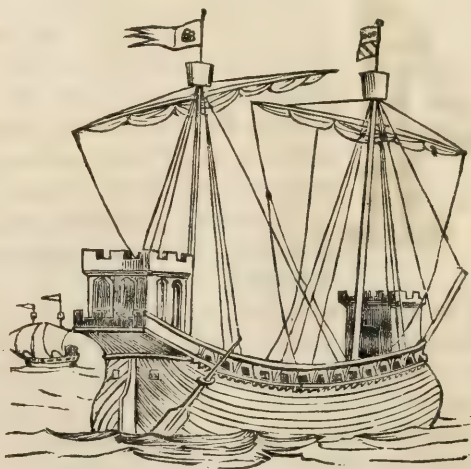
AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, more properly called *Amerigo Vespucci*, was born at Florence March 9, 1451. He was early instructed in natural philosophy, astronomy, and geography, in his native city. In 1490 he went to Spain for the purpose of trading, and was at Seville when Columbus was making preparations for his second voyage. The success of Columbus's undertaking excited Vespucci to give up trade, and explore these newly discovered countries.

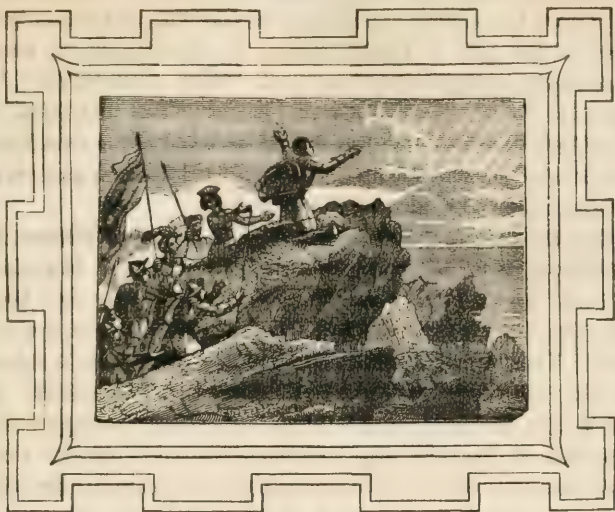
According to his own account, in one of his letters, he entered on his first voyage, under the command of Admiral Ojeda, May 20, 1497, who left the harbour of Cadiz with four ships, and, after a voyage of thirty-seven days, reached the main land of America, explored the bay of Paria and the coast for several hundred miles, and, after eighteen months, returned to Spain, and was received with distinction by the court at Seville.

In May, 1499, he began his second voyage, the fruit of which was the discovery of a multitude of small islands. This is his own account. But it is fully proved, that no such voyage as the one first mentioned was made, and that his first expedition to the new continent was in 1499,

under the command of Ojeda, a year after the discovery and examination of that part of the coast by Columbus. Other accounts of Vespucci are, also, inconsistent with the statement above given. After this, he entered the service of King Emanuel of Portugal, and made two voyages in Portuguese ships: the first, May 10, 1501; the second, May 10, 1503. The object of this last voyage was to find a westerly passage to Malacca. Amerigo arrived at Brazil, and discovered the Bay of All Saints.

In 1505 he again entered the service of the king of Spain, but made no more voyages, as appears from memoranda, showing that he was at Seville till 1508, at which time he was appointed principal pilot. His duties were to prepare charts, and prescribe routes for vessels in their voyages to the new world, which soon received his name. This honour certainly belonged to Columbus rather than to Amerigo, for the prior discovery of the continent by the former is not to be questioned. We have a chart of America laid down by Amerigo; a journal of four of his voyages, printed at Paris, 1532, in the Latin language, in 22 pages, 4to; and Amerigo's Letters, which appeared at Florence after his death, published by John Stephen di Carlo da Pavia. Vespucci died at Seville in 1512





BALBOA DISCOVERING THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

DISCOVERIES OF BALBOA.



VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA was born in Jerez de los Caballeros, in Estremadura, about the year 1475. His family, though belonging to the class of hidalgos, (or gentlemen,) was not in very affluent circumstances. Vasco, in his youth, held some office in the house of Don Pedro Portocarrero, lord of Huelva; and in 1501 he accompanied Rodrigo de Bastidas in his voyage of discovery to the New World. Bastidas sailed from Cadiz in October, in two vessels. It is not known whether Balboa remained with Bastidas to the time of the unfortunate death of the latter, or whether he left him before, to settle in Española, (St. Domingo;) but in 1510 Balboa was at Salvatierra, one of the settlements in that island, and, far from having bettered his fortune, he was much in debt.

About that time, Alonzo de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuesa projected a voyage of discovery, the king having granted them the privilege of colonizing and governing all those territories which they might discover from Cape Vela, (or de la Vela,) in $12^{\circ} 5' \text{ N. lat.}$, and $72^{\circ} 9' \text{ W. long.}$ to Cape Gracias-á-Dios, in $15^{\circ} \text{ N. lat.}$ and $82^{\circ} 45' \text{ W. long.}$ The portion of territory allotted to Ojeda extended as far as the middle of the gulf of Urabá, (or Darien,) and that allotted to Nicuesa, from that point to Cape Gracias-á-Dios. Both chiefs set sail almost at the same time.

Ojeda arrived first, and landed near the site of Cartagena. After suffering severe losses from the natives, he was obliged to re-embark, and proceeded to the gulf of Darien, where he determined on forming a settlement on the eastern side of that gulf. With great difficulty he built a few houses, to which he gave the name of San Sebastian. Daily expecting Bachiller Enciso, a lawyer who belonged to the expedition, and who had remained at Española to load two ships with men and provisions, Ojeda at last determined to sail in quest of him.

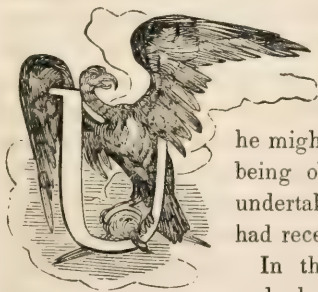
Intrusting the command of the settlement to Francisco Pizarro, he proceeded to Española, where he died in extreme poverty. His men, after waiting some time in vain for their leader, embarked in two brigs, and sailed for Cartagena. On entering the port they discovered the vessels of Enciso. The governor of Española had made a law in that island, that no man should quit it before he had paid all his creditors. Balboa, who was in debt, and was anxious to get away from the island, hid himself in a cask in Enciso's ship, and when the vessel was far from land presented himself to Enciso, who, though much irritated at the trick, was at last reconciled by the entreaties of Balboa and his friends.

Enciso, on learning the absence of Ojeda, claimed the chief command; and his men, after some resistance, submitted. He ordered them to proceed to the gulf of Darien; on entering which a violent storm overtook them, and after struggling with the elements for a long time, the vessel of Enciso was violently driven against a rock on the coast, and the men, a hundred and fifty in number, saved themselves by swimming. The settlement they found reduced to ashes. They next attempted to penetrate the country, but met with such resistance from the natives that they were obliged to retire to the coast. In this state of despair Balboa said, "I remember to have seen, when I was on these coasts some years ago, a town situated by the side of a large river on the west side of the gulf: the inhabitants were of a mild character, and did not use poisoned arrows."

The suggestion of Balboa was no sooner made than it was eagerly embraced by all. He led them towards the place, and the event proved the correctness of his information. After a very obstinate combat with the Indians, the Spaniards put them to flight, entered the town, and founded a settlement, which they called, in fulfilment of a vow, Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien, in 8° 20' N. lat. The Spaniards, after their establishment there, began to exchange with the natives goods and trinkets for gold, and had already received to the amount of twelve thousand dollars, when Enciso, under pain of death, forbade the exchange of any thing for gold. On this his men deposed him, and some of them elected Balboa and Zamudio for their leaders. But there was a party still faithful to Enciso; and others, again, were desirous to place themselves under Nicuesa.

In the midst of these disputes a ship arrived from Spain with men and provisions for Nicuesa. The captain distributed part of his stores among the settlers; and this circumstance determined the parties in favour of Nicuesa. They accordingly despatched the vessel in quest of that chief, and found him near Portobello in great distress. Nicuesa, indignant at the state of insubordination in the colony, sailed towards the settlement, but he was not allowed to land. After entreating permission, which was refused him, he came on shore secretly, in spite of the advice of Balboa. Here he was seized by order of his adversaries, and placed in a miserable vessel, with seventeen men who chose to follow him. The vessel sailed for Spain, and it is supposed to have been lost at sea.

The parties of Enciso and Balboa now resumed their dispute, and Balboa gained the victory. Enciso was placed under arrest, tried, and condemned to imprisonment and the loss of all his property, for having usurped the command of Ojeda. By the entreaties of friends, Balboa granted him his liberty, on condition of his leaving Darien. Balboa now sent Zamudio to Spain to give an account of what had taken place, and having sent for the men whom Nicuesa had left at Portobello, he made a successful expedition into the country. On that occasion Balboa became acquainted with a very powerful cacique, who gave him much useful information about his own country, and also about a very powerful and rich state, which, as he said, was six suns, or days, to the south of his own country. This was the first information the Spaniards had of Perú. Balboa and his men returned to Darien, where he found a reinforcement, which Columbus had sent from Española. The provisions brought by that vessel were soon consumed, and they had, besides, the misfortune of losing their harvest through a destructive storm and inundation.



PON this Balboa sent a certain Valdivia to Columbus, giving an account of the country discovered, and requesting a fresh supply of provisions and a thousand men, that he might be able to remain in the country without being obliged to destroy the natives, and also to undertake the conquest of the country of which he had received intelligence.

In the beginning of September, 1513, Balboa embarked some of his men in one brig and some canoes, and sailed direct to Coiba, an island near the coast of Veragua, where he left the vessels, and proceeded into the interior. By his prudent policy he won several tribes of Indians, and after a painful journey of about a month, he arrived on the 29th of September at a mountain, from the summit of which the immense expanse of the Pacific Ocean burst upon his view. Affected at the sight, and falling upon his knees

he thanked the Almighty for having granted him the favour of discovering those immense regions, and then addressing his companions, he said, "Behold, my brothers, the object of all our desires, and the reward of all our toils; behold before your eyes the sea which was announced to us, and undoubtedly its shores contain the riches which were promised to us. You are the first who have visited these shores; yours alone is the glory of reducing these regions under the dominion of our king, and of leading its inhabitants to the knowledge of the true religion. Be faithful and obedient as you have hitherto been, and I promise you that none shall equal you, either in glory or riches." His companions all embraced him, and promised to be faithful to the last moment. He then cut down a large tree, and depriving it of its branches, erected a cross upon a heap of stones, and wrote the names of Ferdinand and Isabel on the trunks of several trees round about.

Descending with his companions to the sea-shore, Balboa, in full armour, having in one hand his sword, and the standard of Castile in the other, stood upon the sand until, the tide ascending, the water reached his knees. He then said, in a loud voice, "Long live the high and powerful king and queen of Castile. In their names I take possession of these seas and regions; and if any other prince, either Christian or Pagan, should pretend to have any claim or right to them, I am ready to oppose him, and to defend the right of their lawful possessors." A notary then registered this act, by which the Spaniards considered themselves to be the lawful possessors of all that country. To that part of the sea they gave the name of Golfo de San Miguel, on account of its having been discovered on Michaelmas day.

Balboa, after visiting some of the islands in the gulf, returned to Darien. The fatigues of the journey brought upon Balboa a very dangerous fever, which obliged him to be carried part of the way on a hammock to the settlement, where he arrived on the 19th of January, 1514. So prudent and conciliating had been the conduct of Balboa towards the natives, that having left a few of his men, who were unable to follow him, in an Indian village, on his march to the Pacific, the chief of the tribe went out to meet him on his return, and presenting to him his soldiers, said, "Receive, brave man, thy companions uninjured, as they entered under my roof; and may He who gives us the fruits of the earth, and causes the thunder and lightning, preserve you and them."

On arriving at Darien, Balboa gave those who had remained in the colony their proportionate share of the riches acquired in the expedition; he also sent a messenger to Spain, to give an account of his discovery, and devoted himself entirely to the improvement of the settlement. In the mean time, Enciso, by the reports which he had spread at court of the misfortune of Nicuesa, and the bad state of affairs in Darien, had so

excited the feelings of the king against Balboa, that Zamudio, who attempted to exculpate his friend, was ordered to be imprisoned, and was obliged to conceal himself. The government determined to appoint a person to supersede Balboa, and to try him for his rebellion. That commission was given to Pedrarias Dávila, a nobleman. The squadron of Pedrarias, consisting of fifteen hundred men, arrived at Darien in 1514. Such were the reports of his ambition, which the enemies of Balboa had spread in Spain, that Pedrarias expected to find him living in the colony in princely state; but on his landing, he was astonished to find him dressed like the meanest of his men, directing and assisting some Indians in roofing a house.

Pedrarias communicated to Balboa the orders which he had received from the government, to inquire into his conduct towards Enciso, and also respecting the death of Nicuesa, which his enemies attributed to him. Balboa was placed under arrest and tried. He was acquitted of the latter charge, but condemned in a heavy fine as damages to Enciso, on paying which he was set at liberty. Pedrarias, however, kept him without any employment in the colony, the consequence of which was, that, through ignorance of the country and mismanagement, the settlers were reduced to such a state of misery, that in the space of one month seven hundred men died of sickness and hunger. The new adventurers, expecting to find gold in abundance everywhere, ranged about the country in search of it, and not finding the object of their wishes, treated the poor Indians with great cruelty. In all their excursions into the interior they were repelled with loss by the natives. Even those caciques who from the beginning had been friends and allies of the Spaniards, were, through ill treatment, changed into their enemies.

In the mean time, the friends of Balboa at home had so exerted themselves in his favour, that they obtained for him, in 1515, the appointment of governor of Darien and Coiba, under Pedrarias. Balboa had informed the government of Pedrarias's mismanagement: his letter is dated October 16, 1515, (see Navarrete, vol. iii.) but the appointment of Balboa was not in consequence of that letter, for it arrived at Madrid after. Pedrarias was unwilling to give Balboa his authority, at which the latter, highly displeased, sent his friend Garabito secretly to Cuba, to procure sixty men, with the view of making a settlement near the Pacific. When Garabito returned, Pedrarias had given to Balboa his rank and title. Garabito landed his men about twenty miles from Darien, and informed Balboa. The information, secret as it was, reached the ears of Pedrarias, at which he was so indignant, that he ordered Balboa to be imprisoned; but on the entreaties of the Bishop Quevedo, and his own wife, Balboa was released and reconciled to his enemy. This reconciliation was further cemented by the marriage of Balboa with the eldest daughter of Pedrarias, then in

Spain. Notwithstanding this apparent reconciliation, Pedrarias kept Balboa at Darien, and was always afraid of employing him.

In 1517, Pedrarias, having been unsuccessful in all his attempts to reduce the country, sent Balboa in the direction of Port Careta, with orders to found a colony there, and to build ships, in order to visit some of the islands in the Pacific. Balboa established his colony at Acla, taking an active part himself in the labour that was required, both in the field and in the town. With his men he cut down wood, and built four brigs; but unfortunately the timber was so bad that they proved unfit for service.



HIS disappointment by no means deterred Balboa. He found better timber, built two brigs, and taking in them as many men as he could carry, he sailed for the gulf, and landed on one of the islands. Here having learned that Lope de Sosa had been appointed by the government to supersede Pedrarias, he sent one of his captains to Darien, to procure positive information, and to provide him with such articles as were requisite for building ships. "Go," said he to Garabito, the captain, "and if Pedrarias is still governor, he will supply us with all we may want, and by the favour of God, we will immediately sail for our destination." It is said that a soldier, who, as Balboa uttered the last words of his message, overheard him, went and informed Pedrarias that Balboa intended to go on a voyage of discovery on his own account. Others say that Garabito, having fallen in love with an Indian woman kept by Balboa, had determined to work his ruin; to effect which, he gave the same information to Pedrarias.

However this may be, Pedrarias, immediately after the arrival of Garabito at Santa Maria, ordered Balboa to return to Acla. Before he arrived at that place, he was informed by some friends that Pedrarias had determined to effect his ruin; but Balboa, trusting to his innocence, went on till he met Francisco Pizarro with an armed force, who delivered to him the order of arrest from Pedrarias. When Balboa received this intelligence, he said to Pizarro in a friendly tone, "Was this the way in which you were accustomed to meet me?" Having arrived at Acla, he was thrown into prison, and tried on the very charges on which he had before been acquitted. Although the judge found him guilty, he recommended him to mercy, in consideration of his services, but the inflexible Pedrarias answered the judge, "If he is a criminal, let him die for his crimes." He was accordingly condemned to be beheaded.

When Balboa was taken to the place of execution, and the public crier proclaimed that he was condemned as a traitor and usurper of the

dominions of the king, he said with a firm voice, "That is a gross falsehood ; as sure as my last moments are near at hand, I never had even a thought except of the most loyal and faithful devotion to my king, nor had any other desire than to increase his dominions, with all my power and ability." Balboa died with the firmness of a hero, in his forty-second year. Herrera says, that Balboa was a tall and graceful man, of a pleasing countenance, with flaxen hair ; and that he had an acute understanding, and was possessed of great fortitude. In danger and fatigue he always took the lead, and was the last in enjoying rest and comfort. "He was," says Quintana, "rigid in his discipline ; but when his soldiers were sick or wounded, he visited and consoled them as a brother, and he was on many occasions seen to go in pursuit of game and even to dress it himself, for his sick men."





CORTES.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.



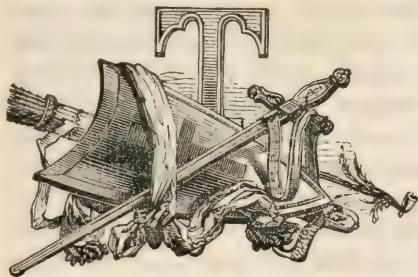
IN 1518 the conquest of Mexico was undertaken by the celebrated *Ferdinand Cortes*. On the 10th February, 1519, he set sail from the Havanna, and landed on the island of Cozumel, on the coast of Yucatan. Here he mustered his army, which amounted to five hundred and eight soldiers, sixteen horsemen, and one hundred and nine mechanics, pilots, and mariners. Having encouraged his men by a proper

speech, and released, by means of some Indian ambassadors, a Spaniard named *Jerome d'Aguilar*, who had been detained a prisoner for eight years, he proceeded to the river Tobasco, where he hoped to be received in a friendly manner; but, instead of this, he was violently attacked; however, the superiority of the Spanish arms soon decided the victory, and the inhabitants were obliged to acknowledge the king of Castile as their sovereign.

The Spaniards then continued their course westward, to the harbour of St. Juan de Ulloa; where they were met by two Mexican canoes, who carried two ambassadors from the emperor of that country, and showed the greatest signs of peace and amity. Their language was unknown to Aguilar; but a female prisoner understood it, and translated it into the Yucatan tongue: after which Aguilar interpreted it in Spanish. This slave

was afterwards named *Donna Marina*, and proved very useful in their conferences with the natives.

By means of his two interpreters, Cortes learned that the ambassadors were deputies from Pilpatoe and Teutile; the one governor of a province under the emperor, and the other the commander of all his forces in that province: the object of their embassy was, to inquire what his intentions were in visiting their coasts, and to offer him what assistance he might need to continue his voyage. Cortes, in his turn, also professed great friendship; and told the ambassadors, that he came to propose matters of the utmost consequence to the welfare of the prince and his kingdom; which he would more fully unfold in person to the governor and the general. Next morning, he landed his troops, horses, and artillery; began to erect huts, and to fortify his camp.



HE next day the ambassadors had a formal audience; at which Cortes acquainted them, that he came from Don Carlos of Austria, king of Castile, the greatest monarch of the east, and was intrusted with propositions of such moment that he would impart them to none but the emperor

himself, and therefore required to be conducted immediately to the capital. The ambassadors did all in their power to dissuade Cortes from his design, endeavouring to conciliate his good-will by the presents sent him by Montezuma. These were introduced with great parade, and consisted of fine cotton cloth, of plumes of various colours, and of ornaments of gold and silver to a considerable value, the workmanship of which was as curious as the materials were rich. But Cortes still insisted on a personal interview with their sovereign.

During this conversation, some painters in the retinue of the Mexican chiefs had been delineating, upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, and whatever else attracted their eyes as singular. When Cortes observed this, and was informed that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, he resolved to render the representation still more striking. The trumpets, by his orders, sounded an alarm; the troops formed in order of battle, and displayed their agility and strength; whilst the artillery was pointed against the neighbouring trees, among which it made dreadful havoc.

The Indians for some time looked on with silent astonishment; but at the explosion of the cannon, some fled, and others fell to the ground, and all were so confounded, that Cortes found it difficult to compose their minds. When the painters had exerted their utmost efforts in represent

ing all these wonderful things, messengers were despatched to Montezuma with the pictures, and a full account of every thing that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards, together with some European curiosities to Montezuma.



HOUGH the city in which Montezuma resided was above a hundred and eighty miles from St Juan de Ulloa, Cortes's presents were carried thither, and an answer returned to his demands, in a few days. As the answer was unfavourable, Montezuma endeavoured to mollify the Spanish general by the richness of his presents. These consisted of the manufactures of the country; cotton stuffs so fine and of such delicate texture as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colours, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance as to rival the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation. But what chiefly attracted their attention, were two large plates of a circular form; one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, representing the moon. These were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold; boxes filled with pearls, precious stones, and grains of gold unwrought, as they had been found in the mines or rivers.

Cortes received all with an appearance of the most profound respect for Montezuma; but when the Mexicans told him that their master, though he desired him to accept of what he had sent as a token of his regard for the prince whom he represented, would not give his consent that foreign troops should approach nearer to his capital, or even allow them to continue longer in his dominions, Cortes declared, in a manner more resolute than formerly, that he could not without dishonour return to his own sovereign until he was admitted into the presence of the prince whom he was appointed to visit in his name.

The Mexicans were astonished at the sight of a man who dared to oppose the will of their emperor; but they prevailed upon Cortes to promise that he would not move from his camp until the return of a messenger whom they sent to Montezuma for further instructions. In a short time Teutile arrived with another present from Montezuma, and his ultimate orders to depart instantly out of his dominions. When Cortes, instead of complying with his demands, renewed his request of audience, the Mexicans immediately left the camp with strong marks of surprise and resentment. Next morning, none of the natives appeared, and all friendly correspondence seemed to be at an end.

To give a beginning to a colony, Cortes assembled the principal persons in his army, and by their suffrages elected a council and magistrates, in whom the government was to be vested. The persons chosen were most firmly attached to Cortes ; and the new settlement had the name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*. Before this court, of his own making, Cortes resigned his authority, and was immediately re-elected chief justice of the colony, and captain-general of his army, with an ample commission, in the king's name, to continue in force till the royal pleasure should be farther known. The soldiers eagerly ratified their choice by loud acclamations.



CORTES having thus strengthened himself, resolved to advance into the country ; and to this he was encouraged by the cacique of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance. This prince was subject to Montezuma, but so exceedingly impatient of the yoke, that nothing could be more acceptable to him than a chance of being delivered from it. For this reason, he sent ambassadors to Cortes, with offers of friendship, which were gladly accepted ; and Cortes soon visited Zempoalla, where he was received in the most friendly manner imaginable. The cacique informed him of many particulars relating to the character of Montezuma. He told him that he was a tyrant, haughty, cruel, and suspicious ; who treated his own subjects with arrogance, and ruined the conquered provinces by his extortions. Cortes insinuated that one great object of the Spaniards in visiting a country so remote from their own, was, to redress grievances, and to relieve the oppressed. He then continued his march to Quiablsan, the territory of another cacique, where, by the aid of the Indians, a Spanish colony was soon formed.

During Cortes's residence in these parts, he so far wrought on the minds of these caciques, that they ventured to insult the Mexican power, at the very name of which they had formerly trembled. They also acknowledged themselves vassals of the king of Spain. Their example was followed by the Totonaques, a fierce people who inhabited the mountainous parts of the country, and offered to accompany Cortes with all their forces in his march towards Mexico. But a spirit of disaffection, which had appeared at different times among his troops, gave him great uneasiness. The only method he could think of to prevent conspiracies, was to destroy his fleet, and thus deprive his soldiers of every resource except that of conquest : and with this proposal he persuaded his men to comply. With universal consent, therefore the ships were drawn ashore

and, after being stripped of their sails, rigging, iron-work, and whatever else might be of use, they were broke in pieces.

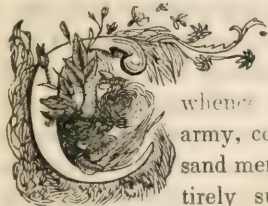


CORTES having thus rendered it necessary for his troops to follow wherever he chose to lead, began his march to Zempoalla with five hundred infantry, fifteen horses, and six field pieces. The rest of his troops, consisting chiefly of such as from age or infirmity were less fit for active service, he left as a garrison in Villa Rica, under Escalante, an officer of merit, and warmly attached to his interest. The cacique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and four hundred troops; and with two hundred of those Indians called *Tamames*, whose office was to carry burdens, and perform all manner of servile labour. Nothing memorable happened till the Spaniards arrived on the confines of the republic of Tlascala. The inhabitants were warlike, fierce, and revengeful, and had made considerable progress in agriculture and some other arts. They were implacable enemies to Montezuma; and therefore Cortes hoped that it would be easy to procure their friendship. With this view, four Zempoallans of high rank were sent ambassadors to Tlascala, dressed with all the badges of that office usual among the Indians.

The senate were divided in their opinions in regard to the proposals of Cortes: but at last Magiscatzin, one of the oldest senators, mentioned the tradition of their ancestors, and the revelations of their priests; that a race of invincible men, of divine origin, who had power over the elements, should come from the east to subdue their country. He compared the resemblance which the strangers bore to the persons figured in the tradition; their dominion over the elements of fire, air, and water; he then declared his opinion, that it would be rashness to oppose a force apparently assisted by Heaven, and men who had already proved, to the sad experience of those who opposed them, that they were invincible.

This orator was opposed by Xicotencal, who endeavoured to prove that the Spaniards were at best but powerful magicians: that they had rendered themselves obnoxious to the gods by pulling down their images and altars, and, of consequence, that they might easily be overcome, as the gods would resent such an outrage. He therefore advised the crushing of these invaders at one blow. His advice prevailed, and the ambassadors were detained; which giving Cortes the alarm, he drew nearer Tlascala. He had not advanced far beyond this pass, however, before a party of Tlascalans with plumes were discovered, which denoted that an army was in the field. These he drove before him by a detachment of six horse, obliged them to join another party, and then reinforcing the advance detachment, charged the enemy with such vigour that they began to retire. Five thousand Tlascalans, whom Xicotencal had placed in ambush, then

rushed out just as the infantry came up to assist their slender body of cavalry ; but they were so much disconcerted by the first discharge of the fire-arms, that they retreated in confusion, the Spaniards pursuing them with great slaughter.



CORTES, however, supposing that this could not be their whole force, advanced with the utmost caution, in order of battle, to an eminence, whence he had a view of the main body of the Tlascalan army, commanded by Xicotencal, consisting of forty thousand men. By these the small army of Cortes was entirely surrounded ; but their arrows and spears being headed only with flint, or fish bones ; their stakes hardened in the fire, and wooden swords, were easily turned aside by the Spanish bucklers. These circumstances gave the Spaniards a prodigious advantage over them ; and therefore the Tlascalans, being taught by this how much they were inferior to the Spaniards, began to conceive them to be really a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not prevail. The priests gave their opinions, that these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by his animating energy in the regions of the east : that by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible ; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigour declined and faded like herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. The Tlascalans therefore ventured to attack the enemy in the night-time, hoping to destroy them when enfeebled and surprised. But the Spanish sentinels having observed some extraordinary movements among the Tlascalans, gave the alarm.

Immediately the troops were under arms, and sallying out, defeated them with great slaughter, without allowing them to approach the camp. By this disaster the Tlascalans were heartily disposed to peace ; but they were at a loss to form an adequate idea of the enemies they had to deal with. They could not ascertain the nature of these surprising beings, or whether they were really of a benevolent or malignant disposition.

There were circumstances which seemed to favour each opinion. Accordingly they addressed them in the following manner : "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is meat, bread, and fruit, to nourish you." After this address, the peace was soon concluded. The Tlascalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his operations ; while he took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury. This reconciliation took place at a very seasonable juncture for the Spaniards

They were worn out with incessant toil, and destitute of necessaries. But the submission of the Tlascalans, and their own triumphant entry into the city, where they were received with the reverence due to a superior order of beings, banished at once all memory of past sufferings, and convinced them that they could not be resisted by any power in America.

Cortes left no method untried to gain the favour and confidence of the Tlascalans; which, however, he had almost entirely lost, by his zeal against their idols. But he was deterred from destroying them by his chaplain, Olmedo; and left the Tlascalans in the exercise of their superstition, prohibiting only the practice of offering human victims. As soon as his troops were fit for service, he resolved to continue his march towards Mexico, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Tlascalans, who looked upon his destruction as unavoidable, if he put himself into the power of Montezuma. But the emperor had resolved to admit his visit; and informed Cortes that he had given orders for his friendly reception at Cholula. In this, however, he was by no means sincere.

Cortes having discovered, by the information of two Tlascalans, that the Cholulans were plotting his destruction, he resolved to prevent his enemies, and to inflict on them such dreadful vengeance as might strike Montezuma and his subjects with terror. For this purpose the Spaniards and Zempoallans were drawn up in a large court, which had been allotted for their quarters, near the centre of the town; the Tlascalans had orders to advance; the magistrates and chief citizens were sent for under various pretexts, and seized.

On a signal given, the troops rushed out, and fell upon the multitude, destitute of leaders; the Spaniards attacked them in front, the Tlascalans in the rear; the streets were filled with slaughter; the temples, which afforded a retreat to the priests and some leading men, were set on fire, and they perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days, during which the wretched inhabitants suffered all that the destructive rage of the Spaniards, or the implacable revenge of their Indian allies, could inflict.

At length the carnage ceased, after the slaughter of six thousand Cholulans, without the loss of a single Spaniard. Cortes then released the magistrates; and reproaching them bitterly for their intended treachery, declared, that as justice was now appeased, he forgave the offence; but required them to recall the inhabitants who had fled, and re-establish order in the town, which was instantly complied with.

From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico; and throughout the whole of his journey was entertained with accounts of the oppressions and cruelty of Montezuma. This gave him the greatest hope of accomplishing his design; as he now perceived that the empire was divided. No enemy appeared to check his progress. Montezuma was

quite irresolute ; and Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital, before the emperor had determined whether to receive him as a friend or oppose him as an enemy. But as no sign of open hostility appeared, the Spaniards continued their march to Mexico, with great circumspection.

About a thousand persons of distinction came forth to meet them adorned with plumes, and clad in mantles of fine cotton. Each of these, in his order, passed by Cortes and saluted him. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself. There appeared at first two hundred persons in a uniform fashion, marching two and two, in deep silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their most showy apparel ; in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a chair or litter richly ornamented with gold and feathers of various colours. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted, advancing towards him in a respectful posture. At the same time, Montezuma alighted from his chair, and leaning on two of his relations, approached with a slow and stately pace.

Cortes accosted him with the most profound reverence, after the European fashion. He returned the salutation, according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. This ceremony, the customary expression of reverence from inferiors towards those who are above them in rank, appeared such condescension in a proud monarch, that his subjects believed those persons, before whom he humbled himself in this manner, to be more than human.



MONTEZUMA conducted Cortes to the quarters prepared for his reception ; and immediately took leave of him, with a politeness worthy of a court more refined : " You are now," says he, " with your brothers, in your own house : refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The place allotted to the Spaniards for their lodging, was a house built by the father of Montezuma. It was surrounded by a stone wall, with towers at proper distances, which served for defence as well as for ornament ; and its apartments and courts were so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies. The first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security, by planting the artillery so as to command the different avenues which led to it, by appointing a large division of his troops to be always on guard. In the evening Montezuma returned to his guests with the same pomp as in their first interview ; and brought presents of such value, not only to Cortes and his officers, but even to the private men, as evidenced his liberality.

A long conference ensued, in which Cortes learned the opinion of Montezuma with respect to the Spaniards. It was an established tradition, he told him, among the Mexicans, that their ancestors came originally from a

remote region, and conquered the provinces now subject to his dominion; that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted this colony returned to his own country, promising, that at some future period his descendants should visit them, assume the government, and reform their constitutions and laws; that, from what he had heard and seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very persons whose appearance these prophecies taught them to expect; that accordingly he had received them, not as strangers, but as relations, of the same blood and parentage, and desired that they might consider themselves as masters in his dominions; for both himself and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will, and even to prevent their wishes.

Cortes made a reply in his usual style, with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and his intention in sending him into that country; artfully endeavouring so to frame his discourse, that it might coincide with the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards. Next morning, Cortes and some of his principal attendants were admitted to a public audience with the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which, so far superior in the order of its buildings and the number of its inhabitants to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, and yet so little resembling the structure of an European city, filled them with surprise and admiration.

How much soever the novelty of those objects might amuse or astonish the Spaniards, they felt the utmost solicitude with respect to their own situation. From a concurrence of circumstances, no less unexpected than favourable to their progress, they had been allowed to penetrate into the heart of a powerful kingdom, and were now lodged in its capital, without having once met with open opposition from its monarch. The Tlascalans, however, had earnestly dissuaded them from placing such perfect confidence in Montezuma, as to enter a city of such a peculiar situation as Mexico, where that prince would have them at his mercy, shut up as it were in a snare, from which it was impossible to escape. They assured them, that the Mexican priests had, in the name of their gods, counselled their sovereign to admit the strangers into the capital, that he might cut them off there at one blow.

The Spaniards now perceived that the apprehensions of their allies were not destitute of foundation; that, by breaking the bridges, their retreat would be rendered impracticable, and they must remain cooped up in a hostile city, without a possibility of aid from their allies. These reflections did not escape the vigilant sagacity of Cortes. His situation was trying, but his mind was equal to it, and he fixed upon a plan no less extraordinary than daring. He determined to seize Montezuma in his

palace, and carry him a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. From the superstitious veneration of the Mexicans for the person of their monarch, as well as their implicit submission to his will, he hoped, by having Montezuma in his power, to acquire the supreme direction of their affairs; or at least, with such a sacred pledge in his hands, he made no doubt of being secure from any effort of their violence. This he immediately proposed to his officers. The timid startled at a measure so audacious. The resolute thought it the only resource in which there appeared to be the smallest prospect of safety, warmly approved of it, and brought over their companions so cordially to the same opinion, that it was agreed instantly to make the attempt.

At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace accompanied by five of his principal officers, and as many trusty soldiers. Thirty chosen men followed, sauntering at some distance, as if they had no object but curiosity; small parties were posted at proper intervals, in all the streets leading from the Spanish quarters to the court; and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlascalcan allies, were under arms, ready to sally out on the first alarm. Cortes and his attendants were admitted without suspicion; the Mexicans retiring, as usual, out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had formerly employed; reproaching him bitterly as the author of the violent assault made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanding public reparation for the loss which he had sustained by the death of some of his companions, as well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were.



MONTEZUMA, confounded at this unexpected accusation, asserted his own innocence with great earnestness; and, as a proof of it, gave orders instantly to bring Quaalpopoca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt remaining in his own mind; but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbour hostile intentions against them, unless, as an evidence of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honoured as became a great monarch.

The first mention of so strange a proposal bereaved Montezuma of speech, and almost



CORTES ORDERING MONTEZUMA TO BE CHAINED.

of motion. At length he haughtily answered, "That persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes endeavoured alternately to soothe and intimidate him. The altercation became warm; and having continued above three hours, Velasquez de Lon, an impetuous young man, exclaimed with impatience, "Why waste more time in vain? Let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The threatening voice and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. The Spaniards, he was sensible, had now proceeded so far as left him no hope that they would recede. His own danger was imminent, the necessity unavoidable. He saw both; and abandoning himself to his fate, complied with their request. His officers were called. He communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spanish quarters.

When it was known that the strangers were conveying away the emperor, the people broke out into the wildest transports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction, as the punishment justly due to their impious audacity. But as soon as Montezuma appeared with a seeming gaiety of countenance, and waived his hand, the tumult was hushed; and upon his declaring it to be of his own choice, that he went to reside for some time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every intimation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly

dispersed. Subsequently, Cortes even went the length of ordering irons to be put upon Montezuma.

It is impossible, without lengthening this article beyond all due limits, to give a particular detail of all Cortes's manœuvres for subjugating this empire. Upon various pretences he not only prevailed on Montezuma to order the Mexicans to equip a new fleet for him, but even induced him at last to acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Castile; and to hold his crown of him as superior, and to pay an annual tribute. Montezuma accompanied this act of submission with a magnificent present, amounting to six hundred thousand dollars, and his subjects brought in liberal contributions. After all these acquisitions, however, Cortes's religious zeal had nearly ruined all, by leading him to displace some of the Mexican idols, and put an image of the Virgin in their stead.

Meantime he met with an unexpected enemy, in his own countrymen; a fleet of eighteen ships and about a thousand men being sent against him from Cuba, by Velasquez, under Pamphilo de Narvaez, whom, however, he defeated, and was soon joined by his troops. Cortes then returned to Mexico, but was attacked and wounded by the natives, whom Alvarado



ALVARADO.

had irritated in his absence. Upon this he resolved to try the interposition of Montezuma, who accordingly addressed his subjects in favour of the Spaniards; but during this speech he was wounded with two arrows, and knocked down with a stone: whereupon finding that he had lost the regard of his people, he killed himself, by obstinately refusing all nourishment.

Upon the emperor's death, Cortes prepared for a retreat, which the



CORTES OVERLOOKING THE PLAINS OF OTUMBA.

Mexicans resolved to prevent. The consequence was, a very bloody engagement, wherein Cortes himself had nearly lost his life, and more than one half of his army perished.

Having, however, retreated to Otumba, he found an immense army of the Mexicans posted in the plain, along the road to Tlascala. Yet Cortes ventured to attack them, and, notwithstanding their incredible multitude, completely defeated them, on the 7th July, 1520, and his troops obtained an immense quantity of plunder. After this he entered Tlascala, where he was joyfully received. But all Cortes's efforts could not have saved him from destruction, if he had not unexpectedly received a reinforcement of Spanish troops.

The governor of Cuba, confident that Narvaez had been successful, sent two ships, with a supply of men and military stores. The officer appointed by Cortes on the coast decoyed them into the harbour of Vera Cruz, seized the ships, and easily persuaded the men to follow the standard of Cortes, who was soon farther reinforced by the troops of other three ships from Jamaica, and a fourth from Spain. He was now at the head of about six hundred men, besides ten thousand Tlascalans, with whom he began his march to Mexico, on the 28th December, six months after he had left it.

Montezuma had been succeeded by his brother *Quetlavaca*, who dying soon after of the small-pox, his nephew, *Guatimozin*, was raised to be the last monarch of Mexico. Cortes and his troops entered his territory with little difficulty; took possession of Tezcuco, the second city in the empire,

on the banks of the lake, twenty miles from Mexico; and deposed the cacique, substituting another who claimed superior right, and who thus became devoted to Cortes. Here he got his fleet completed, which had been begun by Montezuma's orders. He was soon joined by a number of disaffected cities and states, who were weary of the Mexican yoke. Meantime four ships arrived at Vera Cruz from Hispaniola, with two hundred more troops, arms, ammunition, and two battering cannons.

On the 28th April, the fleet was launched, and Cortes prepared to attack the city. As the Spaniards under Alvarado and Olid proceeded to their posts, they broke down the aqueducts for conveying water to the



OLID.

capital, which distressed the Mexicans exceedingly. Guatimozin collected all his forces to oppose them, and to destroy the ships, and almost covered the lake with canoes for that purpose; but the brigantines, with irresistible impetuosity, upset their feeble opponents, and dissipated the whole Mexican armament with incredible slaughter.

Cortes next formed his fleet into three divisions, from all which he pushed on the attack of the city with vigour; but the obstinate valour of the Mexicans rendered all his efforts fruitless for a considerable time. At length he determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city; but by an error of his officer *Alderette*, the Spaniards were repulsed with great slaughter, and forty of his troops were taken and sacrificed to Mexitli.

The Mexicans, elated with this success, spread a report that their god had declared, that in *eight days* the Spaniards should be destroyed. But Cortes effectually defeated the effect of this prophecy, and restored the

confidence of his Indian allies, who put some faith in it, by remaining totally inactive till that period was expired. The consequence of this was, that he was soon after joined by one hundred and forty thousand Indians. These numerous allies enabled him to shut up the city by land, while his ships prevented all access of supplies by water.

Famine, infection, and mortality followed; yet in the midst of all this distress, Guatimozin scorned every overture of peace, till three-fourths of the city were in ruins; when Guatimozin was taken prisoner with his empress and children, attempting to escape in a canoe, while his nobles were endeavouring to amuse Cortes with a negotiation. The capture of Guatimozin was effected by Garcia Holguin, acting under the immediate

orders of Sandoval, on the 13th of August, 1521. When conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a suppliant. "I have done," said he, "what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can be no longer of use."

As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital which yet remained undestroyed. Thus terminated the siege of



SANDOVAL.

Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued seventy-five days, hardly one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of the one party or the other. As the struggle was more obstinate, it was likewise more equal, than any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds.

The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise, if they had trusted for success to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbours who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to shake off its yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt.

The exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprise, was at first excessive. But this was quickly damped by the disappointment of those sanguine hopes which had animated them amidst

many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's treasures, and the ornaments of so many temples, their rapaciousness could collect only an inconsiderable booty of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, amidst ruins and desolation. Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what remained of the riches amassed by his ancestors to be thrown into the lake. The Indian auxiliaries, while the Spaniards were engaged with the enemy, had carried off the most valuable part of the spoil.

The sum to be divided among the conquerors was so small, that many of them disdained to accept of the pittance which fell to their share, and all murmured and exclaimed, some against Cortes and his confidants, whom they suspected of having secretly appropriated to their own use a large portion of the riches which should have been brought into the common stock; others against Guatimozin, whom they accused of obstinacy, in refusing to discover the place where he had hidden his treasure. Arguments, entreaties, and promises, were employed in order to soothe them; but with so little effect, that Cortes, from solicitude to check this growing spirit of discontent, gave way to a deed which stained the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, with his chief favourite, to torture, in order to extort from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed.



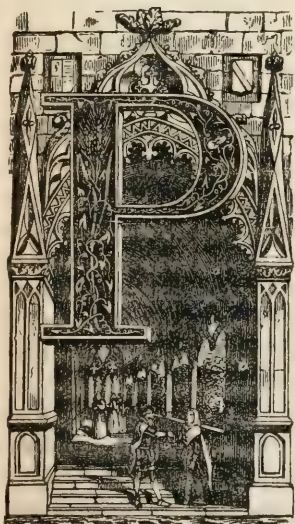
GUATIMOZIN bore the refined cruelty of his tormentors with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected eye towards his master, which seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. But the high-spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority mingled with scorn, checked his weakness, by asking, "Am I

now reposing on a bed of flowers?" Overawed by the reproach, he persevered in his dutiful silence, and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers. The fate of the capital decided that of the empire. The provinces submitted one after another to the conquerors; and the empire of Mexico hath ever since remained in the hands of the Spaniards, and their descendants the Hispano-Mexicans.



ALMAGRO.

THE CONQUEST OF PERU.



PERU was discovered by the Spaniards, and the first intelligence they had of it was from Nunez de Balboa, who had been raised to the government of Santa Maria in Darien, and who had accidentally learned from a young cacique, that there was a country abounding with gold about six days' journey to the south. Balboa's expedition of discovery we have already noticed, as well as his death by the tyranny of Pedrarias.

On the death of Balboa, farther discoveries were laid aside for some time; but there were three persons at Panama who determined to go in quest of this country. These were *Francis Pizarro*, *Diego de Almagro*, and *Hernand Luque*. Pizarro and Almagro were soldiers of fortune, and Luque was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and schoolmaster at Panama. Their confederacy was authorized by Pedrarias; and each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure.

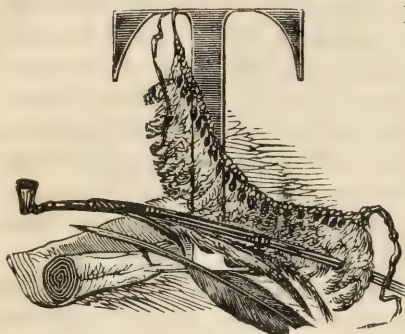
Pizarro, being the least wealthy, engaged to take upon himself the greatest share of the fatigue and danger, and to command the armament which was to go first upon the discovery. Almagro offered to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcements of troops; and Luque was to remain at Panama, to superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest.

In 1524, Pizarro set sail from Panama with a single vessel of small burden, and a hundred and twelve men, in the most improper season of the whole year—the periodical winds, which were then set in, being directly opposite. The consequence was, that after beating about for seventy days, with much danger and fatigue, he had advanced scarce as far to the south-east as a skilful navigator will now make in three days. He touched at several places of Terra Firma, and at the Pearl Islands, where he was found by Almagro, who had set out in quest of him with a reinforcement of seventy men, and had suffered similar distresses, besides losing an eye in a combat with the Indians. But the country of Popayan, showing a better aspect, and the inhabitants more friendly, they determined not to abandon their scheme.

Almagro returned to Panama, but the bad accounts of the service gave his countrymen such an unfavourable idea of it, that Almagro could levy only eighty men. The disaster and disappointments they met with, in this new attempt, were scarce inferior to those they had already experienced, when part of the armament at last reached the bay of St. Matthew, on the coast of Quito, and landed at Tacamez, where they met with a more fertile and champaign country than any they had yet seen; the natives also being more civilized, and clothed in cotton or woollen stuffs, adorned with gold and silver. But some of the adventurers had informed their friends of their many dangers and losses, which weighed so much with Peter de los Rios, the successor of Pedrarias, that he prohibited the raising of new recruits, and even despatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro and Luque advised Pizarro not to relinquish an enterprise on which they had built all their hopes. He therefore refused to obey the governor's orders, and entreated his men not to abandon him. But the calamities to which they had been exposed had such an effect, that when he drew a line upon the sand with his sword, telling such as wished to return, that they might pass over it, only thirteen remained with him.

Pizarro with his little troop now fixed their residence on the island of Gorgona, where they continued five months in the most unwholesome climate imaginable, when a vessel arrived from Panama, in consequence of the solicitations of Almagro and Luque, who had prevailed on the governor to send a small vessel to their relief. They therefore sailed to the south-east, and in twenty days discovered the coast of Peru.

They arrived at Tumbez, remarkable for its stately temple, and a palace of the Incas or sovereigns of the country. Here they found the reports concerning the riches of the country were true; not only ornaments and sacred vessels being made of gold and silver, but even such as were for common use. Yet to attempt the conquest of this opulent empire with their slender force, would have been madness; they contented themselves with viewing it, procuring two of the beasts called *Llamas*, some vessels of gold and silver, and two young men, whom they instructed in the Castilian language. With these Pizarro arrived at Panama in 1527.



THE empire of Peru is said to have been originally possessed by independent tribes, reckoned among the most savage in America; living more like wild beasts than men. For several ages they lived in this manner, when there appeared on the banks of a lake called *Titiaca*, a man and woman of majestic form, and clothed in decent garments. They declared

themselves to be the children of the sun, sent by their beneficent parent to instruct and reclaim mankind. The names of these extraordinary personages were *Manco Capac* and *Mama Ocla*. At their persuasion, several of the dispersed savages united, and, receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they settled, and began to build a city.

Manco Capac instructed the men in all the useful arts; while Mama Ocla taught the women to spin and weave; after which Manco framed a code of laws for his new state. Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the Incas, or lords of Peru. At first its extent was small, reaching not above eight leagues from Cuzco. Within these limits, however, Manco exercised the most perfect despotism, and the same was maintained by his successors, all of whom were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as deities. Their blood was held to be sacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated. The family, thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distinguished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume.

When the Spaniards first visited this country, they found it agitated by civil war. Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder, was on the throne; a prince no less conspicuous for his abilities in war than for his pacific virtues. By him the kingdom of Quito was subdued, which almost doubled the extent of the Peruvian empire. Huana married the daughter

of the conquered monarch, by whom he had a son named *Atahualpa*, or *Atabalipa*, to whom, at his death in 1529, he left the kingdom of Quito, bestowing the rest of his dominions upon Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race. This produced a civil war, in which Atabalipa proved victorious, and afterwards, to secure himself on the throne, put to death all the descendants of Manco; but he spared the life of his rival and prisoner, Huascar, in order to govern in his name.

This contest had so much engaged the attention of the Peruvians, that they never attempted to check the progress of the Spaniards. The first intelligence Pizarro received of it was a message from Huascar, asking his assistance against Atabalipa. Pizarro therefore determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force.



LEAVING a garrison in St. Michael, he began his march with only sixty-two horsemen, and one hundred and two foot. He proceeded to Caxamalca, where Atabalipa was encamped, and was met by an officer with a valuable present from the Inca, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance. Pizarro pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, who wished to aid him against his enemies. As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country

was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, whether their new guests were beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions removed all the Inca's fears. The Spaniards were thus allowed to march across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupe, and through a defile in the mountains so narrow and inaccessible that a few men might have defended it. As they approached to Caxamalca, Atabalipa sent them presents of still greater value.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the sun, surrounded with a strong rampart. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he despatched Hernando Soto, and his brother Ferdinand, to the camp of Atabalipa, to desire an interview with the Inca. They were treated respectfully, and Atabalipa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects obeyed his commands, astonished the Spaniards. But their eyes were more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in his camp.

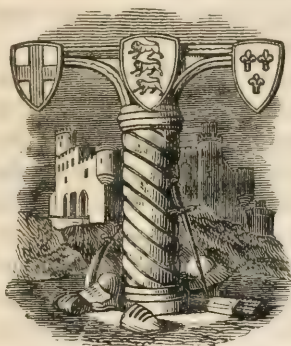


PIZARRO ENTERING CAXAMALCA.

On their return to Caxamalca, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken, as daring as it was perfidious. He determined to avail himself of Atabalipa's unsuspecting simplicity, and to seize his person during the interview. He divided his cavalry into three squadrons, under his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry was formed into one body, except twenty of the most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross-bow men, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atabalipa was to approach. Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atabalipa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations were so tedious that the day was far advanced before he began his march.

At length the Inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men in a uniform dress, as harbingers. He himself, sitting on a throne, almost covered with gold, silver, and precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came his chief officers. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to above thirty thousand men. As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's

vicegerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolical power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by Pope Alexander of all the regions in the New World ; and required Atabalipa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign ; promising if he complied, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in his royal authority ; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.



HIS strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter that it was incomprehensible to Atabalipa. But some parts in it, of obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He said that he was lord of his own dominions by hereditary right ; that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of ter-

ritories which did not belong to him ; that he, being the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it ; that he would not forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he revered, to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death ; that with respect to other matters, as he had never heard of them before, he desired to know where he had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear : "This," says he, "is silent, it tells me nothing ;" and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running to his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms ! the word of God is insulted ! avenge this profanation on these impious dogs."

Pizarro immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the unexpected attack, fled with universal consternation, without attempting to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca ; and though his nobles crowded around him with zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat ; and Pizarro, seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him a prisoner to his quarters.

The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and, with deliberate

and unrelenting barbarity, continued to slaughter the wretched, unresisting fugitives. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, slightly.

The plunder taken was immense, but the Spaniards were still unsatisfied; which being observed by the Inca, he endeavoured to apply himself to their ruling passion, avarice, to obtain his liberty; and therefore offered such a ransom as quite astonished them. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length, and sixteen in breadth; and all this space he engaged to fill with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. This proposal was eagerly caught by Pizarro, and a line was drawn upon the walls to mark the stipulated height.

Atabalipa, anxious for his liberty, immediately despatched messengers into all parts of the empire, to collect the immense quantity of gold which he had promised; and though the unfortunate monarch was now in the hands of his enemies, such was the veneration which his subjects had for him, that his orders were obeyed with as great alacrity as if he had been at full liberty. In a short time Pizarro received intelligence that Almagro was arrived at St. Michael with a reinforcement. This was a matter of no small vexation to Atabalipa, who now considered his kingdom as in danger of being totally overrun by these strangers. For this reason he ordered his brother Huascar to be put to death, lest he should join against him.



At the mean time, the Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca with vast quantities of treasure; the sight of which so much inflamed the Spaniards, that they insisted upon an immediate division; this being complied with, there fell to the share of each horseman eight thousand dollars, and half as much to each foot soldier, Pizarro and his officers receiving shares proportionable to their dignity. A fifth part was reserved for the emperor, together with some vessels of curious workmanship.

After this, Atabalipa was very importunate with Pizarro to recover his liberty; but the Spaniard, with unparalleled treachery and cruelty, had now determined to put him to death. But, to give some show of justice to this detestable action, Pizarro instituted a court of judicature for trying him. He appointed himself and Almagro, with two assistants, as judges; an attorney-general to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks to record the proceedings.

Before this strange tribunal, a charge was exhibited still more amazing: That Atabalipa, though a bastard, had usurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had offered up human sacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines, &c



PIZARRO.

On these heads they proceeded to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom they had no jurisdiction. To all these charges the Inca pleaded not guilty. He called heaven and earth to witness the integrity of his conduct, and how faithfully he had performed his engagements, and the perfidy of his accusers. He desired to be sent over to Spain to take his trial before the emperor; but no regard was paid to his entreaties. He was condemned to be burned alive, which cruel sentence was mitigated to strangling; and the unhappy monarch was executed without mercy. Hideous cries were set up by his women as the funeral procession passed by their apartment; many offered to bury themselves alive with him; and on being hindered, strangled themselves out of grief. The whole town of Caxamalca was filled with lamentations, which quickly extended over the whole kingdom.

The murder of Atabalipa did no service to the Spaniards. Friends and enemies accused him of inhumanity and treachery. Loads of gold that were coming to Caxamalca, by order of the deceased Inca, were now stopped; which was the first unfortunate consequence of their late iniquitous conduct. The two factions of Indians united against Pizarro; and many of the Spaniards not only exclaimed against the cruelty of the judges, but would even have mutinied, had not a sense of the impending danger kept them quiet.

At Cuzco the friends of Huascar proclaimed Manco Capac the legitimate brother of the late Inca. Pizarro set up Taparpa, the son of Atabalipa, as emperor. Immediately he set out for Cuzco. An army of Indians opposed his progress, but the Spanish cavalry bore down every thing before them. The conquerors gained a great booty, and Pizarro despatched Almagro to reduce Cuzco, while he himself founded a new colony in Xauna.

Ferdinand de Soto was detached with sixty horse to Cuzco, to clear the road for the remainder of the army. Meantime, Taparpa died, and as the Spaniards set up no person in his room, the title of Manco Capac was universally acknowledged.

A new supply of soldiers arriving from Spain, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, undertook an expedition against Quito, where Atabalipa had left the greatest part of his treasure. He accomplished his purpose with difficulty, but found that the inhabitants had carried off all their gold and silver.

About the same time Alvarado, governor of Guatemala, invaded Chili. In this expedition his troops endured such hardships and suffered so much from the cold among the Andes, that a fifth part of the men and all the horses died, and the rest were so much dispirited and emaciated, that they became quite unfit for service. Alvarado then returned to his government, but most of his followers enlisted under Pizarro.

In the mean time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain, where he produced such immense quantities of gold and silver as quite astonished the court. The general's authority was confirmed with new powers: Almagro had the title of *governor* conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of a country lying south of the province allotted to Pizarro.

Pizarro then settled the internal policy of his province, and removed the seat of government from Cuzco to Lima. Meantime, Almagro had set out on his expedition to Chili. Pizarro encouraged his most distinguished officers to invade those provinces which had not yet been visited by the Spaniards.

No sooner did Manco Capac perceive the Spaniards thus dividing their forces, than he seized the opportunity of making one vigorous effort to redress the wrongs of his countrymen, and expel the cruel invaders. Though strictly guarded by the Spaniards, he found means to communicate his intentions to the chief men of his nation, whom he joined in 1536, under pretence of celebrating a festival which he had obtained liberty from Pizarro to attend. Upon this an army of two hundred thousand men collected. Many Spaniards were massacred, and several detachments cut off; and while this vast army laid siege to Cuzco, another formidable body invested Lima, and kept the governor shut up.

The greatest effort, however, was made against Cuzco, which was defended by Pizarro and his two brothers, with only a hundred and seventy men.

The siege lasted nine months; many Spaniards were killed, among whom was John Pizarro, the general's brother, and the best of them all. The rest were reduced to the most desperate situation, when Almagro appeared near Cuzco. He had now received the royal patent, creating him governor of Chili. On his arrival his assistance was solicited by both parties. The Inca made many advantageous proposals, but at length attacked him in the night by surprise, with a great body of chosen troops. But the Spanish valour and discipline prevailed, and the Peruvians were repulsed with such slaughter, that the remainder dispersed, and Almagro advanced to Cuzco.



IZARRO'S brother took measures to oppose his entrance; but while prudence restrained both parties from entering into a civil war, each leader endeavoured to corrupt the followers of his antagonist. In this Almagro had the advantage; and so many of Pizarro's troops deserted in the night, that Almagro was encouraged to advance towards the city, where he surprised the sentinels, and investing the house where the two brothers were lodged, he compelled

them, after an obstinate defence, to surrender; and Almagro's authority over Cuzco was immediately recognised. But Francis Pizarro, having dispersed the Peruvians who invested Lima, and received considerable reinforcements from other provinces, ordered five hundred men under Alonzo de Alvarado to march to Cuzco to relieve his brothers. Almagro attacked him by surprise, defeated and dispersed his army, taking himself and some of his principal officers prisoners.

This victory seemed decisive; and Almagro was advised to make it so by putting to death Gonzalo and Ferdinando Pizarro, and Alvarado. This advice, however, he declined from humanity; and instead of marching directly against Pizarro, he retired to Cuzco, which gave his adversary time to recollect himself; and Almagro again suffered himself to be deceived by pretended offers of pacification.

The negotiations were protracted for several months; Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado bribed the soldiers who guarded them, and escaped with sixty of Almagro's men. The general next proposed that all disputes should be submitted to their sovereign; and on this principle, Almagro released those whom Pizarro wanted; which he had no sooner done, than the latter set out for Cuzco with an army of seven hundred men, to which Almagro had only five hundred to oppose; advanced without obstruction



ALMAGRO TAKEN PRISONER.

and an engagement soon followed, in which Almagro was defeated and taken prisoner.

The conquerors behaved with great cruelty, massacring a great number of officers. The Indians had assembled in great numbers to see the battle, with an intention to join the vanquished; but were so much overawed by the Spaniards, that they retired after the battle was over, and thus lost the only opportunity they ever had of expelling their tyrants. Almagro was at length tried, and condemned by Pizarro; and he was first strangled in prison, and then beheaded. He left one son by an Indian woman, whom he appointed his successor.

As during these dissensions all intercourse with Spain ceased, it was some time before the accounts of the civil war were received at court. The first intelligence was given by some of Almagro's soldiers, who had left America on the ruin of their cause; and they did not fail to represent the injustice and violence of Pizarro in their proper colours, which strongly prejudiced the emperor against him.

In a short time, however, Ferdinand Pizarro arrived, and endeavoured to give matters a new turn. The emperor was uncertain which of them to believe, but resolved to send over one he could trust to investigate the matter. Meantime, Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to prison, where he remained twenty years.

The person nominated to regulate affairs in Peru was Christopher Vaca Di Castro. While Di Castro was preparing for his voyage, Pizarro, considering himself as the unrivalled master of Peru, proceeded to parcel out its



PEDRO DE VALDIVIA.

territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction with the illiberal spirit of a party-leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned.

The followers of Almagro, among whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valour Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded. They therefore murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satiated. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces; and though exposed to great hardships in the cold regions of the Andes and amidst the woods and marshes, they made considerable discoveries and conquests.

Pedro de Valdivia reassumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili; and made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago. But the enterprise of Gonzalez Pizarro was the most remarkable. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, near one-half of whom were horsemen, with four thousand Indians. Excess of cold and fatigue proved fatal to the greater part of

these last. The Spaniards, though more robust, suffered considerably ; but when they descended into the low country, their distress increased.

During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather to dry their clothes. The vast plains upon which they were now entering, either without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the New World, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but through woods or marshes. Such incessant toil, and scarcity of food, would have dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards were insuperable ; they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Napo, one of the large rivers which run into the Maragnon. There, with infinite labour, they built a barque, which was manned with fifty soldiers, under *Francis Orellana*. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far ahead of their countrymen, who followed slowly by land.

At this distance from his commander, Orellana formed the scheme of distinguishing himself, by following the course of the Maragnon until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme was as bold as it was treacherous ; for, if he violated his duty to his commander, and abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a pathless desert, his crime is somewhat balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect.

Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the south until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. He sometimes seized by force the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks, and sometimes procured a supply of food by a friendly intercourse.

After a long series of dangers and distresses, which he encountered with amazing magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlement in the island Cubagua ; whence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, prompted him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvelous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold ; and described a republic of Amazons so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited ; fables hardly yet exploded. The voyage, however, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event that led to any

certain knowledge of those immense regions that stretch east from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the barque at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to see the barque appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had remonstrated against his perfidy. From him he had learned the extent of Orellana's crime; and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation. The spirit of the stoutest-hearted veteran sunk within him; and all demanded to be led back instantly.

Pizarro was now one thousand two hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those they had endured in their progress outward. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword belts: four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild and disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were aboard the barque with Orellana, only eighty got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men. But Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made the partial division of his conquests above-mentioned, the adherents of Almagro no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition.



GREAT numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them: and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which he enjoyed, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests,

was transferred to his son, who was now grown up to manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and the accomplishments he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers. The Almagrians, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses.

Many of them, destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But, either from his native intrepidity, or from contempt of persons whose poverty rendered their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. This gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen their scheme; and John de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the lead in their consultations.

On Sunday, the 26th of June, at mid-day, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house in armour; and drawing their swords, as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die." Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by a numerous train of attendants, yet as he was just risen from the table, and most of his domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators were at the bottom of the staircase before a page in waiting could give the alarm.

The governor, whom no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francis de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer running to the top of the staircase, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant? Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. A few, drawing their swords, followed Pizarro into an inner apartment. The conspirators rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry, and, supported by his half-brother Alcantara and his friends, maintained the unequal contest with the vigour of a youthful combatant. But the armour of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect.



ALCANTARA fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defendants were mortally wounded; and the governor, no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed against him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk, and expired. As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city; and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government.

The palace of Pizarro, with the houses of his adherents, were pillaged by the soldiers. The new governor marched into the heart of the empire, to reduce such places as refused to acknowledge his authority. A multitude of ruffians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had lost his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the snares that were laid for him by Peter Alvares, who had put himself at the head of the opposite party.



VACA DI CASTRO.

In the mean time, Vaca Di Castro, who had been sent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to assume the government in case Pizarro was no more, all who had not sold themselves to the tyrant hastened to acknowledge him. Castro instantly led them against the enemy. The armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th September, 1542, and fought with inexpressible obstinacy. Victory decided in favour of Castro. Those among the rebels who were most guilty, dreading tortures, provoked the conquerors to murder them, crying out, *It was I who killed Pizarro*. Their chief was taken prisoner and died on the scaffold. While these scenes of horror were transacting in America, the Spaniards were employed in finding out expedients to terminate them; though no measures had been taken to prevent them. Peru had only been made subject to the audience of Panama, which was too remote. A supreme tribunal was established at Lima for the dispensation

of justice, with authority to enforce and reward a due obedience to the laws.

Blasco Nunez Vela, who presided in it as viceroy, arrived in 1544, attended by his subordinates in office, and found every thing in the most dreadful disorder. To put an end to these tumults which now subsisted, would have required a profound genius, and many other qualities which are seldom united. Nunez had none of these advantages. He, indeed, possessed probity, firmness, and ardour; but he had taken no pains to improve these gifts. With these virtues, which were almost defects in his situation, he began to fulfil his commission, without regard to places, persons, or circumstances. Contrary to the opinion of all intelligent persons, who wished that he should wait for fresh instructions from Europe, he published ordinances, which declared that the lands the conquerors had seized should not pass to their descendants, and which dispossessed those who had taken part in the civil commotions.

All the Peruvians who had been enslaved by monks, bishops, and persons belonging to the government, were declared free. Other tyrannical establishments also would soon have been proscribed; and the conquered people were on the eve of being sheltered under the protection of laws, which would at least have tempered the rigours of the right of conquest, if even they had not entirely repaired the injustice of them; but the Spanish government was to be unfortunate even in the good it attempted to effect. A change so unexpected filled those with consternation, who saw their fortunes thus wrested from them. From astonishment they proceeded to indignation, murmuring, and sedition. The viceroy was degraded, put in irons, and banished to a desert island, till he could be conveyed to Spain.

Gonzales Pizarro was then returned from his hazardous expedition, which had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part in those revolutions which had so rapidly succeeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inspired him with the idea of seizing the supreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impossible that this should be refused him; but his usurpation was marked with so many enormities, that Nunez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and soon collected a sufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field. Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was asked or given on either side.

The Indians took part in this as they had done in the preceding wars; some ranged themselves under the standard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. From fifteen to twenty thousand of these unhappy wretches, who were scattered about in each army, dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, carried the baggage, and destroyed one another. Their conquerors had taught them to be sanguinary.

After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune, at length, favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito, in January, 1545; and Nunez with the greatest part of his men was massacred. Pizarro took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they should receive him. Gonzales contented himself with making his entrance on horseback, preceded by his lieutenant, who marched on foot. Four bishops and the magistrates accompanied him. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the air resounded with music. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas.

Had Gonzales possessed both judgment and moderation, he might have rendered himself independent. The principal persons of his party wished it. Instead of this, he acted with blind cruelty, insatiable avarice, and unbounded pride. Even those whose interests were connected with those of the tyrant, wished for a deliverer. Such a deliverer arrived from Europe, in the person of Peter Di la Gasca. The squadron and the provinces of the mountains immediately declared for a person, who was invested with a lawful authority to govern them. Those who had lived concealed in deserts, caverns, and forests, joined him.

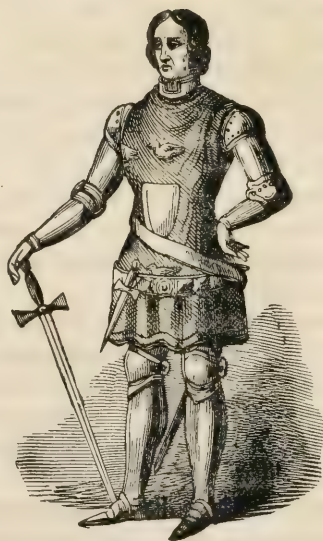
Gonzales met the royal army, and attacked it on the 9th of June, 1548. One of his lieutenants, seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him to throw himself into the enemy's battalions, and perish like a Roman; but this weak man chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Carvajal, a more able warrior, and more ferocious than himself, was quartered. This man, when he was expiring, boasted that he had massacred, with his own hand, fourteen hundred Spaniards and twenty thousand Indians.

Such was the last scene of a tragedy, of which every act had been marked with blood. The government was moderate enough not to continue the proscription; and the remembrance of the horrid calamities they had suffered kept the Spaniards in subjection. The commotion insensibly sunk into a calm; and the country remained quiet while it continued under the Spanish rule.

With regard to the Peruvians, the most cruel measures were taken to render it impossible for them to rebel. Tupac Amaru, the heir of their last king, had taken refuge in some remote mountains, where he lived in peace. There he was so closely surrounded by the troops sent out against him, that he was forced to surrender. The viceroy Francis De Toledo caused him to be accused of several pretended crimes, and he was beheaded in 1571. All the other descendants of the Incas shared a similar fate.

The horror of these enormities excited so universal an indignation both in the Old and New World, that Philip II. disavowed them; but the infa-

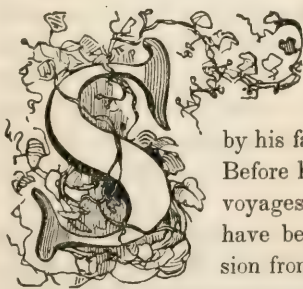
mous policy of this prince was so notorious, that no credit was given to this pretence to justice and humanity. Only one attempt has since been made by the aboriginal Peruvians, to recover their independence, and throw off the Spanish yoke. An Indian of the province of Xauxas, who boasted his descent from the ancient Incas, was proclaimed king, in 1742. His countrymen, in the hopes of recovering their lands, their laws, their liberty and religion, flocked in crowds to his standard, but though at first successful, they were defeated and dispersed, after having made considerable progress.





SEBASTIAN CABOT.

DISCOVERIES OF CABOT.



SEBASTIAN CABOT, the first discoverer of the continent of America, was the son of John Cabot, a Venetian. He was born at Bristol, England, in 1477; and was taught by his father arithmetic, geometry, and cosmography. Before he was twenty years of age he made several voyages. The first of any consequence seems to have been made with his father, who had a commission from Henry VII. for the discovery of a north-west passage to India.

They sailed in the spring of 1497, and proceeding to the north-west, they discovered land, which for that reason they called *Prima-vista*, or *New-found-land*. Another smaller island they called *St. John*, from its being discovered on the feast of St. John Baptist; after which, they sailed along the coast of the American continent, as far as Cape Florida, and then returned with a good cargo, and three Indians aboard, to England, where they met with a gracious reception. Purchas justly observes, that America should have been called *Cabotiana*, or *Sebastiana*, as Cabot

discovered more of it than either Columbus or Vespucci; and he certainly discovered that great continent before either of them. Stowe and Speed ascribe these discoveries wholly to Sebastian, without mentioning his father.



It is probable that Sebastian, after his father's death, made several voyages to these parts, as a map of his discoveries, drawn by himself, was hung up in the privy garden at Whitehall. However, history gives but little account of his life for near twenty years; when he went to Spain, where he was made pilot-major, and intrusted with reviewing all projects for discoveries, which were then very numerous. His great capacity and approved integrity induced many eminent merchants to treat with him about a voyage by the newly discovered straits of Magellan to the Moluccas. He therefore sailed in 1525, first to the Canaries; then to the Cape Verd islands; thence to St. Augustine, and the island of Patos; when some of his people beginning to be mutinous, and refusing to pass through the straits, he laid aside the design of sailing to the Moluccas; left some of the principal mutineers upon a desert island; and, sailing up the rivers of Plata and Paraguay, discovered, and built forts in a large tract of fine country, that produced gold, silver, and other rich commodities. He thence despatched messengers to Spain for a supply of provisions, ammunition, goods for trade, and a recruit of men: but his request not being readily complied with, after staying five years in America, he then returned home; where he met with a cold reception, the merchants being displeased at his not having pursued his voyage to the Moluccas, while his treatment of the mutineers had given umbrage at court. Hence he returned to England; and being introduced to the Duke of Somerset, then lord protector, a new office was erected for him: he was made governor of the mystery and company of the merchant adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown; a pension was granted him, by letters patent, of one hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence per annum; and he was consulted in all affairs relative to trade.

In 1522, by his advice, the court fitted out some ships for the discovery of the northern parts of the world. This produced the first voyage the English made to Russia, and the beginning of that commerce which has ever since been carried on between the two nations. The Russia company was now founded by a charter granted by Philip and Mary; and of this company Sebastian was appointed governor for life. He is said to be the first who took notice of the variation of the needle, and who published a map of the world; and he was undoubtedly the founder of the maritime strength of Britain, which has since made that nation so flourishing. The exact time of his death is not known, but he lived to be above seventy years of age.



CARTIER TAKING POSSESSION OF NEW FRANCE.

DISCOVERIES OF CARTIER.



THOUGH the English did not prosecute the discovery made by the Cabots, nor avail themselves of the only advantages which it could have afforded them ; yet their neighbours of Brittany,* Normandy, and Biscay, wisely pursued the tract of those adventurers, and took vast quantities of cod on the banks of Newfoundland.

It is remarkable that the three great European kingdoms, Spain, England, and France, made use of three Italians, to conduct their discoveries : Columbus, a Genoese ; Cabot, a Venetian ; and Verazzani, a Florentine

* It is supposed that the island of Cape Breton took its name from the Bretons, the fishermen of Brittany.

This is a proof that among the Italians there were at that time persons superior in maritime knowledge to the other nations of Europe; though the penurious spirit of those republics, their mutual jealousy and petty wars, made them overlook the benefits resulting from extensive enterprises, and leave the vast regions of the New World to be occupied by others.

The voyages of Verazzani having produced no addition to the revenue of France, all further attempts to perfect his discoveries were laid aside; but the fishery being found conducive to the commercial interest, it was at length conceived that a plantation in the neighbourhood of the bank might be advantageous. This being represented to King Francis I., by Chabot the admiral, *James Cartier*,* of St. Malo, was commissioned to explore the country, with a view to find a place for a colony.†

On the 20th of April, 1534, he sailed from St. Malo, with two ships of sixty tons, and one hundred and twenty-two men; and on the 10th of May, came in sight of Bonavista, on the island of Newfoundland. But the ice which lay along the shore obliged him to go southward; and he entered a harbour, to which he gave the name of *St. Catherine*;‡ where he waited for fair weather, and fitted his boats.

As soon as the season would permit, he sailed northward, and examined several harbours and islands, on the coast of Newfoundland; in one of which he found such a quantity of birds, that in half an hour two boats were loaded with them; and after they had eaten as many as they could, five or six barrels full were salted for each ship. This place was called Bird Island.

Having passed Cape de Grat, the northern extremity of the land, he entered the Straits of Bellisle, and visited several harbours on the opposite coast of Labrador, one of which he called *Cartier's Sound*. The harbour is described as one of the best in the world; but the land is stigmatized as the place to which Cain was banished; no vegetation being produced among the rocks, but thorns and moss. Yet, bad as it was, there were inhabitants in it, who lived by catching seals, and seemed to be a wandering tribe.§

In circumnavigating the great island of Newfoundland, they found the weather in general cold; but when they had crossed the gulf, in a south-westerly direction to the continent, they came into a deep bay, where the climate was so warm that they named it *Baye de Chaleur*, or the Bay of Heat. Here were several kinds of wild berries, roses, and meadows of grass. In the fresh waters they caught salmon in great plenty.

Having searched in vain for a passage through the bay, they quitted it, and sailed along the coast, eastward, till they came to the smaller Bay of

* His name is sometimes written *Quartier*.

† Called in some maps *Catalina*.

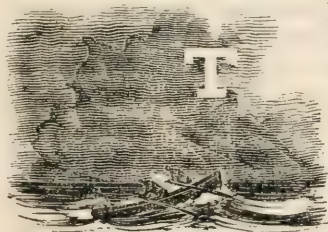
‡ Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 435

§ Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 201-211.

Gaspè; where they sought shelter from a tempest, and were detained twelve days in the month of July. In this place Cartier performed the ceremony of taking possession for the king of France. A cross, thirty feet high, was erected on a point of land. On this cross was suspended a shield, with the arms of France, and the words *Vive le Roy de France*. Before it the people kneeled, uncovered; with their hands extended, and their eyes lifted toward heaven. The natives, who were present, beheld the ceremony, at first with silent admiration; but, after a while, an old man, clad in a bear's skin, made signs to them that the land was his, and that they should not have it, without his leave. They then informed him, by signs, that the cross was intended only as a mark of direction, by which they might again find the port; and they promised to return the next year, and to bring iron and other commodities.

They thought proper, however, to conciliate the old man's good will, by entertaining him on board the ship, and making him several presents; by which means they so prevailed on him that he permitted Cartier to carry two of his sons, young men, to France, on the security of a promise that he would bring them back, at his return the next spring.

From Gaspè, he sailed so far into the Great River, afterwards called St. Lawrence, as to discover land on the opposite side; but the weather being boisterous, and the current setting against him, he thought it best to return to Newfoundland, and then to France; where he arrived safe in the harbour of St. Malo, on the 5th of September.



THE discoveries made in this voyage excited farther curiosity; and the Vice-Admiral Melleraye represented Cartier's merits to the king so favourably as to procure for him a more ample equipment. Three ships, one of one hundred and twenty, one of sixty, and one of forty tons, were destined to perform another voyage, in the ensuing spring; and several young men of distinction entered as volunteers, to seek adventures in the New World. When they were ready to sail, the whole company, after the example of Columbus, went in procession to church, on Whitsunday, where the bishop of St. Malo pronounced his blessing on them. They sailed on the 19th of May, 1535. Meeting with tempestuous weather, the ships were separated; and did not join again, till Cartier, in the largest ship, arrived at Bird Island; where he again filled his boats with fowls; and, on the 26th of July, was joined by the other vessels.

From Bird Island, they pursued the same course as in the preceding summer; and having come into the gulf on the western side of Newfoundland, gave it the name of St. Lawrence. Here they saw abundance of

whales. Passing between the island of Assumption (since called Anticosti) and the northern shore, they sailed up the great river, till they came to a branch on the northern side, which the young natives who were on board called Saguenay; the main river they told him would carry him to Hochelaga, the capital of the whole country.

After spending some time in exploring the northern coast, to find an opening to the northward; in the beginning of September, 1835, he sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and discovered several islands; one of which, from the multitude of filberts, he called *Coudres*; and another, from the vast quantity of grapes, he named *Bacchus*, (now Orleans.) This island was full of inhabitants who subsisted by fishing.

When the ships had come to anchor between the north-west side of the island and the main, Cartier went on shore with his two young savages. The people of the country were at first afraid of them; but hearing the youths speak to them in their own language, they became sociable, and brought eels and other fish, with a quantity of Indian corn in ears, for the refreshment of their new guests; in return for which, they were presented with such European baubles as were pleasing to them.

The next day, Donacona, the prince of the place came to visit them, attended by twelve boats; but keeping ten of them at a distance, he approached with two only, containing sixteen men. In the true spirit of hospitality, he made a speech, accompanied with significant gestures, welcoming the French to his country and offering his service to them. The young savages, Taignoagni and Domagana, answered him, reporting all which they had seen in France, at which he appeared to be pleased. Then approaching the captain, who held out his hand, he kissed it, and laid it round his own neck, in token of friendship. Cartier, on his part, entertained Donacona with bread and wine, and they parted mutually pleased.

The next day Cartier went up in his boat to find a harbour for his ships; the season being so far advanced that it became necessary to secure them. At the west end of the isle of Bacchus, he found "a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river and haven, about three fathom deep at high water." To this he gave the name of St. Croix, and determined there to lay up his ships.

Near this place was a village called Stadacona, of which Donacona was the lord. It was environed with forest trees, some of which bore fruit; and under the trees was a growth of wild hemp. As Cartier was returning to his ships, he had another specimen of the hospitable manners of the natives. A company of people, of both sexes, met him on the shore of the little river, singing and dancing, up to their knees in water. In return for their courtesy, he gave them knives and beads; and they continued their music till he was beyond hearing it.

When Cartier had brought his ships to the harbour and secured them he intimated his intention to pass in his boats up the river to Hochelaga. Donacona was loth to part with him ; and invented several artifices to prevent his going thither. Among others, he contrived to dress three of his men in black and white skins, with horns on their heads, and their faces besmeared with coal, to make them resemble infernal spirits. They were put into a canoe and passed by the ships, brandishing their horns and making an unintelligible harangue. Donacona, with his people, pursued and took them, on which they fell down as if dead. They were carried ashore into the woods, and all the savages followed them. A long discourse ensued, and the conclusion of the farce was, that these demons had brought news from the god of Hochelaga, that his country was so full of snow and ice, that whoever should adventure thither would perish with the cold. The artifice afforded diversion to the French, but was too thin to deceive them. Cartier determined to proceed ; and on the 19th of September, with his pinnace and two boats, began his voyage up the river to Hochelaga.

Among the woods, on the margin of the river, were many vines loaded with ripe grapes, than which, nothing could be a more welcome sight to Frenchmen, though the fruit was not so delicious as they had been used to taste in their own country. Along the banks were many huts of the natives, who made signs of joy as they passed, presented them with fish, piloted them through narrow channels, carried them ashore on their backs, and helped them to get off their boats when aground. Some presented their children to them, and such as were of proper age were accepted.



HE water at that time of the year being low, their passage was rendered difficult ; but by the friendly assistance of the natives they surmounted the obstructions. On the 28th of September, they passed the rapids between the islands in the upper part of the lake Angoulême, (now called St. Peters,) and on the 2d of October they arrived at the island of

Hochelaga, where they had been expected, and preparations were made to give them a welcome reception. About a thousand persons came to meet them, singing and dancing ; the men on one side, the women on the other, and the children in a distinct body. Presents of fish and other victuals were brought, and in return were given knives, beads, and other trinkets. The Frenchmen lodged the first night in their boats, and the natives watched on the shore, dancing round their fires during the whole night.

The next morning Cartier, with twenty-five of his company, went to visit the town, and were met on the way by a person of distinction, who bade them welcome. To him they gave two hatchets and two knives,

and hung over his neck a cross, which they taught him to kiss. As they proceeded, they passed through groves of oak, from which the acorns were falling, and lay thick on the ground. After this, they came to fields of ripe corn, some of which was gathered. In the midst of these fields was situate the town of Hochelaga.

It was of a round form, encompassed with three lines of palisades, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders, and heaps of stones were laid in proper places for defence. In the town were about fifty long huts, built with stakes and covered with bark. In the middle of each hut was a fire, round which were lodging-places, floored with bark, and covered with skins. In the upper part was a scaffold, on which they dried and preserved their corn. To prepare it for eating, they pounded it in wooden mortars, and having mixed it with water, baked it on hot stones. Besides corn, they had beans, squashes, and pumpkins. They dried their fish and preserved them in troughs. These people lived chiefly by tillage and fishing, and seldom went far from home. Those on the lower parts of the river were more given to hunting, and considered the lord of Hochelaga as their sovereign, to whom they paid tribute.

When the new guests were conducted to an open square in the centre of the town, the females came to them, rubbing their hands and faces, weeping with joy at their arrival, and bringing their children to be touched by the strangers. They spread mats for them on the ground, while the men seated themselves in a large circle on the outside. The king was then brought in a litter, on the shoulders of ten men, and placed on a mat next to the French captain. He was about fifty years old, and had no mark of distinction but a coronet made of porcupine's quills dyed red; which he took off and gave to the captain, requesting him to rub his arms and legs, which were trembling with a palsy. Several persons, blind, lame, and withered with age, were also brought to be touched; as if they supposed that their new guests were messengers from heaven, invested with a power of healing diseases. Cartier gratified them as well as he could, by laying his hands on them and repeating some devotional passages from a service book, which he had in his pocket; accompanying his ejaculations with significant gestures, and lifting up his eyes to heaven. The natives attentively observed and imitated all his motions.

Having performed this ceremony, he desired the men, women, and children to arrange themselves in separate bodies. To the men he gave hatchets, to the women beads, and to the children rings. He then ordered his drums and trumpets to sound, which highly pleased the company and set them to dancing.

Being desirous of ascending the hill, under which the town was built, the natives conducted them to the summit, where they were entertained with a most extensive and beautiful prospect of mountains, woods, islands, and waters. They observed the course of the river above, and some falls of water in it; and the natives informed them that they might sail on it for three months; that it ran through two or three great lakes, beyond which was a sea of fresh water, to which they knew of no bounds; and that on the other side of the mountains there was another river which ran in a contrary direction, to the south-west, through a country full of delicious fruits and free from snow and ice; that there was found such metal as the captain's *silver* whistle, and the haft of a dagger belonging to one of the company, which was gilt with *gold*. Being shown some copper, they pointed to the northward, and said it came from Saguenay. To this hill Cartier gave the name of *Montreal*, which it has ever since retained.

The visit being finished, the natives accompanied the French to their boats, carrying such as were weary on their shoulders. They were loth to part with their guests, and followed them, along the shore of the river, to a considerable distance.

On the 4th of October, Cartier and his company departed from Hochelaga. In passing down the river, they erected a cross on the point of an island, which, with three others, lay in the mouth of a shallow river, on the north side, called Fouetz. On the 11th they arrived at the Port de St. Croix, and found that their companions had enclosed the ships with a palisade and rampart, on which they had mounted cannon.

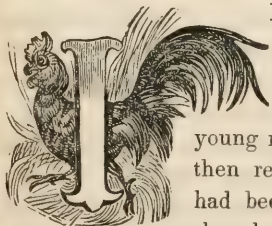
The next day Donacona invited them to his residence, where they were entertained with the usual festivity, and made the customary presents. They observed that these people used the leaves of an herb [tobacco] which they preserved in pouches made of skins, and smoked in stone pipes. It was very offensive to the French; but the natives valued it as contributing much to the preservation of their health. Their houses appeared to be well supplied with provisions. Among other things which were new to the French, they observed the scalps of five men, spread and dried like parchment. These were taken from their enemies, the Toudamani, who came from the south, and were continually at war with them.

Being determined to spend the winter among these friendly people, they traded with them for the provisions which they could spare, and the river supplied them with fish till it was hard frozen.

In December, the scurvy began to make its appearance among the natives, and Cartier prohibited all intercourse with them; but it was not long before his own men were taken with it. It raged with uncontrolled violence for above two months, and by the middle of February, out of

one hundred and ten persons, fifty were sick at once, and eight or ten had died.

In this extremity Cartier appointed a day of solemn humiliation and prayer. A crucifix was placed on a tree, and as many as were able to walk went in procession, through the ice and snow, singing the seven penitential psalms, and performing other devotional exercises. At the close of the solemnity Cartier made a vow, that "if it would please God to permit him to return to France, he would go in pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemado." But it was necessary to watch as well as pray. To prevent the natives from knowing their weak and defenceless state, he obliged all who were able, to make as much noise as possible with axes and hammers; and told the natives that his men were all busily employed, and that he would not suffer any of them to go from the ships till their work was done. The ships were fast frozen up from the middle of November to the middle of March; the snow was four feet deep, and higher than the sides of the ships above the ice. The severity of the winter exceeded all which they had ever experienced; the scurvy still raged; twenty-five men had fallen victims to it, and the others were so weak and low in spirits, that they despaired of ever seeing their native country.



IN the depth of this distress and despondency, Cartier, who had escaped the disease, in walking one day on the ice, met some of the natives, among whom was Domagaia, one of the young men who had been with him to France and who then resided with his countrymen at Stadacona. He had been sick with the scurvy, his sinews had been shrunk, and his knees swollen, his teeth loose, and his gums rotten; but he was then recovered, and told Cartier of a certain tree, the leaves and bark of which he had used as a remedy. Cartier expressed his wish to see the tree; telling him that *one* of his people had been affected with the same disorder. Two women were immediately despatched, who brought ten or twelve branches, and showed him how to prepare the decoction; which was thus, "to boil the bark and the leaves; to drink of the liquor every other day; and to put the dregs on the legs of the sick."*

* This tree was called by the natives Ameda or Haneda. Mr. Hakluyt supposes it to have been the Sassafras; but as the leaves were used with the bark, in the winter, it must have been an evergreen. The dregs of the bark were also applied to the sore legs of the patient. From these circumstances I am inclined to think that it was the spruce pine (*Pinus Canadensis*) which is used in the same manner by the Indians, and such as have learned of them. Spruce beer is well known to be a powerful antiscorbutic; and the bark of this and of the white pine serves as a cataplasim for wounds and sores.

This remedy presently came into use on board the ships; and its good effects were so surprising, that within one week they were completely healed of the scurvy; and some who had venereal complaints of long standing were also cured by the same means.

The severity of winter having continued four months without intermission, at the return of the sun, the season became milder, and in April, the ice began to break up. On the 3d of May, Cartier took possession of the country, by erecting a cross, thirty-five feet high, on which was hung a shield, bearing the arms of France, with this inscription: **FRANCISCUS PRIMUS, DEI GRATIA, FRANCORUM REX, REGNAT.**

The same day, being a day of festivity, the two young savages, Taignoagni and Domagaia, with Donacona, the chief of the place, came on board the ships; and were partly prevailed on and partly constrained to accompany Cartier to France. A handsome present was made to the family of Donacona, but it was with great reluctance that his friends parted with him; though Cartier promised to bring him again at the end of twelve months. On the 6th of May, they sailed from the Port of St. Croix; and having touched at St. Peter's, in Newfoundland, they arrived at St. Malo, in France, the 6th of July, 1536.

Whether Cartier performed his vow to God, the history does not tell us; certain it is, however, that he did not perform his promise to his passengers. The zeal for adventures of this kind began to abate. Neither gold nor silver were carried home. The advantages of the fur trade were not fully understood; and the prospect of benefit from cultivation in the short summer of that cold climate, was greatly overbalanced by the length and severity of a Canadian winter. The natives had been so often told of the necessity of baptism in order to salvation, that on their arrival in France, they were at their own request baptized; but neither of them lived to see their native land again.

The report which Cartier brought home, of the fine country beyond the lakes, had, however, made such an impression on the minds of some, that, at the end of four years, another expedition was projected. Francis de la Roche, Lord of Roberval, was commissioned by the king as his lieutenant-governor in Canada and Hochelaga; and Cartier was appointed his pilot, with the command of five ships. When they were ready to sail, Roberval had not finished his preparations, and was therefore detained. The king's orders to Cartier being positive, he sailed from St. Malo, on the 23d of May, 1540.

The winds were adverse, and the voyage tedious. The ships were scattered, and did not arrive at the place of their destination till the 23d of August; when they came to the port of St. Croix, in the river of Canada.

The first inquiry made by the natives was for their countrymen who had been carried away. The answer was, that Donacona was dead, and that the others had become great lords, were married in France, and refused to return. Neither sorrow nor resentment were shown on this occasion; but a secret jealousy, which had long been working, received strength from an answer so liable to suspicion.

The history of this voyage being imperfect, it is not possible to say in what particular manner this jealousy operated. Cartier made another excursion up the river, and pitched on a place about four leagues above St. Croix, to lay up three of his vessels for the winter. The other two he sent back to France, to inform the king of what they had done; and that Roberval had not arrived.

At the new harbour which he had chosen for his ships, was a small river, running, in a serpentine course, to the south. On the eastern side of its entrance was a high and steep cliff; on the top of which, they built a fort and called it *Charleburg*. Below, the ships were drawn up and fortified, as they had been in the former winter which he spent here. Not far from the fort were some rocks containing crystals, which they denominated diamonds; and on the shore were picked up certain specks of a yellow substance, which their imaginations refined into gold. Iron ore was found in abundance; and a kind of black slate, with veins of an apparent metallic substance.



N what manner they passed the winter, the defective accounts which we have do not inform us. In the spring of the following year, Cartier and his company having heard nothing of Roberval, and concluding that they were abandoned by their friends, and exposed to perish in a climate the most severe, and among people whose conduct toward them was totally changed, determined to return to

France. Accordingly, having set sail, at the breaking up of the ice, they arrived in the harbour of St. John, in Newfoundland, some time in June; where they met Roberval, who, with three ships and two hundred persons, male and female, had sailed from Rochelle in April, and were on their way to establish a colony in Canada. Cartier went on board Roberval's ship, and showed him the diamonds and gold which he had found; but told him that the hostile disposition of the natives had obliged him to quit the country; which, however, he represented to him as capable of profitable cultivation. Roberval ordered him to return to Canada; but Cartier privately sailed out of the harbour in the night and pursued his voyage to France.

Mortified and disappointed, Roberval continued some time longer at St.

John's before he proceeded, and about the end of July arrived at the place which Cartier had quitted. There he erected a fort, on a commanding eminence, and another at its foot; in which were deposited all the provision, ammunition, artillery, implements of husbandry, and other materials for the intended colony.

In September, two vessels were sent back to France, to carry specimens of crystal, and fetch provisions for the next year: the stores which they had brought being much reduced. By the help of the fish which they took in the river, and the game which they procured from the savages, and by well husbanding their provisions, they lingered out a tedious winter, having suffered much from the scurvy, of which about fifty of them died. In addition to this distress, Roberval exercised such severity in his government, that one man was hanged, several were laid in irons, and some of both sexes underwent the discipline of the whip.

In April, the ice began to break up, and on the 16th of June he proceeded up the river; leaving De Royez, his lieutenant, to command in his absence, with orders to embark for France, if he should not return by the middle of July.

As the account of the expedition ends here, we can only remark that the colony was broken up; and no further attempt was made by the French to establish themselves in Canada, till after the expiration of half a century. The last account of Roberval is, that in 1549. he sailed with his brother on some voyages of discovery, and never returned.

In this first visit, which the natives of Canada received from the Europeans, we have a striking instance of their primitive manners. Suspecting no danger, and influenced by no fear, they embraced the stranger with unaffected joy. Their huts were open to receive him, their fires and furs to give warmth and rest to his weary limbs; their food was shared with him, or given in exchange for his trifles; they were ready with their simple medicines to heal his diseases and his wounds; they would wade through rivers and climb rocks and mountains to guide him in his way, and they would remember and requite his kindness more than it deserved.

Unhappily for them, they set too high a value on their new guest. Imagining him to be of a heavenly origin, they were extravagant, and unguarded in their first attachment, and from some specimens of his superiority, obvious to their senses, they expected more than ought ever to be expected from beings of the same species. But when the mistake was discovered, and the stranger whom they had adored, proved to be no more than human, having the same inferior desires and passions with themselves; especially when they found their confidence misplaced, and their generous friendship ill requited; then the rage of jealousy extin-

guished the virtue of benevolence ; and they struggled to rid themselves of him, as an enemy, whom they had received into their bosom as a friend.

On the other hand, it was too common for the European adventurer to regard the man of nature as an inferior being ; and whilst he availed himself of his strength and experience, to abuse his confidence, and repay his kindness with insult and injury ; to stigmatize him as a heathen and a savage, and to bestow on him the epithets of deceitful, treacherous, and cruel ; though he himself had first set the example of these detestable vices.*

* Dr. Belknap's American Biography.





LANDING OF CABRAL IN BRAZIL.

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF BRAZIL.

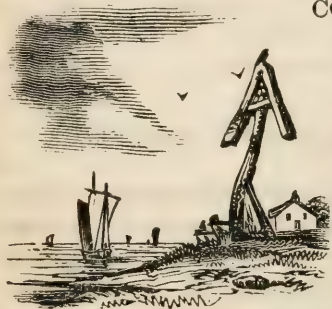


RAZIL was discovered in the last year of the fifteenth century. The voyages of Columbus and Vasco de Gama, who first sailed across extensive seas, had taught navigators to adopt the practice of entering at once upon the open ocean. Accordingly Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, who, after the return of Vasco de Gama, was sent by the king of Portugal with a large navy to the East Indies, directed his course from the Cape Verde islands to the southwest, and was carried by the equatorial cur-

rent so far to the west that he found himself very unexpectedly in sight of land in 10° south latitude. This country was Brazil, which he saw first on the 3d of May, 1500. He sailed along the coast as far as Porto Seguro, (16° south latitude,) where he landed and took possession. He sent an account of his discovery to Lisbon, and continued his voyage to India. The king afterwards sent Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, to examine the country, who took a rapid survey of nearly the whole of its shores, and upon his return published an account of it, with a map. To this publication this navigator is indebted for the honour of having given his Christian name to the new continent.

Vespucci, and others who were sent somewhat later, reported that the country was not cultivated, and did not offer any great commercial advantages, but that they had found extensive forests of Brazil-wood, of which they brought some cargoes to Portugal. This was not sufficient to induce the Portuguese to form a settlement, especially as they were then actively engaged in their conquests in the East Indies; but it was quite enough to induce mercantile speculators to send their vessels for the dye-wood.

This trade continued for some years, and the merchants of other nations, especially the French, began to follow the example of the Portuguese. This was considered by the Portuguese government as a violation of their rights as discoverers of the country, and they accordingly began to think of forming a permanent establishment. King John III., however, on calculating the expenses necessary for such an undertaking, thought it more advantageous to invest some of the richest noble families of Portugal with the property of extensive tracts of coast, for the purpose of colonizing them with Portuguese subjects.



ACCORDINGLY, about ten or twelve Portuguese noblemen obtained the property each of about a hundred leagues of coast, and forty or fifty leagues inland. These proprietors were called *donotarios*. Most of them made great sacrifices, and underwent much fatigue and danger in forming settlements in Brazil. The towns of St. Vincent, Espirito Santo, Porto Seguro, and Pernambuco were founded by them between 1531 and 1545. But it soon became evident that the private fortune of these noblemen was not adequate to the establishment of such settlements in an uncultivated country, and in the neighbourhood of warlike savage nations. The king therefore sent, in 1549, as governor to Brazil, *Thomé de Sousa*, who founded the town of Bahia in the bay of Todos os Santos, and established a regular colonial administration. The government gradually found means to acquire the property of the colonies then existing from the *donotarios*, either by purchase or by exchange.

Before the religious divisions in England began to people the coasts of North America, the Protestants of France made a similar attempt in Brazil. A colony of French Protestants was established in 1555, on an island in the bay of Rio Janeiro, by *Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon*, but it soon fell into anarchy. The Portuguese attacked it in 1565, and expelled the French, though not without encountering considerable resistance. On this occasion the town of Rio Janeiro was founded by the Portuguese.

On the death of King Sebastian, when Portugal was united to Spain, (1580,) the numerous enemies of the latter country began to annoy Brazil,

among whom the English, under *Thomas Cavendish*, were the most active. They did not, however, form any settlement. The French made a second attempt in 1612, to settle on the island of Maranhão, where they founded the town of St. Luiz de Maranhão, but in 1615 they were compelled to abandon it to the Portuguese. The Dutch were more formidable enemies to the Portuguese. Their East India Company had already taken from them many settlements in the Indian seas, and their West India Company was thus invited to similar attempts in America. In 1623 they sent a fleet to Brazil, which took Bahia, then the capital of the country; but it was lost again in 1625. In 1629, the Dutch made another attempt, and possessed themselves of Pernambuco, from which the Portuguese were unable to dislodge them. They also extended their conquest south to the mouth of the Francisco, and added on the north the province of Parahyba and Rio Grande do Norte to their possessions.



THE disunion among the Dutch officers appearing to be the principal obstacle to the completion of the conquest of all Brazil, the company sent, in 1637, Prince *John Maurice* of Nassau to Pernambuco, with unlimited powers as governor. He soon established a more regular administration, and in the same year got possession of the province of Searã. He next attacked twice (1638 and 1640) the town of Bahia, but as this was the residence of the Portuguese

governor, it was better fortified than the other towns, and the attempt failed. The revolution in Portugal (1640) separated that kingdom from Spain, and the new government of Portugal made peace with the Dutch republic. But Nassau did not trouble himself about the orders received from home, and in 1641 and 1642 he took the province of Serecipe and Maranhão, so that when he was recalled, in 1643, all Brazil north of the Rio Francisco, with the exception of Parã, and in addition to this the province of Serecipe, was in the hands of the Dutch.

The administration of the Dutch colony being left to a council at Recife, every thing soon fell into disorder. The Portuguese governor at Bahia was prevented by the peace, and the orders received from his government at home, from taking advantage of these circumstances; but a private person, *Fernandes Vieira*, formed a conspiracy among the settlers of Portuguese origin, in which he was secretly aided by the governor. The conspiracy broke out at Maranhão and Searã, and extended gradually to the other provinces. At last the Dutch were confined to the town of Pernambuco, from which also they were expelled in 1654, when the Portuguese government sent a naval force to aid the people who had

risen against the Dutch. By the peace of 1660, the Dutch renounced their claims on these countries.

At that time the mineral riches of Brazil were not known. The town of St. Paolo had been founded by some Portuguese in 1620, who had ascended to the table-land of the Paranà from the town of St. Vincent, and been induced to settle there on account of its fine climate. The adventurers established a kind of democratic government, and made frequent incursions among the savage nations for the purpose of capturing and using them as slaves. In these excursions, towards the end of the seventeenth century, they discovered the mines of St. Paolo; and near Sabarà, on the Rio das Velhas, in 1700, the richer mines at Villa Rica; and in 1713, those of Marianna. The mines at Cuyabà and Goyaz were discovered between 1715 and 1720. The existence of diamonds in the Rio Icquitinhonha was not known before 1728. These discoveries, and the riches which government derived from the mines, induced it to remove the administration of the colony from Bahia to Rio St. Janeiro, in 1773.





PONCE DE LEON.

DISCOVERIES OF PONCE DE LEON.



UAN PONCE DE LEON, after distinguishing himself in the wars of Grenada, had embarked with Columbus in his second voyage. He then added greatly to his reputation, and being entrusted by Ovando, the governor, with a command in the eastern part of Hispaniola, had an opportunity of observing the rich aspect of the adjacent shores of Porto Rico. Having proposed to his superior officer to conquer it, he was allowed a body of troops to try his fortune. In this he completely succeeded, and obtained gold, not in the expected abundance, but to a considerable amount; being accused, however, of those cruelties which were much too familiar to the Spanish adventurers. His claims as governor being also considered as conflicting with those of Columbus, he withdrew, and obtained in compensation Bimini, one of the Bahamas which lay nearest to the continent.

Here an object very different from conquest and plunder engrossed the whole soul of the warlike veteran. In an age of comparative ignorance, and after witnessing so many wonders, his mind was prepared to credit



PONCE DE LEON WOUNDED.

almost any extravagance. Ponce de Leon had somehow imbibed the full belief that on one of these insular shores there existed a fountain endued with such miraculous virtue, that any man, however worn out with age, who should have once dipped himself in its waters, would rise restored to the full bloom and vigour of youth.

In this delusive search, he beat about restlessly from shore to shore, landing at every point, and plunging into every stream, however shallow or muddy, in the vain hope of springing up in this blissful state of renovation. On the contrary, his eager and incessant activity under a burning sun, brought upon him, it is said, all the infirmities of a premature old age; and according to Oviedo, instead of a second youth, he arrived at a second childhood, never after displaying his former energy of thought or action.

Extraordinary exertions, even when misapplied, commonly lead to something. While the Spaniard was sailing in every direction after his miraculous fountain, he came, unexpectedly, on the 27th of March, 1512, in sight of an extensive country, hitherto unknown. Magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, exhibited so gay an aspect, that he named it Florida. He landed on the 8th of April, near the present site of St. Augustine; and notwithstanding the dangers of navigation amid the violent currents produced by the gulf-stream running among the islands, he spent a considerable time in tracing its outline, and finally rounded the

southern point. Thus, though still supposing it to be an island, he ascertained that it must be both large and important.

This great discovery seems to have weaned the mind of the Spanish chief from his engrossing chimera. He repaired to Porto Rico, and thence to Spain, laid before the king the particulars of the new country, and obtained permission to conquer and rule it under the pompous title of *adelantado*. A considerable time, however, was consumed in preparations; and while thus busied, he was obliged to engage in suppressing an insurrection among the Caribs. This contest was attended with reverses, by which he lost much of his reputation; and nine years elapsed before he could conduct two ships to his promised dominion. While planning a site for a colony, he was surprised by a large body of Indians; his men were completely routed, and himself severely wounded by an arrow. As these people were never able afterwards to cope in the field with Spanish troops, this disaster may lead us to suspect that he really had lost his former military talent. Having regained the ship, he sailed to Cuba, where he soon after died of his wound.

The fate of Ponce de Leon for a considerable time discouraged all such adventurers. The coast was, however, visited by individual merchants; and Diego Miruelo is said to have made repeated voyages from Cuba, obtaining, among other commodities, some gold, which confirmed the delusive ideas entertained of its wealth. Fernandez, Grijalva, and Garay, made surveys of some extent along the southern coast, but without reaching Florida, or connecting their discoveries with that of De Leon. The idea of island which the Spaniards had at first attached to the country, gave way before additional intelligence and the assurances of the natives; and it became evident that a vast expanse of land lay in this direction. They, accordingly, from thenceforth claimed as Florida the whole continent of North America, including even Quebec. But this pretension, being encountered by the rivalry of more active European nations, could not be enforced; and, at no distant period, another sway and other names were established over nearly the whole of this vast range of territory.

The knowledge, however, that such countries existed was turned to a cruel account by Spanish avidity. Slaves, to cultivate the rich soil of the Antilles, became an early object of demand, and could be procured from these savage coasts: hence a company was formed, and Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon was sent with two ships on this nefarious mission. He reached South Carolina, entered the river Combahee, which he named Jordan, and experienced the usual facility of a stranger, in opening a friendly intercourse with the natives. After the usual interchange of visits and friendship, they were easily lured in crowds on board the vessel; when, in the height of their confidence, the treacherous Spaniards set sail, and stood for the West Indies. Yet the crime was nearly abortive; one of his

ships sunk, and sickness thinned greatly the number of captives in the other.

Another expedition, with a more legitimate design, was undertaken by Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese, who had been a companion of the great Magellan. Between the countries hitherto explored and Baccalaos, or the Codfish Island, as Newfoundland was then termed, there extended a vast space, within which there might still exist the eagerly desired passage to Hindostan. Gomez, employed by the Council of the Indies, appears by the meagre narratives extant to have sailed northward to the latitudes of 40° and 41° . He consequently discovered New York, and part of New England, which are designated in early Spanish maps as the "Land of Gomez." Finding the continuity of the coast still unbroken, he gave up the pursuit, but endeavoured to compensate his failure by the measure, not only unauthorized but expressly prohibited, of enslaving a number of the natives,—a step which served only to increase the ridicule attached to the abortive issue of an expedition from which very sanguine hopes had been cherished.





LANDING OF NARVAEZ.

EXPEDITION OF NARVAEZ TO FLORIDA.



VARIETY of circumstances concurred to direct the principal afflux of Spanish adventurers to the continent of South America. But few tried their fortune by pushing towards the north, and the sufferings of these deterred others from following in their footsteps. Narvaez, the officer sent by Velasquez to dispossess Cortez of his authority in New Spain, and who was taken prisoner by that bold leader, was desirous to efface, by some signal exploit, the memory of his defeat on that occasion. He had interest to obtain the title of *adelantado*, and a commission to conquer and to rule the extensive territories extending from Cape das Palmas to Cape Florida; and having raised a force of about six hundred men, set sail from St. Lucar, in June, 1527. The treasurer to the armament was Alvaro Nunez, surnamed Cabeza de Vaca, whose singular personal adventures form the most interesting portion of the account which he afterwards wrote of the expedition. While waiting to take in supplies at Cuba, Narvaez and his companions experienced the fury of a hurricane such as is rarely felt in any other region of the globe. The houses were blown down; and when the affrighted inhabitants fled to the woods for shelter, their terror was increased at the sight of the largest trees torn up by the roots, and scattered in every direction by the violence of the winds. The fleet suffered sc



NARVAEZ IN FLORIDA.

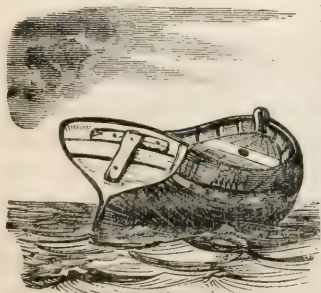
much from this storm, that it was found necessary to desist from any further operations during the winter.

In February, 1528, the armament put to sea, and, after encountering much rough weather, reached the coast of Florida. The country was taken possession of with the usual solemnities; but nothing was found here to gratify the cupidity of the Spaniards. When the natives were questioned respecting some golden ornaments seen with them, they all pointed to Apalachen, a country situated at a distance in the interior, as the quarter whence these and other commodities were derived. Narvaez, who had no positive knowledge of the country or the adjoining seas, was disposed to yield himself up to the guidance of hope and imagination; and being at a loss what course he ought in prudence to take, resolved to press forward into the interior and invade Apalachen. The intelligent Alvaro strongly urged the danger of commencing an arduous journey without guides or provisions, and before some secure haven had been found for the fleet. But the insinuation that he slunk from difficulties silenced his remonstrances, and made him declare his determination to follow his countrymen into every extremity.

On the 1st of May, 1528, the Spaniards commenced their march into the interior. They had little more than a single day's provision; when that slender stock was consumed, they were obliged to satisfy their hunger with roots, and the fruit of the wild palm-tree. For fifteen days they travelled without meeting with a human habitation. At the end of that time they arrived at an Indian village, where they found guides to conduct them to Apalachen. The country which they had to traverse was wild and unequal; sometimes mountainous, but more frequently overspread with deep marshes, rendered nearly impassable by the huge trees blown down,

and lying across them in every direction. At length, on the 26th of June, the wearied Spaniards arrived in sight of an Indian village, which they were told was Apalachen. They found no difficulty in rendering themselves masters of the place. But they had not remained here many days, when they perceived on what a chimerical foundation all their plans were reared. In Apalachen they found nothing. The exasperated Indians lurked in the woods, and watched all their movements; to advance was useless, if not impossible, from the difficulty of the country: and retreat was exposed to the worst ills of Indian warfare. But retreat was now necessary; and the Spaniards, relinquishing the fancied wealth of Apalachen, directed their march towards the sea-coast in the country of Ante, at present called the bay of St. Mark. Unspeakable hardships awaited them. Nearly a third of their number perished by the arrows of the Indians; and of the remainder a large proportion laboured under disease, brought on by fatigue and privation.

When the Spaniards arrived at the sea-shore in this lamentable plight, it was obvious that the attempt to march along the coast in search of the fleet would probably lead to their destruction. No alternative remained but to construct vessels, and encounter at once the hazards of the sea. Their shirts were sewn together for sails, and ropes were made of the fibrous bark of the palm-tree. A horse was killed every third day, and its flesh distributed in small portions to the workmen, and to the sick. So zealously did they labour, that in little more than six weeks they had completed five boats, capable of holding from forty to fifty men each. In these small barks they put to sea, although they were so crowded that the gunwales of their overladen boats were but a few inches above the water; yet desperation urged them on. For some weeks they endured all the miseries of want and anxiety. At an Indian village on the coast they obtained some trifling relief; but, quarreling with the natives, they were obliged to re-embark with precipitation. In these desperate circumstances, Narvaez resigned the authority which he was unable to use beneficially. As his boat was well manned, he hastened forward, leaving his companions to shift for themselves in the best way they could.



HE boat commanded by Alvaro reached a small island, after some days of extreme suffering, when the exhausted crew had hardly strength enough to crawl on shore upon their hands and feet. The Indians took pity on their wretched condition, and loaded them with fruits, fish, and whatever provisions the island afforded. A stock of these being formed, Alvaro prepared to continue his voyage; but just as the Span-

iards were embarking, a wave overset the boat, which sunk with all their clothes. Three of the crew were drowned by this accident; the remainder threw themselves naked on the sand.

No resource now remained to the survivors but the compassion of the savages, who generously shared with them the few comforts they possessed. But some of the Spaniards, who had witnessed the rites with which the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners, felt for a long time more horror than consolation from the care bestowed on them by the natives; supposing that they were destined to be devoured when restored to health. The liberality of the savages proved greater than their industry: as winter approached they felt the scourge of famine, and the Spaniards, who were instrumental in causing, were the chief sufferers by, this scarcity of food. Some other of the followers of Narvaez, thrown on the same coast, had been reduced to such extremities as to devour one another; a deed which shocked the Indians so much that they never afterwards regarded the Spaniards favourably. Alvaro and his companions were, in consequence, reduced to the condition of slaves, and treated with much severity; as all the calamities of want and disease from which the Indians suffered were ascribed by them to the presence of these wicked strangers.

Alvaro at length made his escape to the continent, where he contrived to set on foot a singular traffic. He carried into the interior shells and other marine productions, and for these he brought back in exchange red ochre, with which the savages daubed themselves; hides for thongs; canes and flints for the manufacture of arrows. In his capacity of merchant, Alvaro acquired great estimation among all the savage tribes, whose perpetual hostilities made them feel the want of a neutral hand to manage the little commerce which they were capable of sustaining one with another. After spending some years in this occupation, Alvaro grew weary of so hopeless an exile, and determined to encounter any peril in the attempt to revisit his native country. His only chance was to reach Mexico overland; and in this daring project of crossing such an extent of country, inhabited by savage tribes, and hitherto unexplored, he was joined by two companions in misfortune, Andrea Dorante and Alonzo de Castiglio.

The three wanderers suffered severely at the outset of their journey: the first tribe they encountered was the most barbarous they ever met with. The wretched Spaniards were reduced to slavery, and compelled to subsist on worms, loathsome reptiles, fish bones, and even wood. The savages, their masters, were in that abject condition in which parental attachment is unequal to the care of rearing a family; and it was their practice to expose all their female offspring. When the summer arrived, and the woods were loaded with fruits, Alvaro and his companions contrived to escape during the festivities in which the savages celebrated this season of tem-

porary abundance. The Indian nation which he next arrived at offered him a better reception; and the respect shown to him as a stranger was very much increased when he began to display his medical skill; for he had learned on the coast that pretensions of this sort might be profitably united to the business of a merchant. By blowing on his patients, or muttering certain words, according to the nature of the case, he wrought many wonderful cures, and, as he relates, on one occasion even raised a dead man to life: nor will this bold assertion shake our confidence in the general veracity of his narrative, when we consider how easy it is to work miracles among the ignorant; and how naturally we imbibe the most absurd persuasions, if they tend to raise us in our own esteem. The three Spaniards, now revered as the children of the sun, were escorted in their journey to the west by a troop of their admirers, who proclaimed, as they went along, their wondrous virtues and preternatural gifts; and this impulse once given to the superstitious admiration of the Indians, was easily propagated from tribe to tribe. Alvaro, travelling westward, crossed a great river, and then entered upon those deserts which separate the territories of Mexico from those of the United States. In answer to his inquiries respecting the Christians, he was informed that a wicked nation so named dwelt to the south-west; and was warned not to have any dealing with that mischievous and inhuman people. These accusations he found to be not quite groundless; for when he approached the Mexican frontiers, it was with difficulty he could prevent the Spaniards from reducing to slavery the Indians who accompanied him as guides; and when he remonstrated with them for their brutal conduct, he was himself made prisoner, and experienced greater severities from his own countrymen than from any of the savage tribes among whom he had wandered. When he arrived in the interior of the country, however, where the manners of the colonists were less violent and licentious than on the borders, he was treated with abundant courtesy and respect, and liberally supplied with every thing he wanted. In the following year he embarked for Europe, and arrived at Lisbon in August, 1537.





CHARLES V.

EXPEDITION OF FERNANDO DE SOTO.



THE Emperor Charles V., who ruled Spain when the conquest of Mexico and Peru were achieved, was fully sensible of the glory and advantage with which the Spanish adventurers in the New World were signalizing his reign. We are not surprised, therefore, at the readiness with which he listened to a proposal from a new adventurer to conquer Florida.

Fernando de Soto, originally owning nothing but courage and his sword, had followed the fortunes of Pizarro, and been a chief instrument in annexing Peru to Spain. He accompanied the first embassy to Atahualpa, commanding one of the three companies of horse which made captive that unfortunate prince; and afterwards proceeding to Cusco, he was active in the reduction of that imperial city. Having shared amply in Peruvian treasure, he returned to his country, laden with wealth, and with that dark but lofty fame which attended those memorable exploits. His reception was brilliant; he obtained in marriage the daughter of the nobleman under whom he had first served, and appeared in pomp at the court of Charles V. Having accommodated that monarch with a liberal loan, he paved the way for obtaining almost any object on which he should set his heart. But he sued for a fatal gift. His present ample wealth and glory were prized only as a step to something higher. Having in Peru been second to Pizarro, he now sought a country, the honour of conquering and ruling



FERNANDO DE SOTO.

which might be wholly his own. He had fixed his eyes on Florida. Charles was exceedingly ready to bestow a boon which cost him nothing, and might place another bright gem in his crown. Soto was created adelantado of that province, and allowed to select thirty leagues in it, to be erected into a marquisate. Just as the agreement was concluded, *Alvaro* arrived with his doleful tale; yet he is said to have given favourable accounts of the country itself. There was even a negotiation for his accompanying the new commander; but they did not agree upon terms, and he obtained a command on the Rio de la Plata.

Soto, now gratified to his utmost wish, proceeded to embark his whole fortune in this grand expedition. As the report spread that he was setting forth to conquer another Peru, many enterprising youths made haste to offer their services; and some, even selling their property, embarked it in the cause. He selected nine hundred and fifty men, most of whom were trained to arms, and of daring valour,—a force which, small as it may appear, was superior in number and equipments to those which had subverted the Mexican and Peruvian empires.

On the 6th April, 1538, Soto embarked his troops in ten vessels, and sailed for Cuba, which was even placed under his command, that he might draw from it every needful resource. There he spent a year in preparation, and *Vasco Porcalho*, a veteran who, like himself, had gained by the sword an immense fortune, and was living in splendid retirement, was so delighted with the noble appointment and bold spirit of the expedition, that he joined it with a train of followers and large supplies. He was created lieutenant-general.

On the 18th May 1539, the adelantado sailed with nine vessels from



CROSS-BOW MEN.

the Havana ; on the 25th, he saw the coast of Florida, and, on the 30th, landed in the bay of Spiritu Santo, which appears to be not very far from the point chosen by Narvaez. A great display was made of religious zeal : twelve priests accompanied the adventurers, and provision was made for celebrating, in their utmost pomp, the various Catholic ceremonies. Unfortunately, Soto had not duly weighed the golden text, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;" yet he appears to have gone with intentions somewhat more humane than usual, determining to abstain from every outrage against the natives. But the rooted habits of ferocity and recklessness of Indian life and suffering could not easily be repressed. These are indicated even by the provision of chains for securing the captives, and of bloodhounds for hunting down the more refractory. To obviate the scarcity of provisions, so severe upon the former expedition, he carried with him a great number of hogs, which everywhere found food in those immense forests.

Fernando de Soto's armament was very splendid. Besides his nine hundred and fifty men, he had three hundred and fifty horses. It was the most splendid expedition that had yet set out for the New World. The knights were clad in full armour ; and in addition to the artillery and musketeers there were cross-bow men, and all the other kinds of force used in that warlike age.

It seems an unaccountable circumstance, that he should have chosen nearly the same track which his predecessor had traversed without discovering any of the mineral treasures in view. The sufferings formerly inflicted on the inhabitants had excited against the Spanish name an embittered enmity, which at once baffled all his good intentions, and produced a cruel retaliation. In the outset, he had the good fortune to obtain the services of a countryman and guide. Of four individuals, belonging

to a ship sent in search of the late armament, three had been put to death with torture by a neighbouring cacique. Ortiz, the fourth, was doomed to follow; but that mercy which adorns the female character, even in savage life, interposed in his behalf. The daughter of the chief first gained his life, and then, on that boon being revoked, enabled him to escape to a neighbouring prince, where she could secure for him a favourable reception.

Soto began his dealings with *Hirriga*, one of the native rulers, to whom, through the medium of some friends, he tendered an amicable visit. That prince, whom the proceedings of the former expedition had inspired with the deepest enmity, replied, that the heads of the Spaniards severed from their bodies would be most welcome; but in no other shape would he allow their entrance into his dominions. Having ventured an attack, and being repulsed by Porcalho, he abandoned his capital, and sought refuge among woods and marshes. The victor attempted to track him thither, but sunk so deep in mud, that he could with difficulty be dragged out alive, and was obliged to retreat. The old man then burst into the most violent ill humour, and was heard muttering to himself, "*Hirrihigua—Urribaracuxi*," declaring his abhorrence of a land, the very names of which his organs could scarcely utter. He finally resolved, in spite of the urgency of the adelantado, to return to Cuba, leaving a force under his nephew, which, however, was found very difficult to manage.

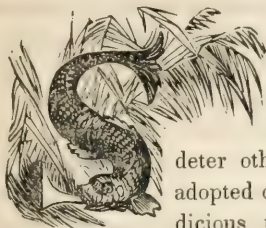
The Spanish general now proceeded into the territories of *Urribaracuxi* and *Acuera*, where he met a similar reception; the chiefs and people fleeing into deep forests, where he sought in vain to follow them. He endeavoured, but with little success, to soften their enmity by sending back the captives loaded with presents. Unfortunately, he considered himself bound as a loyal subject, to open, in all cases, his intercourse with a demand of homage to the emperor; which those free and proud chieftains, not without reason, treated as insolent and absurd. Although unable to meet the invaders in the field, they hovered round, and not a Spaniard could stir three hundred yards from the camp without being killed or wounded. Had Florida, like Mexico, been under one great government, Soto, with his brave band, would have beaten the army, entered the capital, and been master of the country. But he struggled helplessly against a multitude of fierce, petty tribes, whom even now the whole force of the United States has proved unable to put down. They offered no point at which a blow could be struck, and never left him master of more than the spot on which his army stood.

He continued, however, to advance, and at length came to the fertile district of *Acali*, where the troops with satisfaction felt the ground firm beneath their feet. The prince, too, after some delay, met them, tendered his submission, and made the most flattering professions. But when the

Spaniards, who were justly suspicious of this extreme cordiality, were involved in the difficulties of passing a large stream, some hundred savages started from among the bushes, and poured in clouds of arrows, using the most opprobrious epithets. The attack was repelled, and the passage effected, with the loss only of a favourite dog. The prince made solemn protestations of innocence, in which Soto placed very little confidence: but following still his conciliatory system, he merely desired the youth to take his departure.

More memorable events distinguished their march through the country of Vitachuco, which was governed by a prince of the same name. That chief prepared to resist them with the most determined hostility, treating with utter derision the assertion of some, that they were children of the sun and of the moon, endued with supernatural powers. He announced to them in hyperbolical terms, that he would command the earth to open and swallow them up; that he would poison the plants, the rivers, and the very air. On their approach, however, he learned enough to convince him that open resistance would be vain, and therefore resolved to follow an opposite course, employing those stratagems in which the fiercest savages have never been wanting. He went courteously to meet the Spanish general; apologised for his former conduct as prompted by false impressions, and proffered submission and service. Soto was gained over, and, being led to the capital, was treated in the most distinguished manner. The cacique summoned his warriors from every quarter, as if to honour this illustrious guest. A day being appointed, when both nations were to muster in warlike array, the chiefs were secretly instructed, on a given signal, to attack and at one blow exterminate this detested race. Through Ortiz, however, intelligence of the plot was received, and the Spaniards were armed and prepared for the onset. Just when it was about to begin, a party of them surrounded and seized the cacique. Yet the savage host, undismayed, rushed on with loud shouts; and Soto having rashly galloped into the crowd, his gallant steed, which had often borne him to victory, fell, pierced by eight arrows. The rider was in imminent danger; but his brave cavalry soon rescued him, and dispersed the loose infantry of the Indians. A chosen band, the flower of their warriors, plunged into a large pond, where they kept themselves afloat by swimming; and, though the invaders surrounded it six deep, refused to surrender. They hoped to escape during the night; but a strict watch being kept, in the morning they were half dead with cold and fatigue. They still held out, and some who were induced to approach the shore hastily drew back. A few having at length landed, and being well received, the whole by mid-day had surrendered, except seven, whom certain good swimmers seized by the hair and pulled on shore. The Spaniards admired their fortitude, and by general consent a pardon was bestowed. Vitachuco himself was told.

that, however disgraceful his conduct had been, it would be buried in oblivion; and he was even admitted to the table of the adelantado.



OTO, having thus attempted to subdue the enmity of the natives by conciliation, ought to have followed out his plan steadily and consistently. Unluckily it struck him, that some penalty imposed on these proud Indians might deter others from following such an example; and he adopted one which appears to have been the most injudicious possible. The warriors saved from the pond were distributed among this people to be employed as cooks and scullions, and to perform all other menial offices. These lofty spirits, who disdained to execute any daily task even for themselves, considered this as the last possible indignity. Though the Spanish general intended, it is said, to set them free at his departure, this purpose does not seem to have been disclosed; so that they appeared doomed to hopeless bondage. Every obligation was considered as cancelled, and the fiercest desire of vengeance was again inspired. This feeling was fully shared by Vitachuco, to whom it appeared, that if each Indian should kill his master, their oppressors might be at once extirpated. The natives, though disarmed, being at large, and in close and frequent contact with the enemy, their chief appointed a signal at which they were all to start up and begin the attack. At three, one afternoon, while seated at table with the general, he uttered a tremendous shout, cracking his bones in a peculiar manner, well understood by his followers, then grasping Soto by the arm, he struck him such a blow that the latter fell senseless to the ground, the blood gushing from his mouth and nostrils. He had raised his hand to deal another, which would have closed the career of the adelantado; but his officers instantly started up, and by twelve successive wounds laid the cacique lifeless on the floor. The Indians meantime, according to their instructions, were brandishing spits, pots, chairs, every thing with which a wound could be inflicted. Several of the Europeans were killed, and many received severe hurts. As soon, however, as they had recovered from their surprise, they were a complete overmatch for their undisciplined assailants, almost all of whom miserably perished.

As soon as their wounds were cured, the Spaniards left this fatal spot and marched towards Appalachen. The Indians, as might have been expected, carried on still the same harassing hostility, abandoning their habitations, fleeing into the most inaccessible spots, and leaving nothing on which a conqueror could lay hold. Their embittered feelings were not softened by the practice of seizing all who could be overtaken, dragging them along with chains round their necks, and compelling them to perform the most degrading offices.

In the approach to Appalachen it was reported to the Spanish chief that he would meet with more regular resistance than hitherto; yet the place was deserted like all the others, and the cacique with his people had fled into the forest. As the usual harassing warfare then began, Soto hoped to terminate it by getting the prince into his power. He learned the remote spot where he was kept, within an entrenchment of successive palisades esteemed quite impregnable; but the invaders soon forced this barrier, and seized the sovereign, whose huge unwieldy bulk rendered flight altogether impossible. Being received with respect and well treated, he could not now refuse to send orders that his people should cease hostilities. But though imbued with deep reverence, they disregarded mandates evidently compulsory, and eagerly sought means to rescue him. He contrived to persuade the European commander, that, if allowed an interview with his chiefs, he would convince them of his sincerity, and make them embrace his offers. Soto felt all the delicacy of this arrangement; yet seeing no other hope, he at length agreed. The meeting was fixed at a forest six miles from Appalachen, whither the cacique was sent under a strong guard, with injunctions to keep strict watch over him. The place being reached in the evening, the interview was postponed till next day; and though during the night a circle was formed around his highness with every possible precaution, in the morning he was not to be found. The guards, in utter amazement and mortification, protested that his ponderous person could never have been removed by human means, but must have been wafted through the air by those mighty magicians, of whose potency the natives constantly boasted. Soto could not but suspect that the god of slumber, weighing heavily on their eyelids, had been the real agent; but as the affair was past remedy, he abstained from investigation. The Indians, however, got their monarch, and carried him off in triumph to a great distance, where it was impossible again to reach him.

The adventurer found at Appalachen none of those precious metals which were the object of his almost exclusive inquiry. The country, however, appeared tolerably agreeable; and the season being advanced, he resolved to establish his winter quarters there. Having learned that the sea was at no great distance, he sent forward a detachment, who reached the place where the former party appear to have equipped their ill-fated expedition. He then despatched another to the bay of Spiritu Santo, with orders for the fleet to come round to the newly discovered spot. As it afforded no good shelter, Francisco Maldonado was sent along the coast in search of a commodious harbour. He returned with the report, that sixty leagues to the westward he had found one called Ochus or Achussi, probably in the Bay of Pensacola. The fleet was then ordered

to make it their permanent station, either to secure retreat or as a channel for supplies.

Soto, however, was by no means thinking of retreat, but was busied in eager inquiry after some rich and golden country. Among the captives at Appalachen were two individuals who had travelled far to the north-west. They were shown gold, silver, and various precious stones, and asked if they had anywhere met with these. They replied that they had seen in abundance a yellow and also a white metal, which bore a great resemblance to those now exhibited. The pearls were also pointed out as objects which they had observed. The Spaniards, in the highest exultation, and imagining themselves to be approaching a Peru as rich as that conquered by Pizarro, with the utmost alacrity began their journey.



IN the end of March, 1540, the adelantado departed from Appalachen. Four days after, he had to cross a broad river, apparently the Santillo, continually harassed by the attacks of the natives, who succeeded at one place in surprising a detachment of seven, only one of whom recovered from his wounds.

After leaving this hostile land, and intent only on reaching the more favoured country, he seems to have felt the necessity of adopting a more decided plan of conciliation. He dropped the demand of immediate submission to the emperor, which had excited such just and general indignation. At Achese the people still fled before him; but by showing kindness to a few prisoners, he opened by their means an intercourse with the cacique. Having professed intentions the most friendly, and asked only a passage through his territory, he met a courteous reception and the required aid. At Ocute, the next capital, he experienced equal favour; but the troops, unaccustomed to meagre diet, were grievously afflicted by the failure of animal food. A number of fine dogs, which the cacique had presented to the commander, were immediately killed, and devoured as a dainty.

They appear then to have passed the Alatomaha, and left what is now called Florida, which had been found, with few exceptions, a marshy tract of pine forest. They entered Georgia, called at that time Patofa, a comparatively fertile and populous region, where the cacique not only welcomed, but made the most active exertions to serve them. He advised them to go to Coosa, a productive country in the west; but the guide pointed to Cafaciqui, in the opposite direction, as the depository of metallic wealth. The chief then gave them a large body of his subjects to carry their baggage, and forthwith took leave. They passed, with some diffi-

culty, the Ogeechee, a large and broad river, across which the horses swam. The Indian bearers, being now in a hostile territory, began to attack the natives; they were quite ignorant of the path; and as they consumed the provisions, it became expedient to dismiss them. The route proved much longer than was indicated by the guide, against whom such rage was kindled, that, without doubt, he would have been thrown to the dogs had not his services been still needed. The stock of maize, provided for a much shorter journey, failed; and their distress would have been extreme, had not their swine produced a numerous progeny, which, with herbs and roots, kept them alive. They came to a very large river, (the Savannah,) but had no means of crossing it. Parties were sent up and down, for some time without success, till at length they came to a village, and had the satisfaction to learn that Cofaciqui was on the opposite bank, and, moreover, that the female sovereign who then ruled it was prepared to welcome them. Ere long an ornamented barge was seen moving from the other side, containing a person of rank, who proved to be the princess. She enchanted them by her beauty, grace, and courtesy; regretting the reigning scarcity, yet promising spacious accommodation and the necessary provisions. Having a triple row of pearls around her neck, she untied it, and bid Ortiz give it to the general; then, at the latter's request, she modestly presented it with her own hand. Canoes were instantly supplied, in which the whole troop were instantly ferried over.

As soon as the Spaniards were established at Cofaciqui, they began their wonted inquiry after the yellow and the white metals, and the princess caused specimens to be immediately produced,—a sight which instantly dispelled all their brilliant hopes. The former appeared to them mere brass, with a gilded tint: yet it was probably an ore of gold, though so much alloyed that they had not skill to discover or probably to extract it; for, by a strange omission, they appear to have had no persons acquainted with the science or practice of mining. As for the white metal, it crumbled in the hand like dried clay, being apparently mere portions of the pure quartz which generally accompanies the gold formation of the Carolinas, and exhibits in many places a very brilliant whiteness. The pearls alone were considered as answering in some degree their lofty expectations, though the very profusion of them might have inspired scepticism. They were apparently nothing more than good specimens of those beautiful bivalves which abound in the interior rivers of the continent; and though they have never acquired value as objects of commerce, are said to display a lustre rivalling that of the pearl-oyster shell.

Many of the Spaniards, pleased with their reception, and sick of their long wanderings, expressed a wish to settle here. The country appeared fitted to yield valuable produce, and well situated for trade, being near the

bay of St. Helena, already visited by Vasquez d'Ayllon. But Soto would listen to no such proposal. His hope was still to find a golden kingdom in this direction, or, if that should fail, the bay of Achussi, which he considered much more conveniently situated, ought to be their place of settlement, and the point whence further efforts might be made.

The expedition, in the beginning of May, departed from Cofaciqui. The original good understanding with the natives had been interrupted, chiefly, it is admitted, through the violent proceedings of the invaders themselves. Their leader, considering it impossible to march through the country without danger of attack, took the extreme step of seizing on his fair hostess, who had received him so cordially, and carrying her with him as a prisoner. She was well treated, but obliged to issue orders that they should be supplied with whatever her territories afforded. She escaped, near the frontier. The narrators give very indistinct notices of the general's views; but his line of march being directed towards the great auriferous range behind the Carolinas, he evidently went on information entitled to some degree of reliance. It led him, however, over branches of the Appalachians, through the Cherokee territory, a most rugged and barren tract, where the party were again exposed to severe famine. On reaching Chiaha, probably Echata, described as an island from being surrounded by numerous river-channels, some rest was taken, and inquiries made after a rich country. A friendly cacique there stated, that to the north "there was melting of copper, and of another metal of the same colour, save that it was finer, and of a far more perfect colour." Two Spaniards, with Indian guides, who were sent in search of it, returned after ten days with accounts which are very variously reported. According to the Portuguese authors, they had been led through a barren district, wholly unfit to support the army, and not yielding a single valuable commodity. Vega, on the contrary, assures his readers that they had observed mines of the yellow metal, formerly seen elsewhere, and that from the disposition of the land, those of gold or silver might be discovered, if carefully sought for. As this account corresponds with the fact, it is probably correct; yet Soto quitted, when on its very border, the only gold-field in the United States, and one which has since proved very considerable. He ought to have known that the precious metals are found chiefly in high and barren places; but gold and a rich country were always combined in his ideas and inquiries. He had not, as already observed, brought any miners with him: and his hope was to find, not naked rocks, out of which ore might be laboriously dug, but a splendid capital, like that of Montezuma or Atahualpa, filled with accumulated treasure, which would at once enrich himself and his followers. Seeing no prospect of this, he determined to retreat southward, and seek supplies at his rendezvous in the Gulf of Mexico.



HE came first to Coosa, on the river so named, a country fertile and well cultivated, where he stopped to recruit his followers. Instead, however, of that conciliatory policy which had for some time succeeded so well, he adopted one precisely opposite. On entering any district, he made it his first object to gain possession of the cacique's person, detain him during their whole stay, and compel him

to issue orders for every needful supply. The Coosa prince, who met him in the most cordial manner, was not exempted from his injurious treatment; and his subjects, who made vain efforts to release their chief, saw him carried away as a captive to the extreme frontier.

This system was next practised on the cacique of Tuscaloosa, a person of gigantic stature, fierce and proud, and ruling over extensive territories. He received the Spanish leaders with lofty courtesy, scarcely rising from his seat, and his indignation may be easily conceived when he found himself their prisoner. Yet seeing no immediate deliverance, he resolved to dissemble, pretended cheerfully to accompany the strangers, and studiously supplied their wants. One or two Europeans, indeed, mysteriously disappeared, but he gave plausible explanations, and carefully concealed his deep purpose of vengeance. At length they reached Mauvila, (Mobile,) a large town, strongly palisaded, with only eighty houses, but each containing numerous families. Soto was invited to enter, and believing that his men would be refreshed by sleep under a roof, accepted the proffered kindness. He was entertained with dances, and every kind of gaiety. Yet notice was conveyed to him that the houses were filled with armed warriors, collected from every quarter, that the children had been removed, and even the women, except those who, in this warlike region, were accounted "fit for battle." The general merely directed his followers to be on their guard. The immediate commencement is variously related; but in an instant Mauvila echoed with the yells of thousands, and clouds of arrows were poured upon the Spaniards. In this exigency Soto ordered his men to retreat, fighting, to the place without the city where they had left their horses, for it was only when mounted that they possessed a decided superiority. This movement was effected, though not without some being killed and many wounded, while the commander himself was repeatedly in danger. When they had mounted on horseback, the natives could no longer face them; but the palisade being still strong against a force without artillery, some time elapsed before a chosen body could force open the gate. Even then the Indians were found so strongly posted in the houses, that they could not be overcome except by the dread-

ful expedient of setting the place on fire. In a town entirely framed of reeds and branches, the effect was alike sudden and terrible; both armies were involved in volumes of flame and smoke; the natives rushing forth, fell a sacrifice to the devouring element, or the sword of the invader. Those who escaped into the fields endeavoured to renew the battle, and even their females aided in this extremity; but all was in vain, and at length the survivors sought safety in a general flight.

Thus closed the dreadful battle of Mauvila. The loss on the part of the Indians has been stated at eleven thousand; but even two thousand five hundred, the lowest estimate, is perhaps exaggerated. Of the Spaniards only eighteen were killed, but among these were Don Carlos and Diego de Soto, gallant youths and near relatives of the governor. Many others were severely wounded, and, besides, the whole party lost every thing. The baggage had been conveyed by chained Indians, who were left outside one of the gates; but the Mauvilans, in their first success, liberating them from their bonds, brought into the town all the effects, which perished in the subsequent conflagration. The discoverers had not even a change of clothes; and were, besides, deprived of the instruments for celebrating the higher mysteries of their religion.

Soto learned at first, with satisfaction, that his port of Achussi was only thirty leagues distant, and occupied by Maldonado. On consideration, however, he felt extreme reluctance to exhibit his armament, and have the tidings conveyed to Spain of its miserable and reduced state. He was alarmed also to hear that his men were complaining of having had only hard fighting and scanty fare, with none of those glittering treasures described in flattering terms by the conquerors of Peru. It was, therefore, in agitation among them, immediately on reaching the coast, to embark for Mexico, where better fortune might await them,—a purpose which it would have been difficult to prevent. The general could not wholly conceal from himself the unfavourable result of the expedition, in which he had embarked all his hopes and fortunes. But in this fallen state, to appear again in Spain, which he had quitted under such brilliant circumstances, was felt to be intolerable. He determined rather to plunge afresh into the depths of the American continent, in the hope of finding at length some object that might reward his adventure; and he still possessed such a command over his followers as to carry them along with him in this desperate undertaking.

He directed his march north-west into the valley of the Mississippi, a region hitherto unexplored,—abounding, too, in natural wealth, destined amply to repay culture and industry, but devoid of the treasures which he sought. After hard marching and fighting, he came to Chicaça, the small capital of the warlike nation of the Chickasaws. As the cold was becoming severe, he made it his winter quarters, and attempted, with apparent

success, to open a friendly communication with the cacique. Presents and visits were exchanged; and in the spring of the year the intercourse seemed about to close amicably, when the general applied for two hundred natives to carry his baggage. The Indians, who had all along been watching an opportunity for surprise, were thus induced to hasten their operations. Taking advantage of a dark, stormy night, and favoured by the treachery or cowardice of the sentinels, they penetrated undiscovered into the Spanish cantonments, and set them on fire. The troops, at dead of night, were roused from slumber by the crackling of the flames, the smoke, and the yells of the infuriated Chickasaws. They might have been entirely cut off, but that the horses, seized with terror, and rushing with wild neighings from place to place, were mistaken for mounted troops, and struck a panic into that undisciplined band, who fled without being pursued. The Spaniards, on rallying, found that only eleven had fallen; but they had lost fifty horses, most of their hogs, and such clothes as had escaped the flames at Mauvila. Even their iron armour was damaged, and required some time for repair.

No condition, certainly, could be esteemed more desolate than theirs now was. Yet they had still bold hearts and hands, which might have conquered a wealthy kingdom, had any such existed in that part of America. Soto accordingly pushed forward, till stopped by the broad stream of the Mississippi, called here *Chucagua*, or the great river. It is accurately described as above a mile broad, rapid, muddy, extremely deep, and with many large trees floating down its channel. His passage being opposed, it was twenty days before he could construct barges and transport his men; but after passing through Aquico, the towns of which had been abandoned, he came to a fertile territory named *Casquin*, (the Kaskaskias Indians). Having experienced such dreadful losses from the hostility of the natives, he had again recourse to conciliation, and with his former success, being most cordially treated by the cacique and his people. Lured by deceptive reports of gold, he proceeded still northward along the river to Copaha, a country equally populous, and where he was also well received. But as the cold was becoming severe, he merely sent a party northwards, who, on their return, stated that they had travelled seven days in that direction, and had found the country very barren and thinly inhabited. Farther north, the climate became intensely frigid, and the plains were covered with such vast herds of oxen (bisons) as rendered cultivation impossible. Soto, therefore, determined to make Copaha the limit of his march northwards. American writers have been unable to fix its precise position, though it undoubtedly formed part of the Missouri state; and the description of the country, as well as of the fish caught in the river, establishes the accuracy of the narrative. The details as to a long range of fertile country, followed by a tract of desert, along the Mis-



SOTO DISCOVERING THE MISSISSIPPI

issippi, seem to afford data which, on an attentive topographical survey, might indicate the place.

The Spanish commander, seeing no prospect of success in this direction, contented himself with asking for a fertile district; and he was directed to one called *Quigaute*, which appears to be the rich tract on the river St. Francois. It was found to answer the description; but the intercourse with the natives was again hostile. Learning that there lay a mountainous region to the north-west, which seems to be that at the head of the White river, he proceeded thither, in the vain hope that the rocks might contain gold. Disappointed once more, he bent his course southwards in search of a productive soil, which he found at Cayas, amid the hot and saline springs on the Upper Washita. Descending that river, he arrived at Autiamque, (Utiangue,) where he resolved to pass his fourth dreary winter. After this long and unfortunate march, and with his troops so

miserably reduced, he determined at last upon the measure, from which his mind had so strongly revolted, of returning to the coast, and seeking reinforcements from Cuba or Mexico. He therefore hastily descended the Washita to its junction with the Red river, and the latter stream to its confluence with the Mississippi, where he found himself in the territory of Guachoya, filled with a brave and numerous population. His men being now reduced to fewer than five hundred, and his horses, which had formed his chief strength, to forty, he could no longer hope to vanquish in the field a brave though barbarous foe. He was obliged to employ art, to act on their superstitious impressions, by stating that he was the child of the sun; and availing himself of their astonishment at seeing themselves in a mirror, pretended that in that glass he could see whatever they did at any distance, and thus detect any plot which might be formed against him. He was much concerned to learn that the sea was yet far off, and the road thither greatly obstructed by streams and entangled woods. Amid these anxieties and distresses, he was seized with fever, which, not being treated with due attention, closed in a few days his earthly career.

Soto did not merit quite so hard a destiny, though he was one of that bold bad race who, inflamed by the lust of gold, trampled on prostrate America. The unjust and tyrannical principles sanctioned by false views of loyalty and religion, which impelled to these enormities, were, in him, tempered at once by much prudence and discretion, and also by more than the usual degree of humanity. Had not his aims been frustrated by the nature of the country and the fierce valour of the people, he might have founded a dominion on a better basis than any of the other Spanish conquerors.

The troops, on the death of their commander, were struck with deep alarm. Moscoso, his successor, endeavoured to conceal the event from the Indians, pretending that the general had merely gone up on a visit to heaven, whence he would quickly return. Lest his grave should lead to other conclusions, the body was carried out, at midnight, into the centre of the great river, and, with a weight attached, sunk to the bottom. The cacique, however, politely intimated his consciousness of the true state of the case, by presenting two handsome youths, in order that, their heads being cut off, they might serve the chief in the land of souls. Moscoso, declining this gift, endeavoured still to gain belief for his first statement, though probably with little success. The party, meanwhile, felt themselves seriously called upon to consider their future plans. To reach a Spanish settlement by water, without vessels, pilots, or charts, appearing quite desperate, they determined rather to attempt a march to Mexico, not without a faint hope of discovering some golden region which might compensate all their toils. They pushed, accordingly, about three hundred

miles westward, when, after passing a great river, the Colorado de Texas, or the Rio del Norte, the country became almost a desert, and they could not make themselves understood by the inhabitants. They gave up all hope, and determined, at whatever cost, to return and descend the Mississippi. On regaining its banks, they had, like Narvaez's party, to perform the tedious task of constructing seven brigantines. But they fortunately had among their number a sawyer, four or five carpenters, a calker, and a cooper, and these instructed the rest. The jealousy of the Indians, however, led to a confederacy, which might have been fatal, had it not been disclosed by the female captives. The rising of the river enabled them to avoid the danger by immediately setting sail; though a numerous fleet of canoes pursued, cut off a detachment, and harassed them during a great part of the voyage. In fifty-two days they arrived, reduced to the number of three hundred and eleven, at the port of Panuco, in Mexico, where they were kindly received both by the governor and people. They had marched, in four years, upwards of five thousand miles, through a savage and hostile region. They had achieved nothing; not having left even a vestige of their route, except the track of blood by which it had been too often stained.





FRANCIS I.

THE FRENCH IN FLORIDA.



HITHERTO the career of discovery and colonization in the New World had been chiefly confined to the Spaniards; but Francis I. a powerful monarch, ambitious of every kind of glory, was animated also with eager rivalry of Charles V., who derived much lustre from his possessions in the New World. He therefore ardently desired to follow successfully in the same career: and with this view he supplied to *Giovanni Verazzano*, a noble Florentine, four vessels destined for America. This chief, after being driven back by a storm, was refitted, and engaged in some successful naval operations on the Spanish coast; and it was then determined, that in the *Dolphin*, with fifty men, provisioned for eight months, he should prosecute his original design of discovery. After encountering a severe tempest, he came, in the middle of March, upon a coast which Mr. Bancroft, with great probability, supposes to be that of North Carolina: and having sailed fifty leagues southward in search of a port without success, he turned again towards the north with the same object. He was once more disappointed as to a harbour; but seeing a fine popu-



VERRAZANO.

lous country, he landed in boats, and held some friendly intercourse with the natives. He next proceeded in an eastern direction along a low coast, where even a boat could not touch; but a sailor swam ashore, and though alarmed by some strange gestures, found the natives kind. A change of course to the northward marks the rounding of Cape Hatteras; and a run of fifty leagues brought him to a fertile region, covered with rich verdure and luxuriant forests. This was Virginia, near the mouth of the Chesapeake, though no mention is made of that great inlet. A sail of one hundred leagues in the same direction led to a spacious bay receiving a noble river, evidently the Hudson. They ascended it a short way in boats, and were delighted with its banks. The coast then tended eastward; and after following it fifty leagues, they reached an island of pleasing aspect, which being of a triangular form, and about the size of Rhodes, clearly appears to be that named Martha's Vineyard. The weather prevented his landing; and fifteen leagues farther he found a very convenient port, where he had again much satisfaction in communicating with the people. Though the latitude of 41 degrees 40 minutes be about half a degree too low, it seems impossible not to reach Boston. He then made a course of one hundred and fifty leagues along a country of similar character, but somewhat more elevated, without landing at any point. Another stretch of fifty leagues, first west and then north, brought him to a bolder territory, Nova Scotia, covered with dense forests of fir, pine, and other trees of a northern climate. The inhabitants were fiercer, and carried on trade only under jealous precautions. In a subsequent run of the same extent he discovered thirty small islands, with narrow channels running between them, being such as are known to stud the northern coast of that

country and the adjacent one of Cape Breton. Lastly, by sailing one hundred and fifty leagues farther, he reached, in fifty degrees, the lands discovered by the Britons, Newfoundland or Labrador. His stock of victuals being spent, he here took in water, and returned to France. He sent to the king from Dieppe a narrative of this voyage. Ramusio heard from different quarters that he had submitted to that monarch the plan of a colony; and the general belief is, that he was again employed by him. Mr. Biddle, indeed, urges the improbability that amid the disasters caused by the battle of Pavia, in February, 1525, Francis could engage in any such undertaking. Down, however, to that fatal day, his career was triumphant; and there was ample time to have authorized another expedition, though there is a total absence of any positive notice on the subject. Ramusio, without mentioning either place or date, states that in his last voyage, having landed with some companions, he was killed by the savages in presence of his crew still on shipboard. In a modern narrative, which, from its full genealogical details, appears to have been furnished by his relatives, Coronelli, an eminent Venetian hydrographer, is quoted, expressing his belief that the catastrophe took place off Cape Breton, in 1525. In the portrait from which our sketch is taken, the inscription positively bears "Dead in 1525." It was engraved in 1767 after a picture by Zocchi, in the possession of the family, whose opinion is thus decidedly expressed. Yet Tiraboschi has drawn attention to a letter of Annibal Caro, apparently directed to him when living at Florence in 1537. There seems a mystery round its fate, which we can scarcely now hope to unravel. His descendants probably still continue to enjoy a distinction at Florence, having, in 1770, an estate in its vicinity named Verazzano. There is also a portrait of him in the Medicean gallery.

Claims so extensive and so feebly supported as those of Spain to North America were not likely to remain long undisputed. Other European nations were then rapidly advancing in maritime skill and enterprise, among whom for some time France took the lead. The defeat and captivity of the king, followed by a humiliating peace, naturally diverted his mind from distant enterprises, especially such as would have been considered hostile by his rival Charles. The troubles which agitated the country after his death were also unfavourable to such undertakings; nevertheless, the spirit of adventure was cherished among the people, especially the Huguenots, an industrious class, who almost alone raised her commerce and manufactures to a flourishing condition. Rouen, Dieppe, and above all, Rochelle, ranked with the greatest havens in Europe. *Admiral Coligni*, one of the leaders in that eventful time, formed the scheme of a transatlantic settlement, which might at once extend the resources of this country, and afford an asylum to his Protestant brethren



COLIGNI.

While the civil war was yet only impending, he enjoyed intervals of favour at court, which enabled him to obtain permission, first to establish one in Brazil; and when that proved unfortunate, to plant another in Florida. He fitted out two vessels in 1562, and placed them under *John Ribault* of Dieppe, a seaman of experience. The object was to reach the mouth of the river called by Ayllon the Jordan, now Combahee, in South Carolina; but steering in too low a latitude, the discoverers reached the St. John, near St. Augustine, in Florida Proper. They were pleased with the aspect of the country; and, sailing northward to their destination, gave to successive rivers the names of the Seine, the Somme, and the Loire, which have not adhered to them. On reaching Port Royal, they were so delighted with its noble harbour, the magnificent trees and beautiful shrubs, that they determined to choose it for the site of their colony. Having seen a fort erected, and the settlement in a promising state, Ribault left twenty-six men, and returned to France for reinforcements and supplies. This seems an imprudent step. The establishment, in its unsettled state, stood in a peculiar need of being well governed; whereas it fell into the hands of Albert, a rash and tyrannical officer, who, finding it difficult to maintain authority, where all thought themselves nearly equal, enforced it in the most violent manner. He addressed them in opprobrious language; hanged one of them with his own hand, and threatened others with the same fate. At length they rose in mutiny, put him to death, and appointed a new commander, Nicolas Barre, who restored tranquillity.



SATURIOVA SHOWING LAUDONNIERE RIBAUT'S MONUMENT.

Ribault, meantime, in consequence of the breaking out of the civil war, was unable to make good his expectations and promises. After long waiting for him, the colonists were seized with an extreme desire to return to their native country; and, having no ship, they, like the companions of Narvaez and Moscoso, resolved to build one for themselves. The country afforded somewhat better materials, and they constructed a brigantine fit for the passage; but in their impatience, they laid in a slender stock of provisions, which, during the delay of a tedious calm, was entirely consumed. The last extremities of famine were suffered; and one had been actually sacrificed to preserve the rest, when an English vessel appeared, and received them on board.

The project, though seemingly abandoned, was still cherished by Coligni; and the assassination of the Duke of Guise having been followed by a peace, during which the court endeavoured to soothe the Huguenots, he obtained permission to attempt it on an enlarged scale. In 1564, he succeeded in fitting out three vessels, abundantly supplied, and gave the command to René Laudonniere, an able officer who had accompanied Ribault. Taking a circuitous course by the Canaries and the West Indies, he made for Florida, which he chose to term New France; and at Ribault's first station on the river St. John, (named May from the month of its discovery,) the party resolved to stop and settle.

The Indians received them in a friendly manner. Their cacique, Saturiova, came to visit Laudonniere; and Lacaille, who had acquired some knowledge of the Indian language in a previous voyage, gave the cacique to understand that the warriors of this new expedition had been sent to pay their respects to him, by a monarch who governed all the Eastern World. They had come from a great distance to render due homage to his bounty, his valour, and his liberality, and they had undergone great

perils in their voyage, in order to form between their sovereign and himself an alliance of friendship and amity.

Saturiova was greatly flattered at the idea of this solemn embassy. He began to think himself a prince of great power and importance, since the sovereign of so remote and powerful a kingdom had despatched an expedition for the sole purpose of seeking his alliance; and he forthwith conducted Laudonniere to a column, which had been erected by Ribault two years before, on the banks of the river. The French found this monument ornamented by the Indians with flowers, and branches of laurels, and other trees. There was also, placed at its base, a supply of maize and fruits for the entertainment of the new guests.

Laudonniere now proceeded to make his settlement.

The fort of La Carolina was erected, and expeditions sent up the river, where small quantities of gold and silver were seen; reports being also received as to the mountainous country in the interior, where these metals abounded. The hopes thus kindled were quite illusory, and diverted attention from the solid labours of agriculture. Alarming symptoms of insubordination appeared; many of the party, notwithstanding their religious profession, were of a reckless character, and had gone out with the most chimerical hopes of suddenly realizing a large fortune. Seeing no such prospect, they formed the criminal resolution of seeking it by piracy. They confined their commander, and extorted from him, by threats of immediate death, a commission to follow this unlawful vocation; while, by rifling his stores, they obtained materials for its prosecution. After various fortune, they were successful in capturing a vessel, richly laden, and having the governor of Jamaica on board. Hoping for a large ransom, they sailed to the island, and unguardedly allowed him to send a messenger to his wife; through him he conveyed a secret intimation, in consequence of which an armed force surrounded the pirates, captured the larger of their vessels, while the other escaped by cutting her cables. Those on board the latter being reduced to extremity from want of food, were obliged to return to the settlement, where Laudonniere condemned four of the ringleaders to be executed.

That chief meantime continued to make incursions to the interior, and entered into various transactions with the natives, in the vain hope of arriving at some region rich in gold and silver. Neglecting to establish themselves on the solid basis of agriculture, the settlers depended for food on the Indians, whose own stock was scanty. They were therefore obliged to undertake long journeys, without obtaining a full supply; and the natives, seeing them thus straitened, raised the price, disdainfully telling them to eat their goods, if they did not choose to give them for grain and fish. Amid these sufferings, and no prospect of realizing their fond dreams of wealth, they were seized, as was usual, with the ardent

desire of returning home, and shrunk not from the laborious task of constructing vessels for that purpose. Amid their painful labour, they were cheered by a visit from Sir John Hawkins, who gave them a liberal supply of provisions. They did not, however, intermit their task, and on the 28th August, 1565, were on the point of sailing, when several ships were descried approaching; which proved to be a new expedition, under Ribault, sent to supersede Laudonniere, of whose severity complaints had been made. He brought a numerous reinforcement, with ample supplies, which induced the colonists to remain; but they were soon exposed to a dreadful calamity.

The desire of conquering Florida, which had never become extinct in Spain, now called forth a new adventurer in the person of *Don Pedro Menendez*, who, having served with distinction, and accumulated wealth both in Holland and America, had there also learned the lessons of cruel bigotry. He became amenable to the sentence of a military tribunal, which, however, on account of previous reputation, was leniently executed; and to retrieve his honour, he undertook to equip, at his own expense, an expedition to Florida, of which he was appointed governor. While his preparations were in progress, Philip II., having received intelligence of the Huguenot settlement, pointed out to him, as a still more glorious task, that of rooting out the heretics from Spanish America; and to enable him to accomplish this object, three hundred troops were added to his armament. Menendez sailed from San Lucar with eleven ships and one thousand men; and such was the enthusiasm kindled for this "holy war," that on his reaching the Canaries, the number had swelled to two thousand six hundred. Notwithstanding some severe losses by shipwreck, he reached the coast of Florida, where falling in with three French vessels, and being questioned as to his intentions, he replied, with a fiery zeal, untempered by prudence, that he was come to extirpate the Protestants out of the country. The French hereupon cut their cables, and regained the port with all speed; but Menendez, having reconnoitred their position, and considering an immediate landing impracticable, repaired to the neighbouring river of St. Augustine. He there founded a settlement, considered by Mr. Bancroft the oldest town now in the United States, and forthwith prepared for hostile operations.

Ribault, on learning the arrival of this formidable enemy, thought it most advisable to become the assailant without delay, before they could fortify their position. This conduct has been censured, but perhaps too much with reference to the fatal event. Leaving Laudonniere with eighty-five men in the fort, he sailed on the 8th September, and arrived on the 10th at the mouth of the St. Augustine; but was there overtaken by a tremendous storm, which drove him far out to sea. Menendez, concluding that this expedition must have comprised the flower of the French

troops, and that those left in the fort were few in number, hastily formed the resolution to attack them. Selecting five hundred of his best men, he led them across a wild country, intersected by broad streams, swamps, and forests, encouraging them to proceed by an appeal to all the sentiments of honour and religion. On the fourth evening, the place was descried, but the night was spent in the neighbourhood, amid a dreadful tempest, which, while it inflicted severe suffering, also lulled the enemy's suspicions. At daybreak the three gates of the fort were seen open, and only a single Frenchman outside, who was lured into the camp, and killed. Menendez then ordered his followers to rush forward, and enter before any discovery could be made. But a soldier, chancing to be on the rampart, gave the alarm; though before Laudonniere could be roused, the enemy were in the fort, and had commenced an indiscriminate massacre. That chief, with several companions, leaped from the wall, ran into the woods, and, after wandering some time, found a little bark, in which, under severe want and imminent perils, they made their way to Bristol. Spanish writers assert, that after the slaughter had continued some time, an order was issued to spare the women and children, and that, while two hundred perished, seventy were saved.



IBAULT, meanwhile, after being driven out to sea, saw his vessels completely wrecked among the rocks in the Bahama Channel. He escaped on shore with nearly all his men; but their condition was most deplorable, and in endeavouring to reach their settlement by a march of three hundred miles through a barren country, the most extreme hardships were endured. At length, on the ninth day, they beheld the river, and the fort on the opposite side; but what was their dismay to see on the ramparts Spanish colours flying! Their leader made a solemn pause before he could resolve to place any trust in men known to be imbued with the most ferocious bigotry. Seeing, however, no other hope, he sent two of the party to represent that their sovereigns were at peace; that, agreeably to instructions, they had strictly avoided interfering with any of their settlements; they asked only food, and a vessel to convey them home. Their reception is very differently reported. According to the French it was most kind, and ample pledges of safety were given. The Spaniards, on the contrary, allege that Menendez acquainted them with his object, and the bloody treatment he had given to their countrymen; but added, that if they would lay down their arms, and place themselves at his mercy, he would do with them whatever God in his grace might suggest. We cannot however believe that without some

more positive pledge, Ribault would have agreed to surrender. Having delivered their arms, his men were conveyed across the river by thirty at a time. They were dismayed to find themselves bound two and two together, with their hands behind their backs ; but this, they were assured, was only a temporary precaution. At length they were drawn up in front of the castle, when the Spanish chief with his sword drew a line round them on the sand, and on a signal given, the soldiers commenced the work of slaughter, with every excess of cruelty and indignity ; the military band playing the whole time, to drown the cries for mercy and the shrieks of the dying. Ribault, amid vain remonstrances, was struck in the back and fell, covered with wounds. When the work of blood was finished, the assassins suspended to a tree a number of the mangled limbs, attaching the inscription, "*Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies to God.*"

This dismal tragedy, when announced in France, gave birth to a mingled sentiment of grief and rage, accompanied by a loud cry for vengeance. These feelings were the more deep among the Huguenots, from the suspicion that they were not shared by the sovereign Charles IX., who was closely united with Philip in relentless enmity to the Protestant name. Yet a remonstrance was presented from fifteen hundred widows and orphans, calling on him to avenge this dreadful deed, and vindicate the honour of this country. The king made only formal remonstrances, and accepted a superficial apology ; but there was a spirit in the nation itself which, independently of his will, provided the means of punishment.

Dominique de Gourgues was universally distinguished in that age as a daring warrior. He had fought successfully both against the Spaniards and the Turks, by the former of whom he had been held some time a prisoner, treated with the utmost indignity, and compelled to work as a galley slave. On receiving intelligence of the Floridan catastrophe, his own wrongs, together with those of his countrymen, took full possession of his mind ; and he devoted his whole energies to the work of vengeance. By selling his little property, and borrowing from friends, he equipped three ships, with two hundred and thirty soldiers and sailors, mostly chosen adherents, who had often conquered along with him. Carefully concealing his object, he obtained a license for the slave trade, and sailed on the 22d August, 1567 ; but on approaching the Cape de Verd islands, he changed his course, and stood across the Atlantic. It was not before reaching the western point of Cuba, that he unfolded to the whole party their dreadful destination. Some were disposed to shrink ; but, being persuaded by the rest, they at length joined in a unanimous consent.

De Gourgues, in sailing along the coast of Florida, passed imprudently near to San Matheo, of which he was warned by his squadron, who had found themselves saluted as Spaniards ; whereupon he hastened to another

river, fifteen leagues distant, and landed as secretly as possible. Finding the natives as usual imbued with deadly hostility towards the subjects of Philip, he engaged their co-operation; and learning that the enemy had built two small forts, he made a rapid march and spent the night at a short distance from them. In the morning, he was alarmed to see the whole garrison in motion on the ramparts; but they had assembled from some accidental cause, and soon withdrew. The French then advanced through a thick wood, which brought them almost close to one of the smaller forts. On emerging from the forest they were seen, the alarm was given, and two guns fired; but, rushing forward with wild impetuosity, they scaled the ramparts, an Indian chief being foremost. The garrison, seized with terror, ran out in every direction, and were nearly all killed or taken. Those in the next station followed their example, and soon shared their fate; but the main fortress was still untouched, and defended by troops far more numerous than the assailants. A small party, however, having rashly sallied out, were surrounded and nearly cut off; whereupon the whole body, struck with the general panic, at once abandoned their stronghold, and sought safety in the woods. Being eagerly pursued, most of them were taken; and De Gourgues had given strict orders to bring in as many alive as possible. He then led them all together to the fatal tree on which the remains of his slaughtered countrymen yet hung, and having upbraided them in the strongest terms for their treachery and cruelty, he hanged them all; suspending a number of their bodies on the same trunk, and substituting the following inscription:—“*Not because they are Spaniards, but because they are traitors, robbers, and murderers.*” Had this execution been confined to a few of the ringleaders, it might have been held as a just retribution; but being inflicted on so large a scale, it almost rivalled the atrocity which it was meant to avenge.

De Gourgues had not come with any intention of settlement. Embarking, therefore, with whatever was valuable in the forts, he sailed for Rochelle, and was received in that Protestant capital with the loudest acclamations. His reception at Bordeaux was equally flattering; but it was very different at Paris, where Charles showed no little inclination to transmit his head to Philip, who loudly demanded it. Steps were even taken for bringing him to trial; but they were found so excessively unpopular, that it was deemed expedient to withdraw them, and allow him to retire into Normandy.





RALEIGH.

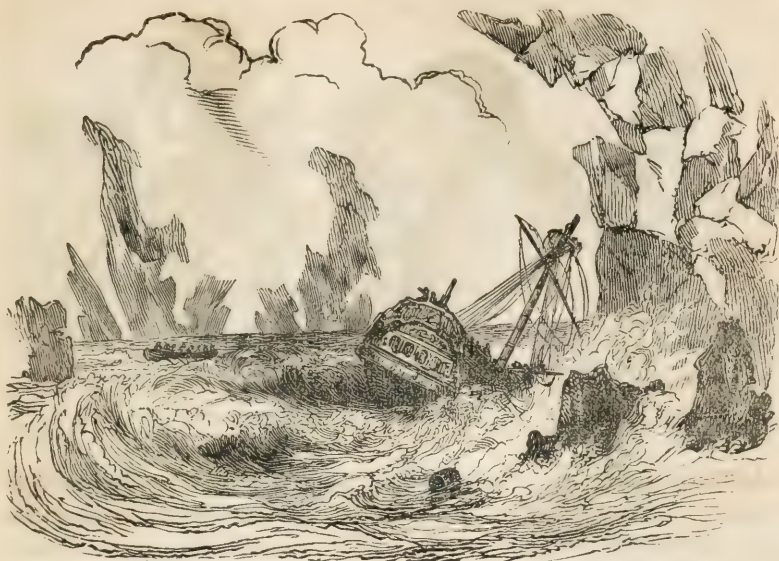
ATTEMPTS OF RALEIGH TO COLONIZE VIRGINIA.



OR a century after the discovery of the continent of North America, the English, although the discovery had been made under the 'auspices of their government, appear to have totally neglected the country. This was probably occasioned by their wars with France and Spain; and by the disputes about religion, till the Protestant religion was finally established by Queen Elizabeth. When this was effected, she was engaged in supporting the Protestants of France, the Netherlands, and Scotland, against the Roman Catholic powers, so that it was late in her reign before she had leisure to turn her attention to North America.

The abortive attempts of Thorne and Hore, to discover a north-west passage to India, in the reign of Henry VIII., were of little moment; nor was the unfortunate voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughby of much greater importance.

In the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, (1576,) Sir Martin Frobisher was sent to find out a north-west passage to the East Indies. The first landing which he made on the coast was upon a cape, which he called Queen Elizabeth's foreland. In coasting northerly, he discovered the



LOSS OF SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY'S SQUADRON.

straits which bear his name. He prosecuted his search for a passage into the western ocean, till he was prevented by the ice, and then returned to England. In 1579, Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, for lands not yet possessed by any Christian prince, provided he would take possession within six years. With this encouragement, he sailed for America, and on the 1st of August, 1583, anchored in Conception Bay. Afterwards he discovered, and took possession of St. John's Harbour, and the country south; but in pursuing his discoveries, he was unfortunately lost, and the intended settlement was prevented.

On the 25th of March, 1584, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to *Sir Walter Raleigh*, his heirs and assigns for ever, to discover and view, hold and occupy such remote heathen and barbarous lands and territories, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, or inhabited by Christian people, as to him or them should seem good. Under this patent, Sir Walter formed a company who contributed money, and provided two ships and an outfit for the enterprise.

While this commission was preparing, says Salmon, Mr. Raleigh formed a society among his friends and acquaintance, who contributed large sums, and provided two ships to go upon this discovery, with all manner of necessaries for such an enterprise: the command of which being given to Captain Philip Amidas, and Captain Arthur Barlow, they set sail from the west of England, on the 27th of April, 1584, and the 10th of May arrived at the Canaries, from whence they bent their course to the Caribbee islands,



THE INDIAN'S BREASTPLATE.

which they made on the 10th of June, keeping a more southerly course than they needed to have done, as they themselves observed afterwards, apprehending that the current set so strong to the northward on the coast of Florida or Virginia, that there was no stemming it; and that mistake made them go two or three thousand miles out of their way: however, they arrived at the island of Wokokon, near the coast of Virginia, or rather of North Carolina, (of which this country was then reckoned a part,) and took possession thereof in the name of Queen Elizabeth, whom they proclaimed rightful queen and sovereign of the same, to the use of Mr. Raleigh, according to her majesty's grant. But they soon discovered it to be but an island of twenty miles in length, and six in breadth, and lying in thirty-four degrees odd minutes north latitude; the land producing cedars, cypress, pines, and vast quantities of grapes; nor was there any want of deer, hare, rabbits, and wild fowl.

After they had continued here three days, an Indian came on board them, and was entertained in the ship, after which he caught some fish, and presented to the English; and the next day, Graganimo, the brother of Wingina, king of Wingandacoa, (as the neighbouring continent was called,) came down with forty or fifty of his people to the seaside. Whereupon, several English officers went over to him, and were invited to sit down with him on the mats that were spread for that purpose, the prince striking his head and his breast, and making a great many signs to signify they were heartily welcome, as they apprehended. Whereupon, they made him some small presents, as they did to four of his people, who sat on the lower end of the same mat; but the prince took away the things from his men, intimating that they were his servants, and that all presents were to be made to him: and having taken leave of the English, he returned with more of his people two days after, bringing deer-skins, buff, and other

peltry to trade with them. Whereupon, they showed Granganimo all their merchandise, of which nothing pleased him so much as a bright pewter dish : he took it up, clapped it upon his breast, and having made a hole in the brim, hung it about his neck, intimating it would be a good shield against his enemies' arrows. This pewter dish they exchanged for twenty skins, worth twenty nobles, and a copper kettle for fifty skins, worth as many crowns. They offered, also, a very advantageous exchange for their axes, hatchets, and knives, and would have given any thing for their swords, but the English would not part with them.

Two or three days after, the king's brother came on board their ships, and ate and drank with them, and seemed to relish their wine and food very well, and some few days after, he brought his wife and daughter, and several more of his children with him. His wife had good features, but was not tall; she appeared exceeding modest, and had a cloak or mantle of a skin with the fur next her body, and another piece of a skin before her. About her head she had a coronet of white coral, and in her ears pendants of pearls about as big as peas, hanging down to her middle, and she had bracelets on her arms. Her husband also wore a coronet or band of white coral about his head sometimes, but usually a coronet of copper, or some other shining metal, which at first our adventurers imagined to be gold, but were mistaken. His hair was cut short, but his wife's was long.

The rest of his habit was like his wife's. The other women of the better sort, and the prince's children, had several pendants of shining copper in their ears. The complexion of the people in general being tawny, and their hair black. The prince's wife was usually attended by forty or fifty women to the seaside; but when she came on board, (as she did often,) she left them on shore, and brought only two or three with her.

The king's brother, they observed, was very just to his engagements; for they frequently delivered him merchandise upon his word, and he ever came within the day, and delivered what he had promised for them. He sent them, also, every day, as a present, a brace of bucks, with hares, rabbits, and fish, the best in the world; together with several sorts of fruits, such as melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and several kinds of roots, as also maize, or Indian corn.

Afterwards, seven or eight of the English officers went in their boat up the river Occam, twenty miles to the northward, and came to an island called Roanoke, where they were hospitably entertained by Granganimo's wife, in his absence. She pressed them to stay on shore all night, and when they refused, she was much concerned they should be apprehensive of any danger, and sent the provision on board their boat, which she had provided for their supper, with mats for them to lie upon: and the captain

who wrote the relation, it seems, was of opinion, they might safely have continued on shore ; for a more kind and loving people he thought there could not be in the world, as he expressed himself.

These Indians, having never seen any Europeans before, were mightily taken with the whiteness of their skins, and took it as a great favour if any Englishman would permit any of them to touch his breast. They were amazed also at the magnitude and structure of their ships, and at the firing of a musket they trembled, having never seen any fire-arms before.

The English continued to trade with the Indians, till they had disposed of all the goods they had brought, and loaded their ships with skins, sassafras, and cedar. They procured also some pearls from them, and a little tobacco, which they found the Indians very fond of. After which, they parted with this people, in a very friendly manner, and returned home to England, taking with them Manteo and Wanchese, two Indians, who appeared desirous to embark for England with them ; and having made a very profitable voyage, they gave Mr. Raleigh, and the rest of their employers such a glorious account of the country, as made them impatient till they had provided ships for another voyage. The tobacco the Captains Amidas and Barlow brought home with them in this voyage, was the first that had been seen in England, and was soon cried up as a most valuable plant, and a sovereign remedy for almost every malady.

Mr. Raleigh and his friends, continues Salmon, having fitted out a fleet consisting of seven ships, and given the command of it to Sir Edward Greenville, they set sail from Plymouth, on the 9th of April, 1585, and made the Canary islands, on the 14th of the same month, from whence they steered to the Antilles, which they made the 7th of May, and, on the 12th, came to an anchor at the island of Porto Rico, where they put their men on shore, and took in fresh water and provisions ; and setting sail again on the 29th of May, they arrived at the island of Wokokon, on the 26th of June, where the admiral's ship was cast away, going into the harbour, but himself and the crew saved.

The admiral, with several of his officers, attended with a good guard, went over to the continent on the 11th of July, and came to the town of Secotan, where they were hospitably entertained by the natives ; but some pilfering Indian having stolen a silver cup from the English, which the natives promised to restore ; and neglecting to do it, the admiral, in his return, plundered one of their towns, and burnt it, with all the corn growing in their fields ; at which the country being incensed, the admiral set sail from the island of Wokokon, on the 21st of July, and arrived at Cape Hatteras, where Granganimo, brother to King Wingina, came on board the fleet, and had a friendly conference with the admiral ; after which the English landed on the island of Roanoke, in the mouth of Albemarle river.



GREENVILLE BURNING AN INDIAN TOWN.

Here the fleet remained about six weeks, during which time Sir Edward Greenville took a view of the neighbouring continent again, and made experiments of the goodness of the soil by several sorts of grain he sowed, which came up very kindly during his stay there: and on the 25th of August, he set sail for England, leaving one hundred and eight men upon the island of Roanoke, under the command of Captain Ralph Lane, with directions to make further discoveries, promising them such supplies and reinforcements as might enable them to subdue the neighbouring continent.

Sir Edward Greenville had no sooner sailed for England, than Mr. Lane made preparations, with his boats, (for I do not perceive one ship was left him,) to discover the continent on the north and west; and to the north he viewed the coast from the island of Roanoke, almost to Cape Henry, at the entrance of the bay of Chesapeake, being about an hundred and forty miles, in which he met with no opposition from the natives; but, afterwards, communicating his design of making a discovery as far to the westward up the river Morotock, or Albemarle, to his friend King Wiggins, the sovereign of the opposite continent, that prince was alarmed, and gave notice to the neighbouring princes, his allies, to be upon their guard; for the English intended nothing less, as he conceived, than to make an entire conquest of their country, and to extirpate the inhabitants, or to make them slaves; and orders were immediately despatched through the whole country, to carry off or destroy all their corn and provisions, and to retire from the banks of the river Morotock, with their wives and families, that the English might find no subsistence.



However, King Wingina, or Pamispán, as he is sometimes called, still pretended great friendship for the English, and promised Mr. Lane to furnish him with guides in this expedition; and to incite him to undertake it, told him, there were great quantities of gold to be found towards the head of the river Morotock, about thirty or forty days' journey to the westward, and that some few days' march beyond the head of that river, they would arrive at a great ocean; for,

as the English had made Wingina acquainted with their intended expedition, weakly imagining they should be supported in the enterprise by his advice and assistance, the penetrating Indian, discerning that the principal views of the English, were to rob them of their treasures, to make a conquest of the country, and find a passage to some ocean they apprehended lay west of Virginia, encouraged Captain Lane to believe that their expectations would not be disappointed, but that they would find some gold, or mineral like it, in their mountains, and arrive at the ocean they mentioned, within the space of forty days, where they would meet with pearls of an uncommon size; for he proposed by such representations to draw the English far up the river, into the inland country, where they would run a great hazard of being famished before they could get back to Roanoke; their fire-arms being such a terror to the Indian princes, that they despaired of overcoming these invaders but by some such stratagem.

Mr. Lane, not imagining King Wingina, his Indian friend, had sagacity enough to discover the bottom of his designs, but still had the same friendship for the English he had hitherto possessed, entered upon the expedition to the westward with the guides Wingina had lent him; and not doubting but he should be able to purchase corn and flesh of the natives who inhabited the banks of the river Morotock, he took little provision with him; but to his great surprise he found the whole country abandoned, and that there was no food to be met with: and as he advanced, he observed the natives made fires to give notice of his approach, and fled with all their effects. So that our adventurers, after they had rowed four days up the river, were reduced to great straits, having nothing to subsist on but the flesh of two mastiff dogs they killed. Whereupon they hastened to the mouth of the river again, to which they were by good fortune carried down in much less time than they went up, and arrived at the island of Roanoke on Easter-day, 1586; where they found Wingina and his Indians, who still made great professions of friendship for the English, but immediately entered

into another conspiracy with their allies to destroy them; and the first step Wingina took towards it was to prohibit the natives to furnish the English with provisions; for want of which he was sensible they must divide themselves into several parties to procure food by hunting and fishing. Then he appointed a general rendezvous of the Indians near the coast, ordering them on the 10th of June, in the night-time, to embark in their canoes and make a descent on the island of Roanoke; at which instant he promised them to set fire to the huts of the English, and as they would be reduced to a small number by their sending detachments to the neighbouring islands in search of food, he did not doubt but the natives would be able to knock those on the head who remained at Roanoke, when they should run out of their houses naked and unarmed to avoid the flames. But this conspiracy being discovered to Captain Lane by Skyco, the son of Menatonon, an Indian prince, with whom Captain Lane had contracted an intimate friendship, the captain resolved to be beforehand with Wingina, and on the last of May surprised him with several more of the Indian chiefs, and cut them in pieces. On the 8th of June following, Sir Francis Drake arrived on the coast with a fleet of men of war under his command; which had been employed in attacking and plundering the Spanish towns and harbours in North America.

The admiral being directed to give the colony at Roanoke all the assistance he could, agreed to leave with them a ship and some men and provisions, to enable them to make further discoveries on the continent; but understanding on what ill terms they were with the natives, and that it would be impossible to establish a colony there without a much greater force, now the Indians were become their enemies, he ordered them to return to England the following August, which was no sooner agreed on than there arose a storm, in which the whole fleet was in danger of shipwreck, and the ship and provisions the admiral had given them was driven out to sea and lost. Whereupon he thought fit to take Mr. Lane and his companions to England with him; and thus ended the first attempt of Mr. Raleigh to settle a colony on the American coast.

It was but a few days after Sir Francis Drake had carried away Captain Lane and his company from the island of Roanoke, before a ship arrived with men, ammunition, and provisions for the colony; but not finding any European there or in the adjacent islands or continent, they concluded the colony had been destroyed, and returned to England.

About a fortnight after the last ship had left the island of Roanoke, Sir Edward Greenville arrived there with three ships, and a much more ample supply of ammunition and provisions, and made all the inquiry he was able after the colony, but could hear nothing of them; however he left fifteen men, with ammunition and provision for two years, and returned to England. In the beginning of the year 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted



THE SETTLEMENT AT ROANOKE.

out three ships more, on board of which he put one hundred and fifty men, besides mariners, giving the command of them to *Captain John White*, whom he appointed governor, but added twelve assistants, incorporating them by the name of the Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia. This little squadron set sail from Portsmouth on the 28th of April, 1587, and the 19th of June following made the Caribbee islands, landing the planters at the island of Santa Cruz to refresh them and take in fresh water: and reimbarking their people, three days after set sail again, and arrived at Cape Fear, in Carolina, on the 16th of July, where they were in great danger of being cast away; for they did not see the cape till they were within a cable's length of it. From Cape Fear they stood to the northward, and arrived at Cape Hatteras, near the island of Roanoke, on the 22d of July; whereupon they sent a party of men to search the island of Roanoke for the fifteen men Sir Richard Greenville had left there the year before, but could find none of them, nor any signs of their having been there, unless the bones of one man they supposed had been killed. But at the north end of the island they found the fort which had been erected by Captain Lane, and the first colony with several of their houses undemolished; the lower rooms however were overrun with melons and deer feeding on them.

Sir Walter Raleigh had ordered Captain White and the colony not to fix themselves at Roanoke, but to sail northward as far as the bay of Ches-

peake, and erect a town there ; but this was opposed by Ferdinando, the Spanish pilot, to whose care the fleet was committed, under pretence that it was too late in the year to look out for another port. Whereupon Governor White and the rest of the planters determined to stay at Roanoke, and to repair the fort and houses they found there. They had not been ashore a week before Mr. George How, one of the court of assistants, straggling a mile or two from the fort, was desperately wounded with sixteen arrows by a party of Indians, who had concealed themselves in the reeds and flags by the sea-side, and seeing him disabled, they beat out his brains with their wooden swords and clubs.

On the 30th of July, twenty men, under the command of Captain Stafford, were detached to the island of Croatan, with Manteo the Indian, whose mother and relations dwelt in that island, to inquire after the fifteen men, and to renew their ancient friendship with the people of that island. The natives seemed at first prepared to oppose Captain Stafford's landing ; but upon his marching towards them with his musketeers they fled. Whereupon Manteo called to his countrymen, telling them the English came as friends ; and the Indians knowing his voice, returned, and throwing away their bows and arrows, bid the captain welcome, and afterwards conducted him to their town, entertaining him and his people in the best manner they could ; but they desired the English would give them some badge or mark whereby they might be distinguished from their Indian enemies when they met with them out of the island, for want of which several of their friends had been hurt and wounded the year before by Captain Lane and his people. This Captain Stafford agreed to, and afterwards directed the Croatans to go over to the continent and acquaint the inhabitants of Secotan, Pomeiok, &c., that if they would accept of the friendship of the English, and enter into an alliance with them, all past injuries should be forgotten ; which the chiefs of the Croatans promised to do, and to return within seven days with the answer of the Weroances, or heads of those tribes, to which our adventurers were pleased to give the titles of Kings.

They understood also from the inhabitants of Croatan, that the fifteen men Sir Edward Greenville had left at Roanoke the year before, had been surprised by the people of Secotan and some other Indian powers, who, coming over to the island as friends, took an opportunity to set fire to their houses, and murdered some of them as they ran out unarmed to avoid the flames : however, eight or nine of the English escaped to the water-side, and went over in their boat to a little island on the right-hand of Cape Hatteras ; that the English some time after removed from that island, but whither they went, or what became of them, they could not tell.

Captain Stafford afterwards returned, and acquainting Governor White with what he had done, it was resolved to wait seven days for the answer of the Weroances of Secotan, &c., before they entered upon further action.

But the seven days being expired, and none of the Weroances of Secotan, &c., appearing, nor any answer to their message being brought by the men of Croatan, as they had promised, the governor took four-and-twenty men with him, well armed, and went over to the continent on the 8th of August, in the evening, determining to be revenged on the people of Secotan and their allies for driving the fifteen English from Roanoke, and murdering Mr. How : and having been informed where one of the principal towns was, he attacked it in the night-time, with an intent to destroy all the men in it ; but instead of his enemies he found his friends of Croatan possessed of the place, and hurt and wounded several of them before he discovered his mistake ; for the people of Secotan, after they had murdered How, expecting this visit, had retired to the inland country with precipitation, and left their corn, tobacco, and fruits behind them, which the people of Croatan had been gathering in : and this was the reason they did not return within the seven days, as they had promised. They readily acknowledged, therefore, that the mischief they had received was by mistake, and that they themselves were the occasion of it, by not keeping their words.

Governor White being returned to Roanoke, on the 15th of August, Mantec, the Indian, was baptized, and constituted Lord of the island of Roanoke, and of the opposite continent of Desamongapeak, as Sir Walter Raleigh had ordered ; and on the 18th of the same month, Mrs. Eleanor Dare, wife of Mr. Ananias Dare, one of the court of assistants, and daughter of Governor White, was delivered of a daughter, afterwards baptized by the name of Virginia. And now all the planters' stores and provisions being landed, and the ships ready to sail, the colony determined to send back two of the court of assistants to England, to solicit for further reinforcements and supplies, those they had with them not being thought sufficient to establish a colony on the continent, as the Indians were most of them their professed enemies. But at length it was thought most proper to depute Governor White himself, who had the greatest interest at the court of England, and on whose diligence and application they could most rely : and with great reluctance he was prevailed on to undertake this office, apprehending his reputation might suffer if he had left the colony and returned to England before he had effected any thing.

Captain White setting sail for England, arrived there at a time when the nation was alarmed with the rumour of the intended Spanish invasion, which was attempted the following summer, 1588, to oppose which the queen and the whole kingdom were employed, especially Drake, Raleigh, and the rest of the sea commanders. And as the state seemed to be in imminent danger, all lesser enterprises were neglected or postponed, and consequently Governor White's application in behalf of the unhappy colony he had left in America was very little attended to, insomuch that he was not able to obtain leave for any ships to be sent thither till the beginning of

the year 1590: and then all that he could procure was an order that three small men of war, which were going to cruise against the Spaniards in the West Indies, should take some reinforcements and provisions on board for the colony at Roanoke; which order they were far from obeying as they ought to have done, for they only took Governor White on board, refusing to carry either planters or provisions thither. Sir Walter Raleigh either had not interest enough at this time to cause his orders to be obeyed, or was employed in enterprises wherein he expected to acquire more wealth or glory than in supporting his Virginian colony, which occasioned his neglecting those unfortunate people, who had been induced to hazard their lives and all that was dear to them in his service.



MR. WHITE, relates, that the commanders of the men of war with whom he went to America, having spent most of the summer in cruising among the Spanish islands, did not arrive at Roanoke till the middle of August, 1590; and that on searching the island of Roanoke they found, by some inscriptions cut on the trees and beams of the houses, that the colony was removed to the island of Croatan, but before they removed they had buried their chests, and great part of their effects, which the Indians afterwards dug up and spoiled. Governor White, with much importunity, procured the consent of the captains of the men of war, to follow the colony to Croatan: but the weather growing tempestuous, they were in great danger of shipwreck, and lost most of their anchors and cables. Whereupon they sailed directly to England, and left the colony to shift for themselves; and whether they were famished, or cut in pieces by the Indians, or perished in attempting to get home by sea, could never be learnt, for they have never been heard of from that day to this. This must render people exceeding cautious how they engage in such enterprises on the faith and promises of courtiers to support them. The safety of the state, a project of more importance, or the prospect of gaining greater treasures another way, are too often thought sufficient reasons for abandoning our distressed friends: and, indeed, during the year 1588, when the whole kingdom was at stake, there might be some colour for Sir Walter's not sending reinforcements to his colony; but when that was over, and an invasion no longer feared, he might, one would have thought, have cast an eye towards a company of men who had run the greatest hazard, relying upon his word and honour to sustain them. He might, surely, have reinforced his colony, or brought them back, considering the figure he then made in the court of England and royal navy: but probably the capture of the galleons, the plunder of Cadiz, and the gold-mines of Guiana, which

he went in search of soon after, put the Virginian colony too much out of his head, after he found himself disappointed in his principal view of possessing mountains of gold in Virginia.

Sir Walter also seems chargeable with levity as well as avarice, since, after he had obtained the property of Virginia by letters-patent from Queen Elizabeth, and had sent several colonies thither, he became in a short time so regardless of that country, or the fate of those who had embarked in that enterprise, in confidence of being supported by him, that he went in search of other gold-mines in Guiana, the magazine of all rich metals, (as he terms it,) and made some voyages in person thither, in which he was however miserably disappointed; and discovered great weakness and credulity in the accounts he had left behind him of that country; for he was made to believe there was more gold and precious stones in Guiana than in Mexico and Peru; though it appears there is less of either there than in any part of Spanish America. He was made to believe also that one of the nations of Guiana were a headless people, and that their mouths were in the middle of their breasts, and their eyes in their shoulders; of which he tells us there was no doubt to be made, he having been assured of it from a cloud of witnesses. Whatever prudence and conduct Sir Walter may have discovered on other occasions, the prospect of gold-mines and mountains of precious stones he expected to find in Guiana seems to have disordered his brain to a very great degree; for, after repeated disappointments, he never desisted his search, until at length it proved fatal to him.

Purchas indeed relates, that while he was endeavouring in person to discover the gold-mines of Guiana, he did order some vessels to inquire after his colony at Roanoke, but was deceived by those he employed, who never went the voyage, except one *Mace*, who undertook it in the year 1602, and was killed by the natives on his going on shore, with several of his crew, the rest escaping with difficulty.

Thus it appears but too evident, that Sir Walter Raleigh's expectations of discovering immense treasures in Guiana were in a great measure the ruin of the first attempts to settle colonies in Virginia.

He seems in raptures when he first visited those shores, which he endeavours to make his friends believe were all gold and precious stones.

I am assured, says Sir Walter, by such Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, and which they (the Spaniards) call El Dorado, or the Golden city; that for the greatness, the riches, and excellent situation, it exceeds all the world. All the vessels and utensils of the emperor's house are of gold and silver, with statues of gold resembling giants. There are also the figures of all animals, beasts, birds, and fishes, as big as the life. There is not any vegetable, but they have the figure of it in gold; and golden billets lie piled up on heaps, in imitation of fire-



QUEEN ELIZABETH

wood. And in another place he relates, that there were mountains of diamonds in Guiana; which it is evident he believed himself, though in fact there was never any such city as Manoa, or such an emperor as he mentions, and very little gold to be met with in Guiana, as the French and Dutch will inform us, who have settlements in that very country, which he places between the equator and five degrees of north latitude, or between the rivers Oronoco and Amazon. However, his expectations of finding it what he describes was no doubt the reason of his neglecting those colonies which he had sent to Virginia. That he was conscious of the distress they must be reduced to, appears by his telling the Spaniards, in one of the voyages he made to Guiana, that he was bound for Virginia, to relieve the people he left there; and he informs us, that he had an intention to have visited them in his return from Guiana, if the winds had favoured him.

And it is not the most improbable conjecture, that the reason Queen Elizabeth did not assist him with her ships and forces to subdue this golden country, as he had represented it to be, was, that he had deceived her

once before, by representing Virginia as such, which he now neglected. She had found his weak side. She discerned his avarice and credulity, and did not think fit to hazard her ships or subjects until she had better proofs of the reality of those treasures. These are some of the reasons that this princess made no further attempts to settle colonies in America in her reign, though she lived a dozen years or more after White's last expedition to Virginia. She was too wise a princess to be deceived twice by one person in the same case, and no private adventurers would undertake to send colonies thither after they saw such a body of men abandoned by their employers.

As Sir Walter himself observes, it was the hopes of gold that was the principal and almost only motive to these undertakings. The English had observed the success of the Spaniards, and imagined that gold and silver mines were as common in America as lead mines are in Europe. The first adventurers, whether English or Spanish, had no view or thought of finding any thing else in that New World but gold and silver, that would answer the expense and hazard of such voyages. They did not dream at that time, that the Virginian tobacco would be as profitable as a gold-mine, as it was found afterwards to be, when they purchased with it most of the merchandise of Europe as with ready-money. Nor did they foresee that extensive and profitable traffic subsequently carried on between Europe and the plantations; which was, in reality, a greater advantage to some powers than the mines of Peru and Mexico were to the Spaniards.

Before the effective settlement of Virginia, some other voyages to America were undertaken. In 1602, *Bartholomew Gosnold*, with thirty-two persons, made a voyage to north Virginia, and discovered and gave names to Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth Island, and Dover Cliff. Elizabeth Island was the place which they fixed for their settlement. But the courage of those who should have remained failing, they all returned to England. All the attempts to settle this continent which were made by the Dutch, French, and English, from its discovery to this time, a period of one hundred years, proved ineffectual. The Spaniards only, of all the European nations, had been successful. There is no account of there having been one European family, at this time, in all the vast extent of coast from Florida to Greenland. In 1603, *Martin Pring* and *William Brown* were sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, with two small vessels, to make discoveries in North Virginia. They came upon the coast, which was broken by a multitude of islands, in latitude $43^{\circ} 30'$ north. They coasted southward to Cape Cod Bay; thence round the cape into a commodious harbour in latitude $41^{\circ} 25'$, where they went ashore and tarried seven weeks, during which time they loaded one of their vessels with sassafras, and returned to England.



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.



BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD having conceived a favourable idea of America, had made it his business, on his return to England, to solicit assistance in prosecuting discoveries. Meeting with the celebrated *Captain John Smith*, he readily entered into his views, the employment being exactly suited to his enterprising genius. Having engaged Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant; Robert Hunt, a clergyman, and several others; they prevailed upon a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, to solicit a patent from the crown, by which the adventurers to Virginia became subject to legal direction, and had the support and encouragement of a wealthy and respectable corporation: which was usually styled the South Virginia Company, or the London Company, in distinction from the Plymouth Company, who superintended the affairs of North Virginia. The date of their patent was April 10, 1606, and on the 19th of the following December, three ships, one of one hundred tons, another of forty, and one of twenty, fell down the river Thames for Virginia. The commander was Christopher Newport, an experienced mariner. They had on board the necessary persons and provisions for a

colony ; and their orders for government were sealed in a box, which was not to be opened till they should arrive in Virginia.

The ships were kept in the Downs by bad weather six weeks, and afterward had a tempestuous voyage. They took the old route by the Canary and Caribbee Islands, and did not make the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, till the 26th of April, 1607. From the beginning of their embarkation, there was a jealousy and dissension among the company. Smith and Hunt were friends, and both were envied and suspected by the others. Hunt was judicious and patient ; his office secured him from insult. Smith was ardent and industrious, courteous in his deportment, but liberal in his language. On some suggestions that he intended to usurp the government, and that his confederates were dispersed among the companies of each ship, he was made a prisoner from the time of their leaving the Canaries, and was under confinement when they arrived in the Chesapeake. When the box was opened, it was found that Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward M. Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendal, were named to be of the council ; who were to choose a president from among themselves for one year, and the government was vested in them. Matters of moment were to be "examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices." When the council was sworn, Wingfield was chosen president, and a declaration was made of the reasons for which Smith was not admitted and sworn among the others.

Seventeen days from their arrival were spent in seeking a proper place for their first plantation. The southern point of the bay was named *Cape Henry*, and the northern *Cape Charles*, in honour of the two sons of King James. To the first great river which they discovered, they gave the name of their sovereign ; and the northern point of its entrance was called *Point Comfort*, on account of the good channel and anchorage which they found there. On the flats they took plenty of oysters, in some of which were pearls ; and on the plain they found large and ripe strawberries, which afforded them a delicious repast.

Having met with five of the natives, they invited them to their town, Kecoughtan, where Hampton is now built. Here they were feasted with cakes made of Indian corn, and regaled with tobacco and a dance. In return they presented to the natives beads and other trinkets. Proceeding up the river, another company of Indians appeared in arms. Their chief, Apamatica, holding in one hand his bow and arrow, and in the other a pipe of tobacco, demanded the cause of their coming ; they made signs of peace, and were hospitably received. On the 13th of May, they pitched upon a peninsula where the ships could lie in six fathom water, moored to the trees, as the place of their intended settlement. Here they were visited by Paspaha, another Indian chief, who, being made acquainted

with their design, offered them as much land as they wanted, and afterward sent them a deer for their entertainment. On this spot they pitched their tents, and gave it the name of Jamestown.

Every man was now employed either in digging and planting gardens, or making nets, or in cutting and riving timber to relade the ships. The president, at first, would admit of no martial exercise, nor allow any fortifications to be made, excepting the boughs of trees thrown together in the form of a half moon. Captain Newport took Smith and twenty more with him to discover the head of James river. In six days they arrived at the falls, and erecting a cross, as they had at Cape Henry, took possession of the country in the name of King James. In this route they visited *Powhatan*, the principal Indian chief, or emperor. His town consisted of twelve houses, pleasantly situated on a hill; before which were three islands, a little below the spot where Richmond is now built. Captain Newport presented a hatchet to this prince, which he gratefully received, and when some of his Indians murmured at the coming of the English among them, he silenced them by saying, "Why should we be offended? they hurt us not, nor take any thing by force; they want only a little ground, which we can easily spare." This appearance of friendship was not much relied on, when, at their return to Jamestown, they found that the company had been surprised at their work by a party of Indians, who had killed one and wounded seventeen others. A double-headed shot from one of the ships had cut off a bough of a tree, which falling among the Indians, terrified and dispersed them. This incident obliged the president to alter the plan of the fort, which was now a triangular palisade, with a lunette at each angle; and five pieces of artillery were mounted on the works, which were completed by the 15th of June. It was also found necessary to exercise the men at arms, to mount a guard, and be vigilant, for the Indians would surprise and molest stragglers, whilst by their superior agility they would escape unhurt.



The ships being almost ready to return, it was thought proper that some decision should be had respecting the allegations against Smith. His accusers affected commiseration, and pretended to refer him to the censure of the company in England, rather than to expose him to a legal prosecution, which might injure his reputation or touch his life. Smith, who knew both their malice and their impotence, openly scorned their pretended pity and defied their resentment. He had conducted himself so unexceptionably in every employment which had been allotted to him, that he had rendered himself very popular; and his accusers had, by a different conduct, lost the affections and confidence of the people.

Those who had been suborned to accuse him had acknowledged their fault, and discovered the secret arts which had been practised against him. He demanded a trial, and the issue was, that the president was adjudged to pay him two hundred pounds; but when his property was seized in part of this satisfaction, Smith generously turned it into the common store, for the benefit of the colony. Such an action could not but increase his popularity. Many other difficulties had arisen among them, which, by the influence of Smith, and the exhortations of Hunt, their chaplain, were brought to a seemingly amicable conclusion. Smith was admitted to his seat in the council, and on the next Sunday they celebrated the communion. At the same time the Indians came in, and voluntarily desired peace. With the good report of these transactions, Newport sailed for England on the 22d of June, promising to return in twenty weeks with fresh supplies.

The colony thus left in Virginia consisted of one hundred and four persons, in very miserable circumstances, especially on account of provisions, to which calamity their long voyage did not a little contribute, both as it consumed their stock, and deprived them of the opportunity of sowing seasonably in the spring. Whilst the ships remained, they could barter with the sailors for bread; but after their departure, each man's allowance was half a pint of damaged wheat, and as much barley, per day: the river, which at the flood was salt, and at the ebb was muddy, afforded them their only drink; it also supplied them with sturgeon and shell-fish. This kind of food, with their continual labour in the heat of summer, and their frequent watchings by night in all weathers, having only the bare ground to lie on, with but a slight covering, produced diseases among them; which by the month of September carried off fifty persons, among whom was Captain Gosnold. Those who remained were divided into three watches, of whom not more than five in each were capable of duty at once. All this time the president, Wingfield, who had the key of the stores, monopolized the few refreshments which remained, and was meditating to desert the plantation privately in a pinnace, and remove to the West Indies. These things rendered him so hateful to the rest, that they deposed him, and elected Ratcliffe in his room; they also removed Kendal from his place in the council, so that by the middle of September, three members only were left.

Ratcliffe, being a man of no resolution nor activity, committed the management of affairs abroad to Smith, in whom his confidence was not misplaced. At the same time the Indians in the neighbourhood brought in a plentiful supply of such provisions as they had, which revived their drooping spirits; and Smith seeing the necessity of exertion to secure themselves, and provide for the approaching winter, partly by his animating speeches, but more by his example, set them to work

mowing and binding thatch, and in building and covering houses. In these exercises he bore a large share, and in a short time got a sufficiency of houses to make comfortable lodgings for all the people excepting himself. This being done, and the provisions which the natives had brought in being expended, he picked a number of the best hands and embarked in a shallop, which they had brought from England, to search the country for another supply.



The party which accompanied Smith in this excursion consisted of six men, well armed, but ill provided with clothing and other necessaries. What was wanting in equipment, was to be supplied by resolution and address; and Smith's genius was equal to the attempt. They proceeded down the river to Kecoughtan, [Hampton,] where the natives, knowing the needy state of the colony, treated them with contempt, offering an ear of corn in exchange for a musket, or a sword, and in like proportion for their scant and tattered garments. Finding that courtesy and gentle treatment would not prevail, and that nothing was to be expected in the way of barter, and, moreover, provoked by their contempt, Smith ordered his boat to be drawn on shore, and his men to fire at them. The affrighted natives fled to the woods, whilst the party searched their houses, in which they found plenty of corn; but Smith did not permit his men to touch it, expecting that the Indians would return and attack them. They soon appeared to the number of sixty or seventy, formed into a square, carrying their idol *Okee*, composed of skins, stuffed with moss and adorned with chains of copper. They were armed with clubs and targets, bows and arrows, and advanced, singing, to the charge. The party received them with a volley of shot, which brought several of them to the ground, and their idol among them; the rest fled again to the woods, from whence they sent a deputation to offer peace and redeem their god. Smith having in his hands so valuable a pledge, was able to bring them to his own terms; he stipulated that six of them should come unarmed, and load his boat with corn, and on this condition he would be their friend, and give them hatchets, beads, and copper. These stipulations were faithfully performed on both sides; and the Indians in addition presented them with venison, turkeys, and other birds; and continued singing and dancing till their departure.

The success of this attempt encouraged him to repeat his excursions by land and water; in the course of which he discovered several branches of James river, and particularly the Chickahamony, from whose fertile banks he hoped to supply the colony with provision. But industry abroad will

not make a flourishing plantation without economy at home. What he had taken pains and risked his life to provide, was carelessly and wantonly expended; the traffic with the natives being under no regulation, each person made his own bargain, and by out-bidding each other they taught the Indians to set a higher value on their commodities, and to think themselves cheated when they did not all get the same prices. This bred a jealousy and sowed the seeds of a quarrel with them, which the colony were in a poor condition to maintain, being at variance among themselves.



The shallop being again fitted for a trading voyage, whilst Smith was abroad on one of his usual rambles, and the people being discontented with the indolence of Ratcliffe, their president, and the long sickness of Martin; Wingfield and Kendal, who had been displaced, took advantage of Smith's absence, and conspired with some malecontents to run away with the vessel and go to England. Smith returned unexpectedly, and the plot was discovered. To prevent its execution,

recourse was had to arms, and Kendal was killed. Another attempt of the same kind was made by Ratcliffe himself, assisted by Archer; but Smith found means to defeat this also. He determined to keep possession of the country, the value of which was daily rising in his estimation; not only as a source of wealth to individuals, but as a grand national object; and he knew that great undertakings could not be accomplished without labour and perseverance.

As the autumn advanced, the waters were covered with innumerable wild fowl; which, with the addition of corn, beans, and pumpkins, procured from the Indians, changed hunger into luxury, and abated the rage for abandoning the country. Smith had been once up the river Chickahamony, but because he had not penetrated to its source, exceptions were taken to his conduct as too dilatory. This imputation he determined to remove. In his next voyage, he went so high that he was obliged to cut the trees which had fallen into the river, to make his way through as far as his boat could swim. He then left her in a safe place, ordering his men not to quit her until his return; then taking two of them, and two Indians for guides, he proceeded in one of their canoes to the meadows at the river's head; and leaving his two men with the canoe, he went with his Indian guides across the meadows. A party of three hundred Indians below had watched the motions of the boat. They first surprised the straggling crew, and made one of them prisoner, from whom they learned that Smith was above. They next found the two men, whom he had left with the

canoe, asleep by the fire, and killed them; then having discovered Smith, they wounded him in the thigh with an arrow. Finding himself thus assaulted, and wounded, he bound one of his Indian guides with his garters to his left arm, and made use of him as a shield, whilst he despatched three of his enemies and wounded some others. He was retreating to his canoe, when, regarding his enemies more than his footsteps, he suddenly plunged with his guide into an oozy creek, and stuck fast in the mud.



The Indians, astonished at his bravery, did not approach him till, almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms, and begged them to draw him out, which they did, and led him to the fire, where his slain companions were lying. This sight admonished him what he was to expect. Being revived by their chafing his benumbed limbs, he called for their chief, Opechankanow, king of Pamaunkee, to whom he presented his ivory compass and dial. The vibrations of the needle, and the fly under the glass, which

they could see but not touch, afforded them much amusement; and Smith, having learned something of their language, partly by means of that, and partly by signs, entertained them with a description of the nature and uses of the instrument; and gave them such a lecture on the motions of the heavens and earth, as amazed them, and suspended, for a time, the execution of their purpose. At length, curiosity being satiated, they fastened him to a tree, and prepared to despatch him with their arrows. At this instant, the chief holding up the compass, which he esteemed as a divinity, they laid aside their arms, and forming a military procession, led him in triumph to their village Orapaxe. The order of their march was thus: they ranged themselves in a single file, the king in the midst; before him were borne the arms taken from Smith and his companions; next after the king came the prisoner, held by three stout savages; and on each side a file of six. When they arrived at the village, the old men, women, and children, came out to receive them; after some manœuvres, which had the appearance of regularity, they formed themselves round the king and his prisoner, into a circle, dancing and singing, adorned with paint, furs, and feathers, brandishing their rattles, which were made of the tails of rattlesnakes. After three dances, they dispersed, and Smith was conducted to a long hut, guarded by forty men. There he was so plentifully feasted with bread and venison, that he suspected their intention was to fatten and eat him. One of the Indians, to whom Smith had formerly given beads,



OPECHANCANOW SHOWING THE COMPASS.

brought him a garment of furs, to defend him from the cold. Another, whose son was then sick and dying, attempted to kill him, but was prevented by the guard. Smith being conducted to the dying youth, told them that he had a medicine at Jamestown, which would cure him, if they would let him fetch it; but they had another design, which was to surprise the place, and make use of him as a guide. To induce him to perform this service, they promised him his liberty, with as much land and as many women as would content him. Smith magnified the difficulty and danger of their attempt, from the ordnance, mines, and other defences of the place, which exceedingly terrified them, and to convince them of the truth of what he told them, he wrote on a leaf of his pocket-book an inventory of what he wanted, with some directions to the people at the fort, how to affright the messengers who went to deliver the letter. They returned in three days, reporting the terror into which they had been thrown, and when they produced the things for which he had written, the whole company were astonished at the power of his divination by the *speaking leaf*.

After this they carried him through several nations, inhabiting the banks of the Potomac and Rappahannock, and at length brought him to Pamaunkee; where they performed a strange ceremony, by which they intended to divine, whether his intentions toward them were friendly or hostile. The manner of it was this: early in the morning, a great fire

was made in a long house, and a mat spread on each side, on one of which he was placed, and the guard retired. Presently, an Indian priest, hideously painted, and dressed in furs and snake skins, came skipping in and after a variety of uncouth noises and gestures, drew a circle with meal round the fire. Then came in three more in the same frightful dress, and after they had performed their dance, three others. They all stood opposite to him in a line, the chief priest in the midst. After singing a song, accompanied with the music of their rattles, the chief priest laid down five grains of corn, and after a short speech three more; this was repeated till the fire was encircled. Then continuing the incantation, he laid sticks between the divisions of the corn. The whole day was spent in these ceremonies, with fasting; and at night, a feast was prepared of the best meats which they had. The same tricks were repeated the two following days. They told him, that the circle of meal represented their country, the circle of corn the sea-shore, and the sticks his country; they did not acquaint him, or he has not acquainted us with the result of the operation; but he observed that the gunpowder, which they had taken from him, was laid up among their corn, to be planted the next spring.

After these ceremonies, they brought him to the emperor *Powhatan*, who received him in royal state, clothed in a robe of raccoon skins, seated on a kind of throne, elevated above the floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire; at each hand of the prince, sat two beautiful girls, his daughters, and along each side of the house a row of his counsellors, painted and adorned with feathers and shells. At Smith's entrance, a great shout was made. The queen of Appamattox brought him water to wash his hands, and another served him with a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel. Having feasted him after their manner, a long consultation was held, which being ended, two large stones were brought in, on one of which his head was laid, and clubs were lifted up to beat out his brains. At this critical moment, *Pocahontas*, the king's favourite daughter, flew to him, took his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it. Her tender entreaties prevailed. The king consented that Smith should live, to make hatchets for him, and ornaments for her.

Two days after, Powhatan caused him to be brought to a distant house; where, after another threatening, he confirmed his promise, and told him, he should return to the fort, and send him two pieces of cannon, and a grindstone; for which he would give him the country of Capahousick, and for ever esteem him as his son. Twelve guides accompanied him, and he arrived at Jamestown the next day. According to the stipulation, two guns, and a large grindstone were offered them, but having in vain tried to lift them, they were content to let them remain in their place. Smith, however, had the guns loaded, and discharged a volley of stones, at a tree covered with icicles. The report and effect confounded them; but being pacified



POCAHONTAS SAVING CAPTAIN SMITH

with a few toys, they returned, carrying presents to Powhatan and his daughter, of such things as gave them entire satisfaction. After this adventure, the young princess, Pocahontas, frequently visited the plantation, with her attendants, and the refreshments which she brought from time to time proved the means of saving many lives, which otherwise would have been lost.

Smith's return happened at another critical juncture. The colony was divided into parties, and the malecontents, were again preparing to quit the country. His presence, a third time, defeated the project; in revenge for which they meditated to put him to death, under pretence that he had been the means of murdering the two men who went with him in the canoe; but by a proper application of valour and strength, he put his accusers under confinement, till an opportunity presented for sending them as prisoners to England.

The misfortunes and mismanagements of this Virginian colony, during the period here related, seem to have originated partly in the tempers and qualifications of the men who were appointed to command, and partly in the nature and circumstances of the adventure. There could be no choice of men for the service, but among those who offered themselves; and these were previously strangers to each other, as well as different in their education, qualities, and habits. Some of them had been used to the command of ships, and partook of the roughness of the element on which they were bred. It is, perhaps, no great compliment to Smith, to say, that he was the best qualified of *them*, for command; since the event proved that none of them, who survived the first sickness, had the confidence of the people in any degree. It is certain, that his resolution prevented the abandonment of the place the first year; his enterprising spirit led to an exploration of the country, and acquainted them with its many advantages; his captivity produced an intercourse with the savages; and the supplies gained from them, chiefly by means of his address, kept the people alive till the second arrival of the ships from England. The Virginians, therefore, justly regard him, if not as the father, yet as the saviour of that infant plantation.



In the winter of 1607, Captain Newport arrived from England, in Virginia. The other ship, commanded by Captain Nelson, which sailed at the same time, was dismantled on the American coast, and blown off to the West Indies. The supplies sent by the company were received in Virginia with the most cordial avidity; but the general license given to the sailors, to trade with the savages, proved detrimental to the planters, as it raised the

prices of their commodities so high, that a pound of copper would not purchase, what before could be bought for an ounce. Newport himself was not free from this spirit of profusion, so common to seafaring men, which he manifested by sending presents of various kinds to Powhatan, intending thereby to give him an idea of the grandeur of the English nation. In a visit which he made to this prince, under the conduct of Smith, he was received and entertained with an equal show of magnificence; but in trading with the savage chief, he found himself outwitted. Powhatan, in a lofty strain, spoke to him thus: "It is not agreeable to the greatness of such men as we are, to trade like common people for trifles; lay down, therefore, at once, all your goods, and I will give you the full value for them." Smith perceived the snare, and warned Newport of it; but he, thinking to out-brave the savage prince, displayed the whole of his store.

Powhatan then set such a price on his corn, that not more than four bushels could be procured; and the necessary supplies could not have been had, if Smith's genius, ever ready at invention, had not hit on an artifice which proved successful. He had secreted some trifles, and among them a parcel of *blue beads*, which, seemingly in a careless way, he glanced in the eyes of Powhatan. The bait caught him; and he earnestly desired to purchase them. Smith, in his turn, raised the value of them, extolling them as the most precious jewels, resembling the colour of the sky, and proper only for the noblest sovereigns of the universe. Powhatan's imagination was all on fire; he made large offers. Smith insisted on more, and at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take between two and three hundred bushels of corn, for about two pounds of blue beads, and they parted in very good humour, each one being very much pleased with his bargain. In a subsequent visit to Opecankanough, king of Pamaunkee, the company were entertained with the same kind of splendour, and a similar bargain closed the festivity; by which means, the blue beads grew into such estimation, that none but the princes and their families were able to wear them.

Loaded with this acquisition, they returned to Jamestown; where an unhappy fire had consumed several of their houses, with much of their provisions and furniture. Mr. Hunt, the chaplain, lost his apparel and library in this conflagration, and escaped from it with only the clothes on his back. This misfortune was severely felt; the ship staying in port fourteen weeks, and reserving enough for the voyage home, so contracted their stock of provisions, that before the winter was gone, they were reduced to great extremity, and many of them died. The cause of the ship's detention for so long a time was this: in searching for fresh water in the neighbourhood of Jamestown, they had discovered, in a rivulet, some particles of a yellowish isinglass, which their sanguine imaginations had refined into gold dust. The zeal for this precious matter was so strong, that in digging, washing, and packing it to complete the lading of the ship, all other cares were absorbed. This was a tedious interval to Captain Smith; his judgment condemned their folly, his patience was exhausted, and his passion irritated, and the only recompense which he had for this long vexation was, the pleasure of sending home Wingfield and Archer, when the ship departed.

The other ship arrived in the spring, and notwithstanding a long and unavoidable detention in the West Indies, brought them a comfortable supply of provisions. They took advantage of the opening season, to rebuild their houses and chapel, repair the palisades, and plant corn for the ensuing summer, in all which works the example and authority of Smith were of eminent service. Every man of activity was fond of him, and those of a contrary disposition were afraid of him. It was proposed

that he should go into the country of the Monacans, beyond the falls of James river, that they might have some news of the interior parts to send home to the company; but a fray with the Indians detained him at Jamestown, till the ship sailed for England, laden chiefly with cedar, but not without another specimen of the yellow dust, of which Martin was so fond, that he took charge of the packages himself, and returned to England. An accession of above one hundred men, among whom were several goldsmiths and refiners, had been made to the colony, by the last two ships, and a new member, Matthew Scrivener, was added to the council.



Having finished the necessary business of the season, and despatched the ship, another voyage of discovery was undertaken by Captain Smith, and fourteen others. They went down the river, (June 10, 1608,) in an open barge, in company with the ship, and having parted with her at Cape Henry, they crossed the mouth of the bay, and fell in with a cluster of islands without Cape Charles, to which they gave the name of *Smith's*

Isles, which they still bear. Then re-entering the bay, they landed on the eastern neck, and were kindly received by Acomack, the prince of that peninsula, a part of which still bears his name. From thence they coasted the eastern shore of the bay, and landed sometimes on the main, and at other times on the low islands, of which they found many, but none fit for habitation. They proceeded up the bay to the northward, and crossed over to the western shore, down which they coasted to the southward, and in this route discovered the mouths of the great rivers which fall into the bay on that side. One, in particular, attracted much of their attention, because of a reddish earth which they found there, and from its resemblance to bole-ammoniac, they gave it the name of Bolus river, and it is so named in all the early maps of the country; but in the later, it bears the Indian name Patapsco; on the north side of which is now the flourishing town of *Baltimore*. They sailed thirty miles up the Potomac, without seeing any inhabitants; but on entering a creek, found themselves surrounded by Indians, who threatened them. Smith prepared for an encounter; but on firing a few guns, the Indians, terrified at the noise, made signs of peace and exchanged hostages. One of the company was by this means carried to the habitation of their prince, and the whole were kindly used. They learned that it was by direction of Powhatan, that the Indians were in arms, and had attempted to surprise them; from this circumstance they were led to suspect that Powhatan had been informed of

this expedition, by the discontented part of the colony, whom Smith had obliged to stay in the country, when they would have deserted it.

It was Smith's invariable custom, when he met with the Indians, to put on a bold face, and if they appeared desirous of peace to demand their arms, and some of their children as pledges of their sincerity; if they complied, he considered them as friends; if not, as enemies. In the course of his voyage, he collected some furs, and discovered some coloured earths, which the savages used as paints, but found nothing of the mineral kind. At the mouth of the Rappahannock the boat grounded, and whilst they were waiting for the tide, they employed themselves in sticking with their swords the fishes which were left on the flats. Smith having stuck his sword into a stingray, the fish raised its tail, and with its sharp indented thorn wounded him in the arm. The wound was extremely painful, and he presently swelled to that degree, that they expected him to die, and he himself gave orders to bury him on a neighbouring island. But the surgeon, Dr. Russel, having probed the wound, by the help of a certain oil, so allayed the anguish and swelling, that Smith was able to eat part of the fish for his supper. From this occurrence, the place was distinguished by the name of *Stingray Point*, which it still bears.

On the 21st of July, they returned to Jamestown. Having, with the coloured earths which they had found, disguised their boat and streamers, their old companions were alarmed at their approach, with the apprehension of an attack from the Spaniards; this was a trick of Smith's to frighten the old president, who had rioted on the public stores, and was building a house in the woods, that he might seclude himself from the sickly, discontented, quarrelsome company. On Smith's arrival, they signified their desire of investing him with the government. Ratcliffe being deposed, it fell to him of course; and having recommended Scrivener to preside in his absence, he entered on another voyage of discovery, being determined to spare no pains for full exploration of the country. From the 24th of July to the 7th of September, with twelve men, in an open barge, he ranged the bay of Chesapeake, as far northward as the falls of Susquehannah, entering all the rivers that flow into the bay, and examining their shores. In some places the natives were friendly, and in others jealous. Their idea of the strange visitors was, that they had come "from under the world to take their world from them." Smith's constant endeavour was to preserve peace with them; but when he could not obtain corn in the way of traffic, he never scrupled to use threats, and in some cases violence, and by one or the other method he prevailed so as to bring home a load of provisions for his discontented companions, who without his efforts would not have been able to live. Sickness and death were very frequent, and the latest comers were most affected by the disorders of the climate.

Smith was now established in the presidency, by the election of the



SMITH EXPLORING CHESAPEAKE BAY.

council and the request of the company ; but the commission gave to a majority of the council the whole power. Newport, at his third arrival, brought over two new members, and Ratcliffe having still a seat, though deposed from the presidency, Smith was obliged in some cases to comply with their opinions, contrary to his own judgment, an instance of which will now be exhibited.

The Virginia Company in London, deceived by false reports, and misled by their own sanguine imaginations, had conceived an expectation not only of finding precious metals in the country, but of discovering the South Sea, from the mountains at the head of James river ; and it was thought that the journey thither might be performed in eight or ten days. For the purpose of making this capital discovery, they put on board Newport's ship a barge capable of being taken to pieces, and put together again at pleasure. This barge was to make a voyage to the head of the river, then to be carried in pieces across the mountains, and to descend the rivers which were supposed to run westward to the South Sea. To facilitate this plan, it was necessary to gain the favour of Powhatan, through whose country the passage must be made ; and as means of winning him, a royal present was brought over, consisting of a basin and ewer, a bed and furniture, a chair of state, a suit of scarlet clothes, with a cloak and a crown, all which were to be presented to him in due form ; and the crown placed on his head, with as much solemnity as possible. To a person who knew the country and its inhabitants so well as Smith, this project appeared chimerical, and the means whereby it was to be carried on, dangerous. With a small quantity of copper and a few beads, he could have kept Powhatan in good humour, and made an advantage of it for the colony, whereas a profusion of presents he knew would but increase his pride and insolence. The project of travelling over unknown mountains, with men already

weakened by sickness, and worn out with fatigue, in a hot climate, and in the midst of enemies, who might easily cut off their retreat, was too romantic even for his sanguine and adventurous spirit. His opinion upon the matter cannot be expressed in more pointed language than he used in a letter to the company. "If the quartered boat was burned to ashes, *one* might carry her in a bag, but as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the falls." His dissent, however, was ineffectual, and when he found that the voice of the council was for executing it, he lent his assistance to effect as much of it as was practicable.

Previously to their setting out, he undertook, with four men only, to carry notice to Powhatan of the intended present, and invite him to come to Jamestown, that he might receive it there. Having travelled by land twelve miles to Werocomoco, on Pamaunkee (York) river, where he expected to meet Powhatan, and not finding him there, whilst a messenger was despatched thirty miles for him, his daughter, Pocahontas, entertained Smith and his company with a dance, which, for its singularity, merits a particular description.

In an open plain, a fire being made, the gentlemen were seated by it. Suddenly a noise was heard in the adjacent wood, which made them fly to their arms, and seize on two or three old men, as hostages for their own security, imagining that they were betrayed. Upon this the young princess came running to Smith, and passionately embracing him, offered herself to be killed, if any harm should happen to him or his company. Her assurances, seconded by all the Indians present, removed their fears. The noise which had alarmed them, was made by thirty girls, who were preparing for the intended ceremony. Immediately they made their appearance, with no other covering than a girdle of green leaves and their skins painted, each one of a different colour. Their leader had a pair of buck's horns on her head, an otter's skin as her girdle, and another on one arm; a bow and arrow in the other hand, and a quiver at her back. The rest of them had horns on their heads, and a wooden sword or staff in their hands. With shouting and singing, they formed a ring round the fire, and performed a circular dance for about an hour, after which they retired in the same order as they had advanced. The dance was followed by a feast, at which the savage nymphs were as eager with their caresses as with their attendance; and this being ended, they conducted the gentlemen to their lodging by the light of fire-brands.

The next day Powhatan arrived, and Smith delivered the message from his father Newport, (as he always called him,) to this effect: "That he had brought him from the King of England a royal present, and wished to see him at Jamestown, that he might deliver it to him; promising to assist him in prosecuting his revenge against the Monacans, whose country

they would penetrate even to the sea beyond the mountains." To which the savage prince, with equal subtilty and haughtiness, answered, "If your king has sent me a present, I also am a king, and am on my own land. I will stay here eight days. Your father must come to me; I will not go to him, nor to your fort. As for the Monacans, I am able to revenge myself. If you have heard of salt water beyond the mountains from any of my people, they have deceived you." Then with a stick he drew a plan of that region on the ground; and after many compliments, the conference ended

The present being put on board the boats, was carried down James river and up the Pamaunkee, whilst Newport, with fifty men, went across by land and met the boats, in which he passed the river, and held the proposed interview. All things being prepared for the ceremony of coronation, the present was brought from the boats; the basin and ewer were deposited, the bed and chair were set up, the scarlet suit and cloak were put on, though not till *Namontac* (an Indian youth whom Newport had carried to England and brought back again) had assured him that these habiliments would do him no harm; but they had great difficulty in persuading him to receive the crown; nor would he bend his knee, or incline his head in the least degree. After many attempts, and with actual pressing on his shoulders, they at last made him stoop a little, and put it on. Instantly, a signal being given, the men in the boats fired a volley, at which the monarch started with horror, imagining that a design was forming to destroy him in the summit of his glory; but being assured that it was meant as a compliment, his fear subsided; and in return for the baubles of royalty received from King James, he desired Newport to present him his old fur mantle and deer-skin shoes, which, in his estimation, were doubtless a full equivalent; since all this finery could not prevail on the wary chief to allow them guides for the discovery of the inland country, or to approve their design of visiting it. Thus disappointed, they returned to Jamestown, determined to proceed without his assistance.

Smith, who had no mind to go on such a fruitless errand, tarried at the fort with eighty invalids to relade the ship, whilst Newport, with all the council, and one hundred and twenty of the healthiest men, began their transmontane tour of discovery. They proceeded in their boats to the falls at the head of the river; from thence they travelled up the country two days and a half, and discovered two towns of the Monacans, the inhabitants of which seemed very indifferent toward them, and used them neither well nor ill. They took one of their petty princes, and led him, bound, to guide them. Having performed this march, they grew weary and returned, taking with them in their way back certain portions of earth, in which their refiner pretended that he had seen signs of silver. This was

all the success of their expedition; for the savages had concealed their corn, and they could neither persuade them to sell it, nor find it to take it by force. Thus they returned to Jamestown, tired, disappointed, hungry, and sick, and had the additional mortification of being laughed at by Smith, for their vain attempt.

The Virginia Company had not only a view to the discovery of the South Sea, but also to establish manufactures in their colony; and for this purpose had sent over a number of workmen from Poland and Germany, who were skilled in the making pot-ashes and glass, as well as pitch and tar. Had the country been full of people, well cultivated, and provided with all necessaries for carrying on these works, there might have been some prospect of advantage; but, in a new region, the principal objects are subsistence and defence; these will necessarily occupy the first adventurers to the exclusion of all others. However, Smith was of so generous a disposition, and so indefatigable in doing what he apprehended to be his duty, and in gratifying his employers, that as soon as Newport returned from his fruitless attempt to find the South Sea, he set all who were able to work, that he might, if possible, answer the expectation of the company. Those who were skilled in the manufactures he left under the care of the council, to carry on their works, whilst he took thirty of the most active with him, about five miles down the river, to cut timber, and make clapboards; this being, as he well knew, an employment the most certain of success. Among these were several young gentlemen, whose hands, not having been used to labour, were blistered by the axes; and this occasioned frequent expressions of impatience and profaneness. To punish them, Smith caused the number of every man's oaths to be taken down daily, and at night as many cans of water to be poured inside his sleeve. This discipline was no less singular than effectual; it so lessened the number of oaths, that scarcely one was heard in a week, and withal it made them perfectly good humoured, and reconciled them to their labour. At his return to the fort, he found not only that business had been neglected, but much provision consumed, and that it was necessary for him to undertake another expedition for corn. He therefore went up the Chickahamony with two boats and eighteen men, and finding the Indians not in a humour for trading, but rather scornful and insolent, he told them that he had come not so much for corn, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the murder of his two men, some time before. Putting his crew in a posture of attack, the Indians fled, and presently sent messengers to treat of peace; for the obtaining which he made them give him a hundred bushels of corn, with a quantity of fish and fowls; and with this supply he kept the colony from starving, and preserved the ship's provisions for her voyage to England.



At her departure, she carried such specimens as could be had, of tar, pitch, turpentine, soap ashes, clapboards, and wainscot; and at Point Comfort, met with Scrivener, who had been up the Pamaunkee for corn, and had got a quantity of *pocones*, a red root used in dying; these being taken on board, Captain Newport returned to England the third time, leaving about two hundred persons in Virginia.

The harvest of 1608 had fallen short both among the new planters and the natives; and the colony was indebted to the inventive genius and indefatigable perseverance of Smith, for their subsistence during the succeeding winter. As long as the rivers were open, he kept the boats continually going among the natives, for such supplies as could be obtained; and he never would return empty, if any thing were to be had by any means in his power. Whilst abroad on these excursions, he and his men were obliged frequently to lodge in the woods, when the ground was hard frozen and covered with snow; and their mode of accommodating themselves was, first, to dig away the snow and make a fire; when the ground was dried and warmed, they removed the fire to one side, and spread their mats over the warm spot for their bed, using another mat as a screen from the wind; when the ground cooled, they shifted the fire again; by thus continually changing their position they kept themselves tolerably warm through many cold nights; and it was observed, that those who went on this service and submitted to these hardships, were robust and healthy, whilst those who stayed at home were always weak and sickly.

The supplies procured by trading being insufficient, and hunger very pressing, Smith ventured on the dangerous project of surprising Powhatan, and carrying off his whole stock of provisions. This Indian prince had formed a similar design respecting Smith; and for the purpose of betraying him had invited him to his seat, promising that if he would send men to build him a house, after the English mode, and give him some guns and swords, copper and beads, he would load his boat with corn. Smith sent him three Dutch carpenters, who treacherously revealed to him the design which Smith had formed. On his arrival with forty-six men, he found the prince so much on his guard, that it was impossible to execute his design. Having spent the day in conversation, (in the course of which Powhatan had in vain endeavoured to persuade Smith to lay aside his arms, as being there in perfect security,) he retired in the evening, and formed a design to surprise Smith and his people at their supper; and had it not been for the affectionate friendship of Pocahontas, it would probably have been effected. This amiable girl, at the risk of her life, stole from the side of

her father, and passing in the dark, through the woods, told Smith, with tears in her eyes, of the plot, and then as privately returned. When the Indians brought in the supper, Smith obliged them to taste of every dish; his arms were in readiness, and his men vigilant; and though there came divers sets of messengers one after another, during the night, under pretence of friendly inquiries, they found them so well prepared, that nothing was attempted, and the party returned in safety.

In a subsequent visit to Opechancanough, by whom he formerly was taken prisoner, this prince put on the semblance of friendship, whilst his men lay in ambush with their bows and arrows. The trick being discovered by one of Smith's party, and communicated to him, he resolutely seized the king by his hair, and holding a pistol to his breast, led him trembling to the ambush, and there with a torrent of reproachful and menacing words, obliged him to order those very people not only to lay down their arms, but to load him with provisions. After this, they made an attempt to murder him in his sleep, and to poison him, but both failed of success. The chief of Paspaha meeting him alone in the woods, armed only with a sword, attempted to shoot him, but he closed with the savage, and in the struggle both fell into the river; where, after having narrowly escaped drowning, Smith at last prevailed to gripe him by the throat, and would have cut off his head, but the entreaties of the poor victim prevailing on his humanity, he led him prisoner to Jamestown.

This intrepid behaviour struck a dread into the savages, and they began to believe what he had often told them, that, "his God would protect him against all their power, whilst he kept his promise; which was to preserve peace with them as long as they should refrain from hostilities, and continue to supply him with corn." An incident which occurred about the same time, confirmed their veneration for him. An Indian having stolen a pistol from Jamestown, two brothers who were known to be his companions were seized, and one was held as hostage for the other, who was to return in twelve hours with the pistol, or the prisoner was to be hanged. The weather being cold, a charcoal fire was kindled in the dungeon, which was very close, and the vapour had so suffocated the prisoner, that on the return of his brother at the appointed time, with the pistol, he was taken out as dead. The faithful savage lamented his fate in the most distressing agony. Smith, to console him, promised, if they would steal no more, that he should be recovered. On the application of spirits and vinegar, he showed signs of life, but appeared delirious; this grieved the brother as much as his death. Smith undertook to cure him of this also, on the repetition of the promise to steal no more. The delirium being only the effect of the spirits which he had swallowed, was remedied by a few hours' sleep; and being dismissed, with a present of copper, they went away, believing and reporting that Smith was able *to bring the dead*

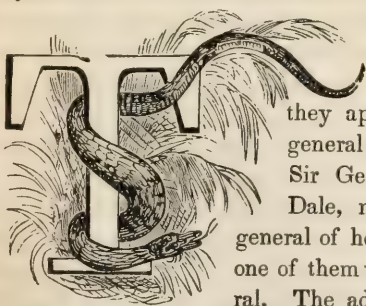
to life. The effect was, that not only many stolen things were recovered, and the thieves punished, but that peace and friendly intercourse were preserved, and corn brought in as long as they had any, whilst Smith remained in Virginia.

He was equally severe and resolute with his own men, and finding many of them inclining to be idle, and this idleness, in a great measure, the cause of their frequent sicknesses and deaths, he made an order, "That he who would not work should not eat, unless he were disabled by sickness; and that every one who did not gather as much food in a day as he did himself, should be banished." A recent attempt having been made to run away with the boats, he ordered that the next person who should repeat this offence should be hanged. By firmness in the execution of these laws, and by the concurrent force of his own example, in labouring continually, and distributing his whole share of European provisions and refreshments to the sick, he kept the colony in such order, that, though many of them murmured at his severity, they all became very industrious; and withal so healthy, that, of two hundred persons, there died that winter and the next spring no more than seven. In the space of three months they had made a quantity of tar, pitch, and potashes, had produced a sample of glass, dug a well in the fort, built twenty new houses, provided nets and wires for fishing, erected a block-house on the isthmus of Jamestown, another on Hog Island, and had begun a fortress on a commanding eminence. As the spring came on, they paid such attention to husbandry as to have thirty or forty acres cleared and fit for planting, and a detachment had been sent to the southward, to look for the long-lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh, but without success.

Such was the state of the Virginia colony, when Captain Samuel Argal arrived on a trading voyage, and brought letters from the company in England, complaining of their disappointment, and blaming Smith as the cause of it. They had conceived an ill opinion of him, from the persons whom he had sent home, who represented him as arbitrary, and violent toward the colonists, cruel to the savages, and disposed to traverse the views of the adventurers, who expected to grow rich very suddenly.

There was this disadvantage attending the business of colonization in North America, at that day, that the only precedents which could be had were those of the Spaniards, who had treated the natives with extreme cruelty, and amassed vast sums of gold and silver. While the English adventurers detested the means by which the Spaniards had acquired their riches, they still expected that the same kind of riches might be acquired by other means; it was, therefore, thought politic to be gentle in demeanour, and lavish of presents toward the natives, as an inducement to them to discover the riches of their country. On these principles, the orders of the Virginia Company to their servants were framed. But experience had

taught Smith, the most discerning and faithful of all whom they had employed, that the country of Virginia would not enrich the adventurers in the time and manner which they expected; yet he was far from abandoning it as worthless: his aim was thoroughly to explore it; and by exploring, he had discovered what advantages might be derived from it; to produce which, time, patience, expense, and labour, were absolutely necessary. He had fairly represented these ideas to his employers; he had spent three years in their service, and from his own observations had drawn and sent them a map of the country; and he had conducted their affairs as well as the nature of circumstances would permit. He had had a disorderly, factious, discontented, disappointed set of men to control, by the help of a few adherents; in the face of the native lords of the soil, formidable in their numbers and knowledge of the country, versed in stratagem, tenacious of resentment, and jealous of strangers. To court them by presents, was to acknowledge their superiority, and inflate their pride and insolence. Though savages, they were men, and not children. Though destitute of science, they were possessed of reason, and a sufficient degree of art. To know how to manage them, it was necessary to be personally acquainted with them; and it must be obvious, that a person who had resided several years among them, and had been a prisoner with them, was a much better judge of the proper methods of treating them, than a company of gentlemen at several thousand miles' distance, and who could know them only by report. Smith had, certainly, the interest of the plantation at heart, and by toilsome experience had just learned how to conduct it; when he found himself so obnoxious to his employers, that a plan was concerted to supersede him, and reinstate, with a share of authority, those whom he had dismissed from the service.



THE Virginia Company had applied to the king to recall their patent and grant another; in virtue of which, they appointed Thomas Lord de la Warre, general; Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, marshal; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, general of horse; and Captain Newport, (the only one of them who had seen the country,) vice-admiral. The adventurers having, by the alteration of

their patent, acquired a reinforcement both of dignity and property, equipped nine ships; in which were embarked five hundred persons, men, women and children. Gates, Somers, and Newport, had each a commission, investing either of them, who might first arrive, with power to call in the old, and set up the new commission. The fleet sailed from England, in May, 1609, and by some strange policy, the three commanders were em-

barked in one ship. The ship being separated from the others, in a storm, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda; another foundered at sea; and when the remaining seven arrived in Virginia, two of which were commanded by Ratcliffe and Archer, they found themselves destitute of authority; though some of them were full enough of prejudice against Smith, who was then in command. The ships had been greatly shattered in their passage, much of their provision was spoiled, many of their people were sick; and the season in which they arrived was not the most favourable to their recovery. A mutinous spirit soon broke out, and a scene of confusion ensued; the new comers would not obey Smith, because they supposed his commission to be superseded; the new commission was not arrived, and it was uncertain whether the ship which carried it would ever be seen or heard of. Smith would gladly have withdrawn, and gone back to England, but his honour was concerned in maintaining his authority, till he should be regularly superseded; and his spirit would not suffer him to be trampled on by those whom he despised. Upon due consideration, he determined to maintain his authority as far as he was able; waiting some proper opportunity to retire. Some of the most insolent of the new comers, "he laid by the heels." With the more moderate he consulted what was best to be done; and, as a separation seemed to be the best remedy, and it had been in contemplation to extend the settlements, some were induced to go up to the Falls, others to Nansemond, and others to Point Comfort. Smith's year being almost expired, he offered to resign to Martin, who had been one of the old council, but Martin would not accept the command; he, therefore, kept up the form, and as much as he could of the power, of government; till an accident, which had nearly proved fatal to his life, obliged him to return to England.

On his return from the new plantation at the Falls—sleeping by night in his boat—a bag of gunpowder took fire, and burnt him in a most terrible manner. Awaking in surprise, and finding himself wrapt in flames, he leaped into the water, and was almost drowned, before his companions could recover him. At his return to Jamestown, in this distressed condition, Ratcliffe and Archer conspired to murder him in his bed; but the assassin, whom they employed, had not courage to fire a pistol. Smith's old soldiers would have taken off their heads; but he thought it prudent to pass by the offence, and take this opportunity, as there was no surgeon in the country, of returning to England. As soon as his intention was known, the council appointed Mr. Percy to preside in his room; and detained the ship three weeks, till they could write letters and frame complaints against him. He at length sailed for England, about the latter end of September, 1609; much regretted by his few friends, one of whom has left this character of him. "In all his proceedings he made justice his first guide, and experience his second; hating baseness, sloth, pride, and

indignity, more than any dangers. He never would allow more for himself than for his soldiers ; and upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself. He would never see us want what he had, or could by any means get for us. He would rather want than borrow ; or starve, than not pay. He loved action more than words ; and hated covetousness and falsehood worse than death. His adventures were our lives ; and his loss, our deaths."





JAMES I.

VIRGINIA TILL THE REVOLUTION.



W^{ITH} left the colony inhabited by five hundred persons, and amply provided with all the necessary stores of arms, provision, cattle, and implements of agriculture: but the sense to improve its opportunities was wanting, and its fortune departed with him. For a short time the command was intrusted to Mr. Percy, a man of worth, but devoid of the vigour that gives efficacy to virtue; and the direction of affairs soon fell into the hands of persons whom their native country had cast from it as a useless burden or intolerable nuisance. The colony was delivered up to the wildest excesses of a seditious and distracted rabble, and presented a scene of riot, folly, and profligacy, strongly invoking vindictive retribution, and speedily overtaken by it. The provisions were quickly exhausted; and the Indians, incensed by repeated injuries, and aware that the man whom they so much respected had ceased to govern the colonists, not only refused them all assistance, but harassed them with continual attacks. Famine ensued, and completed their misery and degradation by transforming them into cannibals, and forcing them to subsist on the bodies of the

Indians they had killed, and of their own companions who perished of hunger or disease. Six months after the departure of Smith, there remained no more than sixty persons alive at Jamestown, still prolonging their wretchedness by a vile and precarious diet, but daily expecting its final and fatal close.

In this calamitous state was the colony found by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, who at length arrived from Bermudas, where the shipwreck they encountered had detained them and their crew for ten months. The bounty of nature in that delightful region maintained them in comfort while they built the vessels that were to transport them to Jamestown, and might have supplied them with ample stores for the use of the colony ; but they had neglected these resources, and arrived almost empty-handed, in expectation of receiving from the magazines of a thriving settlement the relief that was now vainly implored from themselves by the famishing remnant of their countrymen. Their disappointment was equalled only by the difficulty of comprehending the causes of the desolation they beheld, amidst the mutual and contradictory accusations of the surviving colonists. But there was no time for deliberate inquiry, or adjustment of complaints. It was immediately determined to abandon the settlement, and with this view they all embarked in the vessels that had just arrived from Bermudas, and set sail for England. Their stores were insufficient for so long a voyage ; but they hoped to obtain an additional supply at the English fishing station on the coast of Newfoundland. Such a horror had many of them conceived for the scene of their misery, that they were importunate with the commanders for leave to burn the fort and houses at Jamestown. But Sir Thomas Gates could not find in their or his distresses any reason for demolishing the buildings, that might afford shelter to future settlers ; and happily, by his interposition, they were preserved from destruction, and the colonists prevented from wreaking additional vengeance on themselves.

Before the fugitives had reached the mouth of James river, they were met by Lord Delaware, who arrived with three ships, containing a large supply of provisions, a considerable number of new settlers, and an ample stock of every thing requisite for defence or cultivation.

This nobleman, who now presented himself as captain-general of the colony, was eminently well fitted for the exigency of the situation in which he was thus unexpectedly involved. Stemming the torrent of evil fortune, he carried back the fugitives of Jamestown, and began his administration by attendance on Divine worship ; and having held a short consultation on the affairs of the settlement, he summoned all the colonists together, and addressed them in a short but forcible and dignified harangue. He justly rebuked the pride, and sloth, and immorality that had produced such disasters, and earnestly recommended a return to the virtues most likely to

repair them: he declared his determination not to hold the sword of justice in vain, but to punish the first recurrence of disorder by shedding the blood of the delinquents, though he would infinitely rather shed his own to protect the colony from injury. He nominated proper officers for every department, and allotted to every man his particular place and business. This address was received with general applause and satisfaction: and the idle, factious humours of a divided multitude soon appeared to be substantially healed by the splendour, unity, and authority of Lord Delaware's administration. By an assiduous attention to his duty, and a happy union of qualities fitted equally to inspire esteem and enforce submission, he succeeded in maintaining peace and good order in the settlement, in diffusing a spirit of industry and alacrity among the colonists, and in again impressing the dread reverence of the English name on the minds of the Indians. This promising beginning was all he was permitted to effect. Oppressed by diseases occasioned by the climate, he was obliged to quit the country; having first committed the administration to Mr. Percy.

The restoration of this gentleman to the supreme command seems to have been attended with the same relaxation of discipline, and would probably have led to a repetition of the same disorders that had so fatally distinguished his former government. But, happily for the colony, a squadron that had been despatched from England, before Lord Delaware's return, with a supply of men and provisions, brought also with it Sir Thomas Dale, whose commission authorized him, in the absence of that nobleman, to assume the administration. This new governor found the colonists fast relapsing into idleness and penury; and though he exerted himself strenuously, and not unsuccessfully, to restore better habits, yet the loss of Lord Delaware's imposing rank and authoritative character was sensibly felt. What he could not accomplish by milder means, he was soon enabled and compelled to effect by a system of notable rigour and severity. A code of rules and articles had been compiled by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company of patentees, from the martial law of the Low Countries, the most severe and arbitrary frame of discipline that then existed in the world; and having been printed by the compiler for the use of the colony, but without the sanction or authority of the council, was transmitted by him to the governor. This code did not long remain inoperative. Sir Thomas Dale caused it to be proclaimed as the settled law of the colony; and some conspiracies having broken out, he enforced its provisions with great rigour, but not greater than was judged by all who witnessed it to have effected the preservation of the settlement. The wisdom and honour of the governor, who thus became the first depository of these formidable powers, and the salutary consequences that resulted from the first exercise of them, seem to have prevented the alarm which the introduction of a system so destructive to liberty was calculated to provoke.



ARRIVAL OF GATES.

Dale was succeeded in the supreme command by Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived with six vessels, containing a powerful reinforcement to the numbers and resources of the colonists. The late and the present governors were united by mutual friendship and similarity of character. Gates approved and pursued the system of strict discipline, and steady but moderate enforcement of the martial code, that had been introduced by Dale; and under the directions of Dale, who continued in the country, and willingly occupied a subordinate station, various bodies of the colonists began to form additional settlements on the banks of James river, and at some distance from Jamestown.

An application was now made by the company of patentees to the king, for an enlargement of their charter. The accounts they had received from the persons who were shipwrecked on Bermudas, of the fertility and agreeableness of that territory, impressed them with the desire of obtaining possession of its resources for the supply of Virginia. Their increasing influence enforced their request; and a new charter was issued, investing them with all the islands situated within three hundred leagues of the coast of Virginia. Some innovations were made in the structure and forms of the corporation; the term of exemption from payment of duties on commodities exported by them, was prolonged; the company was empowered to apprehend and remand persons returning by stealth from the settlement, in violation of their engagements; and, for the more effectual advancement of the colony, and indemnification of the large sums that had been expended on it, license was given to open lotteries in any part of England. The lottery which was set on foot in virtue of this license, was the first establishment of the kind that had ever received public countenance in England: it brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the



CAPTURE OF POCAHONTAS.

treasury of the company, but loaded it with the reproach of defrauding the people, by alluring them to play a game, in which they must certainly be the losers.

The House of Commons, which then represented the sense and guarded the morality of England, remonstrated against this odious concession of their ignoble sovereign, as a measure equally unconstitutional and impolitic; and the license was soon afterwards recalled. Happy, if their example had been copied by later times, and the rulers of mankind restrained from polluting their financial administration by a system of chicane, and promoting in their subjects that gambling habit of mind, which dissolves industry and virtue, and is generally the parent of the most atrocious crimes! Notwithstanding the eagerness of the company to acquire the Bermuda islands, they did not retain them long, but sold them to certain of their own members, who were erected into a separate corporation, by the name of the Somer-Islands Company.

The colony of Virginia had once been saved, in the person of its own deliverer, Captain Smith, by Pocahontas, the daughter of the Indian king, Powhatan. She had ever since maintained a friendly intercourse with the English, and she was destined now to render them a service of the highest importance. A scarcity prevailing at Jamestown, and supplies being obtained but scantily and irregularly from the neighbouring Indians.

with whom the colonists were often embroiled, Captain Argal was despatched to the Potomac, for a cargo of corn. Here he learned that Pocahontas was living in retirement, at no great distance from him; and hoping, by possession of her person, to obtain such an ascendant over Powhatan, as would enforce an ample contribution of provisions, he prevailed on her, by some artifice, to come on board his vessel, and then set sail with her to Jamestown, where she was detained in a state of honourable captivity. But Powhatan, more indignant at such treachery than overcome by his misfortune, rejected with scorn the demand of a ransom; he even refused to hold any communication with the robbers who still kept his daughter a prisoner, but declared that if she were restored to him, he would forget the injury, and, feeling himself at liberty to regard them as friends, would gratify all their wishes. But the colonists were too conscious of not deserving the performance of such promises, to be able to give credit to them; and the most injurious consequences seemed likely to arise from the unjust detention, which they could no longer continue with advantage, nor relinquish with safety, when all at once the aspect of affairs underwent a surprising and beneficial change. During her residence in the colony, Pocahontas, who is represented as a woman distinguished by her personal attractions, made such impression on Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank and estimation among the settlers, that he offered her his hand, and, with her approbation, and the warm encouragement of the governor, solicited the consent of Powhatan to their marriage: this the old prince readily granted, and sent some of his relations to attend the ceremonial, which was performed with extraordinary pomp, and laid the foundation of a firm and sincere friendship between his tribe and the English. This happy event, also, enabled the colonial government to conclude a treaty with the Chickahominies, a brave and martial tribe, who consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the British monarch, and style themselves henceforward, Englishmen, to assist the colonists with their arms in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn.

But a material change which now took place in the interior arrangements of the colony contributed to establish its prosperity on foundations more solid and respectable than the alliance or dependence of the Indian tribes. The industry which had been barely kept alive by the severe discipline of martial law, languished under the discouragement of that community of property and labour which had been introduced, as we have seen, by the provisions of the original charter.

Sir Thomas Dale, by his descent from the supreme direction of affairs to a more active participation in the conduct of them, was enabled to observe with an accurate and unprejudiced eye the operation of the colonial laws on the dispositions of the colonists, and in particular the utter incompatibility of this regulation with all the ordinary motives by

which human industry is maintained. Under his direction, the evil was redressed by a radical and effectual remedy: a sufficient portion of land was divided into lots, and one of them was assigned in full property to every settler. From that moment, industry, freed from the obstruction that had relaxed its incitements and intercepted its recompense, took vigorous root in Virginia, and the prosperity of the colony evinced a steady and rapid advancement.

Gates returning to England, the supreme direction again devolved on Sir Thomas Dale, whose virtue seems ever to have enlarged with the enlargement of his authority. He continued for two years longer in the colony; and in his domestic administration continued to promote its real welfare.

One of the first objects to which the increasing industry of the colonists was directed, was the cultivation of tobacco, which was now for the first time introduced into Virginia. King James had conceived a strong antipathy to the use of this weed, and in his celebrated *Counterblast against Tobacco*, had endeavoured to prevail over one of the strongest



TOBACCO PLANT.

tastes of human nature by the force of fustian and pedantry. The issue of the contest corresponded better with his interests than his wishes; his testimony, though pressed with all the vehemence of exalted folly, could not prevail with his subjects over the evidence of their own senses; and though he summoned his prerogative to the aid of his logic, and prohibited the pollution of English ground by the cultivation of tobacco, he found it impossible to withstand its importation from abroad: the demand for it rapidly extended, and its value and consumption daily increased in England.

Incited by the hopes of sharing a trade so profitable, the colonists of Virginia devoted their fields and labour almost exclusively to the culture of tobacco. Sir Thomas Dale observing their inconsiderate ardour, and sensible of the danger of neglecting the cultivation of the humbler but more necessary productions, on which the subsistence of the colony depended, interposed his authority to check the excesses of the planters; and adjusted by law the proportion between the corn crop and the tobacco crop of every proprietor of land. But after his departure, his wise policy was neglected, and his laws forgotten; and the culture of tobacco so exclusively occupied the attention of the settlers, that even the

streets of Jamestown were planted with it, and a scarcity of provisions very soon resulted. In this extremity they were compelled to renew their exactions upon the Indians, and involved themselves in disputes and hostilities which gradually alienated the regards of these savages, and paved the way to one of those schemes of vengeance which they are noted for forming with the most impenetrable secrecy, maturing with consummate artifice, and executing with unrelenting rancour. This fatal consequence was not fully experienced till after the lapse of one of those intervals, which to careless eyes appear to disconnect the misconduct from the sufferings of nations, but impress reflective minds with an awful sense of that strong unbroken chain which subsists undisturbed by time or distance, and both preserves and extends the moral consequences of human actions.



UT a nobler plant than tobacco was preparing to rise in Virginia; and we are now to contemplate the first indication of that active principle of liberty which was destined to become the most considerable staple and appropriate moral produce of America. When Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, he had committed the government to

Mr. George Yeardley, whose lax administration, if it removed a useful restraint on the improvident cupidity of the planters, enabled them to taste, and prepared them to value, the dignity of independence and the blessings of liberty. He was succeeded by Captain Argal, a man of considerable talents and resolution, but selfish, haughty, and tyrannical. Argal provided with ability for the wants of the colony, and introduced some useful regulations of the traffic and intercourse with the Indians; but he encumbered personal liberty with needless and minute restrictions, and enforced their observance by a harsh and constant exercise of martial law. While he pretended to promote piety in others by punishing absence from church with a temporary slavery, he postponed in his own practice every other consideration to the acquisition of wealth, which he effected by a profligate abuse of the opportunities of his office, and defended by the terrors of despotic authority. Universal discontent was excited by his administration, and the complaints of the colonists at length reached the ears of the company in England. In Lord Delaware, their interests had always found a zealous friend and powerful advocate; and he now consented, for their deliverance, to resume his former office, and again to undertake the direction of their affairs. He embarked for Virginia with a splendid train, but died on the voyage. His loss was deeply lamented by the colonists; but it was in the main, perhaps, an advantageous circumstance for them that an administration of such pomp and dignity was thus timeously intercepted, and the improvement of their affairs committed to men and manners nearer the level of their own condition; and it was no less advantageous to the memory of Lord Delaware, that he died in the

demonstration of a generous willingness to attempt what it was very unlikely he could have succeeded in effecting. The tidings of his death were followed to England by increasing complaints of the odious and tyrannical proceedings of Argal; and the company having conferred the office of captain-general on Mr. Yeardley, the new governor received the honour of knighthood, and proceeded to the scene of his administration.

Sir George Yeardley, on his arrival in Virginia, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, declared his intention of reinstating them in full possession of the privileges of Englishmen, by convoking a colonial assembly. This first legislative body that America ever produced, consisted of the governor, the council, and burgesses elected by the seven existing boroughs, who, assembling at Jamestown, in one apartment, conducted their deliberations with good sense and harmony, and debated all affairs that involved the general welfare. The laws which they enacted were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, and are no longer extant; but they are declared by competent judges to have been in the main wisely and judiciously framed, though (as might reasonably be expected) somewhat intricate and unsystematical. The company sometime after passed an ordinance by which they substantially approved and established this constitution of the Virginian legislature. They reserved, however, to themselves the creation of a council of state, which should assist the governor with advice in the executive administration, and should also form a part of the colonial assembly; and they provided, on the one hand, that the enactments of the assembly should not have the force of law till ratified by the court of proprietors in England; and conceded, on the other hand, that the orders of this court should have no force in Virginia till ratified by the colonial assembly. Thus early was planted in America that representative system that forms the soundest political frame in which liberty was ever embodied, and at once the safest and most efficient organ, by which its energies are exercised and developed. So strongly imbued were the minds of Englishmen in this age with the vigorous spirit of that liberty which was rapidly advancing to a first manhood in their country, that wherever they settled themselves, the institutions of freedom took root and grew up along with them.

The company had received orders from the king to transport to Virginia a hundred idle dissolute persons who were in custody for various misdemeanors in London. These men were dispersed through the colony as servants to the planters; and the degradation of the colonial character and manners, produced by such an intermixture, was overlooked, in consideration of the assistance that was derived from them, in executing the plans of industry that were daily extending themselves. Having once associated felons with their labours, and committed the cultivation of their fields to servile hands, the colonists were prepared to yield to the tempta-

tion which speedily presented itself, and to blend in barbarous combination the character of oppressors with the claims and condition of freemen. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, having sailed up James river, sold a part of her cargo of negroes to the planters; and as that hardy race was found more capable of enduring fatigue in a sultry climate than Europeans, the number was increased by continual importation, till a large proportion of the inhabitants of Virginia were reduced to a state of slavery by the selfish ingratitude of men who turned into a prison for others the territory that had proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves.



UT, about this time, another addition, more productive of virtue and felicity, was made to the number of the colonists. Few women had as yet ventured to cross the Atlantic; and the English being restrained by the pride and rigidity of their character from that incorporation with the native Americans which the French and Portuguese have found so conducive to their interests, and so accordant with the pliancy of their manners and disposition, were generally destitute of the comforts and connections of married life. Men so situated could not regard Virginia as a permanent residence, but proposed to themselves, after amassing a competency of wealth as expeditiously as possible, to return to their native country. Such views are inconsistent with patient industry, and with those extended interests that produce or support patriotism; and under the more liberal system which the company had now begun to pursue towards the colony, it was proposed to send out a hundred young women of agreeable persons and respectable characters, as wives for the settlers. Ninety were accordingly sent, and the speculation proved so profitable to the company, that a repetition of it was suggested by the emptiness of their exchequer in the following year, and sixty more were collected and sent over. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters, and produced such an accession of happiness to the colony, that the second consignment fetched a better price than the first. The price of a wife was estimated at first at a hundred and twenty, and afterwards at a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, of which the selling price was then three shillings per pound; and the subject of the transaction was held to impart its own dignity to the debt, which accordingly was allowed to take precedence of all other engagements. The young women were not only bought with avidity, but received with such fondness, and so comfortably established, that others were invited to follow their example, and virtuous sentiments and provident habits spreading daily among the planters, enlarged the happiness and prosperity of the colony. To the blessings of marriage naturally succeeded

some provision for the benefits of education. A sum of money had been collected by the English bishops, by direction of the king, for the maintenance of an institution in Virginia for the Christian education of Indian children; and in emulation of this good example, various steps were taken by the company towards the foundation of a colonial college, which was afterwards completed by William and Mary.

But a cloud had been for some time gathering over the colony, and even the circumstances that most forcibly indicated the growing prosperity of the planters, were but inviting and enabling the storm to burst with more destructive violence on their heads. Externally at peace with the Indians, unapprehensive of danger, and wholly engrossed with the profitable cultivation of their fertile territory, their increasing numbers had spread so extensively over the province, that no less than eighty settlements had already been formed; and every planter being guided only by his own convenience or caprice in the choice of his dwelling, and more disposed to shun than to court the neighbourhood of his countrymen, the settlements were universally straggling and uncompact. The marriage of Mr. Rolfe and Pocahontas had not produced as lasting a good understanding between the English and the Indians, as it had at first seemed to betoken. The Indians eagerly courted a repetition of such intermarriages, and were deeply offended with the pride with which the English receded from their advances, and declined to become the husbands of Indian women. The colonists forgot that they had inflicted this mortification; but it was remembered by the Indians, who never forgot or forgave an affront. Numberless earnest recommendations had been transmitted from England, to attempt the conversion of the savages; but these recommendations had not been enforced by a sufficient attention to the means requisite for their execution. Yet they were not wholly neglected by the colonists. It was in the midst of this free and unguarded intercourse that the Indians formed, with cold and unrelenting deliberation, the plan for a general massacre of the English, which should involve every man, woman, and child in the colony, in indiscriminate slaughter. The death of Powhatan, in 1618, devolved the power of executing a scheme so detestable into the hands of a man fully capable of contriving and maturing it. Opechancanough, who succeeded, not only to the supremacy over Powhatan's tribe, but to his influence over all the neighbouring tribes of Indians, was distinguished by his fearless courage, his profound dissimulation, and a rancorous hatred and jealousy of the new inhabitants of America. He renewed the pacific treaty which Powhatan had made, and faithfully kept, with the English, after the marriage of Pocahontas to Mr. Rolfe; and he availed himself of the tranquillity it produced, to prepare, during the four ensuing years, his friends and followers for the several parts they were to act in the tragedy he projected. The tribes in the neighbourhood of the English,

except those on the eastern shore, whom, on account of their peculiar friendship for the colonists, he did not venture to intrust with the plan, were successively gained over ; and all co-operated with that single-mindedness and intensity of purpose characteristic of a project of Indian revenge. Notwithstanding the long interval that elapsed between the formation and the execution of their present enterprise, and the perpetual intercourse that subsisted between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secrecy was preserved ; and so consummate and fearless was their dissimulation, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and communicate the progress of their design.

An incident which, though minute, is too curious to be omitted, contributed to sharpen the ferocity of the Indians by the sense of recent provocation. There was a man, belonging to one of the neighbouring tribes, named Nemattanow, who by his courage, craft, and good fortune, had attained the highest repute among his countrymen. In the skirmishes and engagements which their former wars with the English produced, he had exposed his person with a bravery that commanded their esteem, and an impunity that excited their astonishment. They judged him invulnerable, whom so many wounds seemed to have approached in vain ; and the object of their admiration partook, or at least encouraged, the delusion which seemed to invest him with a character of sanctity. Opechancanough, the king, whether jealous of this man's reputation, or desirous of embroiling the English with the Indians, sent a message to the governor of the colony, to acquaint him that he was welcome to cut Nemattanow's throat. Such a representation of Indian character as this message conveyed, one would think, ought to have excited the strongest suspicion and distrust in the minds of the English. Though the offer of the king was disregarded, his wishes were not disappointed. Nemattanow, having murdered a planter, was shot by one of his servants in an attempt to apprehend him. Finding the pangs of death coming strong upon him, the pride, but not the vanity, of the savage was subdued, and he entreated his captors to grant his two last requests, one of which was, that they would never reveal that he had been slain by a bullet, and the other, that they would bury him among the English, that the secret of his mortality might never be known to his countrymen. The request seems to infer the possibility of its being complied with, and the disclosure of the fatal event was no less imprudent than disadvantageous. The Indians were filled with grief and indignation ; and Opechancanough inflamed their anger by pretending to share it. Having counterfeited displeasure for the satisfaction of his subjects, he proceeded with equal success to counterfeit placability for the delusion of his enemies, and assured the English that the sky should sooner fall than the peace be broken by him. But the plot now advanced



DISCLOSURE OF THE INTENDED MASSACRE.

rapidly to its maturity, and, at length, the day was fixed on which all the English settlements were at the same instant to be attacked. The respective stations of the various troops of assassins were assigned to them; and that they might be enabled to occupy them without exciting suspicion, some carried presents of fish and game into the interior of the colony, and others presented themselves as guests soliciting the hospitality of their English friends, on the evening before the massacre. As the fatal hour drew nigh, the rest, under various pretences, and with every demonstration of kindness, assembled around the detached and unguarded settlements of the colonists: and not a sentiment of compunction, not a rash expression of hate, nor an unguarded look of exultation, had occurred to disconcert or disclose the designs of their well-disciplined ferocity.

The universal destruction of the colonists seemed unavoidable, and was prevented only by the consequences of an event which perhaps appeared but of little consequence in the colony at the time when it took place—the conversion of an Indian to the Christian faith. On the night before the massacre, this man was made privy to it by his own brother, who communicated to him the command of his king, and his countrymen to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with spoil, revenge, and glory. The exhortation was powerfully calculated to impress a savage mind; but a new mind had been given to this convert, and as soon as his brother left him, he revealed the alarming intelligence to an English gentleman, in whose house he was residing. This planter immediately carried the tid-



THE GREAT MASSACRE.

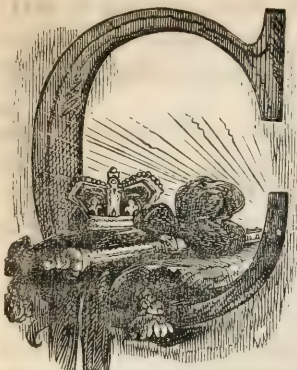
ings to Jamestown, from whence the alarm was communicated to the nearest settlers, barely in time to prevent the last hour of the perfidious truce from being the last hour of their lives.

But the intelligence came too late to be more generally available. At mid-day, the moment they had previously fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women, and children with undistinguishing fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been still greater, if the English, even in some of those districts where the warning that saved others did not reach, had not flown to their arms with the energy of despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse the assailants, who almost universally displayed a cowardice proportioned to their cruelty, and fled at the sight of arms in the hands even of the women and boys, whom, unarmed, they were willing to attack and destroy. If in this foul and revolting exhibition of humanity, some circumstances appear to be referable to the peculiarities of savage life and education, we shall greatly err if we overlook, in its more general and important features, the testimony it has given to the deep depravity of fallen nature. The previous massacre of the French protestants on the day of St. Bar-

tholomew, and the subsequent massacre of the Irish protestants in 1641, present, not only a barbarous people, but a civilized nation and accomplished court, as the rivals of these American savages in perfidy, fury, and cruelty.

The colony had received a wound no less deep and dangerous than painful and alarming. Six of the members of council, and many of the most eminent inhabitants, were among the slain; at some of the settlements the whole of their population had been exterminated; at others, a remnant had escaped the general destruction by the efforts of despair; and the survivors were confounded by a stroke that at once bereaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of enemies, whose existence they had never dreamt of, and whose ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race of fiends rather than men. To the massacre succeeded an exterminating war between the English and the Indians; and the colonists were at last provoked to retaliate on their savage adversaries, the evils of which they had set so bloody an example. Yet though a direful necessity might seem to justify or palliate the measures which it taught the colonists to apprehend and provide for, their warfare was never wholly divested of honour and magnanimity. During this disastrous period, the design for erecting a colonial college, and many other public institutions, was abandoned; the number of the settlements was reduced from eighty to six; and the affliction of scarcity was added to the horrors of war.

Meantime the Virginia company had excited the hostility of the king. The company in London were by no means so pliant to the will of James as he had expected. That sapient monarch now discovered, that he had acted unwisely in granting to them the high privileges which they enjoyed. They delighted to thwart his inclinations, and defeat his purposes; and as the parties which now divide the British senate were then forming, the meeting of the council was the theatre on which the popular orators displayed their eloquence, and canvassed the measures of the sovereign, with a freedom not at all agreeable to his notions of his own wisdom, or of the royal prerogative. He attempted to model anew the government of Virginia; but the company resisted, and pleaded the validity of the charter which they had received. This exasperated James in the highest degree. He issued a writ of *quo warranto* against the proprietors, the cause was tried in the court of King's Bench, and decided in favour of the crown; the company was dissolved, and its rights and privileges being forfeited, returned to the sovereign by whom they were bestowed. James unfortunately died when he was employing all his wisdom in contriving a suitable mode of government for the colony in Virginia.



CHARLES the First inherited, with his father's throne, all the maxims that had latterly regulated his colonial policy. Of this he hastened to give assurance to his subjects, by a series of proclamations which he issued soon after his accession to the crown, and which distinctly unfolded the arbitrary principles he entertained, and the tyrannical administration he had determined to pursue. He declared, that the whole administration of the Virginian government should be vested in a council nominated and directed by himself, and responsible to him

alone. While he expressed the utmost scorn of the capacity of a mercantile corporation, he did not disdain to assume its illiberal spirit, and copy its interested policy. As a specimen of the extent of legislative authority which he intended to exert, and of the purposes to which he meant to render it subservient, he prohibited the Virginians, under the most absurd and frivolous pretences, from selling their tobacco to any persons but certain commissioners appointed by himself to purchase it on his own account.

Charles conferred the office of governor of Virginia on Sir George Yeardley, and empowered him, in conjunction with a council of twelve, to exercise supreme authority there; to make and execute laws; to impose and levy taxes; to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to public uses; and to transport the colonists to England, to be tried there for offences committed in Virginia. The governor and council were specially directed to exact the oaths of allegiance and supremacy from every inhabitant of the colony, and to conform in every point to the instructions which from time to time the king might transmit to them. Yeardley's early death prevented the full weight of his authority from being experienced by the colonists during his short administration. He died in the beginning of the year 1627, and, two years after, was succeeded by Sir John Harvey. During this period, and for many years after, the king, who seems to have inherited his father's prejudices respecting tobacco, continued to harass the importation and sale of it by a series of regulations so vexatious, oppressive, and unsteady, that it is difficult to say whether they excite greater contempt for the fluctuations and caprice of his counsels, or indignant pity for the wasted prosperity and insulted patience of his people.

Sir John Harvey, the new governor, proved a fit instrument in Virginia to carry the king's system of arbitrary rule into complete execution. Haughty, rapacious, and cruel, he exercised an odious authority with the most offensive insolence, and aggravated every legislative severity by the

rigour of his executive energy. So congenial was his disposition with the system he conducted, and so thoroughly did he personify, as well as administer, tyranny, as not only to attract, but to engross, in his own person, the odium of which a large share was undoubtedly due to the prince who employed him. Of the length to which he carried his arbitrary exactions and forfeitures, some notion may be formed from a letter of instructions by which the royal committee of council for the colonies in England at length thought it prudent to check his excesses. It signified, that the king, of his royal favour, and for the encouragement of the planters, desired that the interests which had been acquired under the corporation should be exempted from forfeiture, and that the colonists, "*for the present*, might enjoy their estates with the same freedom and privilege as they did before the recalling of the patent." We might suppose this to be the mandate of an eastern sultan to one of his bashaws; and indeed the rapacious tyranny of the governor seems hardly more odious than the cruel mercy of the prince, who interposed to mitigate oppression only when it had reached an extreme which is proverbially liable to inflame the wise with madness, and drive the patient to despair. The most significant comment on the letter is, that Harvey was neither censured nor displaced for the excesses which it commanded him to restrain. The effect, too, which it was calculated to produce, in ascertaining the rights and quieting the apprehensions of the colonists, was counterbalanced by large and vague grants of territory within the province, which Charles inconsiderately bestowed on his courtiers, and which gave rise to numerous encroachments on established possession, and excited universal distrust of the validity of titles and the stability of property. The effect of one of these grants was the formation of the state of Maryland, by dismembering a large portion of territory that had previously been annexed to Virginia. For many years this event proved a source of much discontent and serious inconvenience to the Virginian colonists, who had endeavoured to improve their trade by restricting themselves to the exportation only of tobacco of superior quality, and now found themselves deprived of all the advantage of this sacrifice by the transference of a portion of their own territory to neighbours who refused to unite in their regulations.

The restrictions prescribed by the letter of the royal committee, left Harvey still in possession of ample scope to his tyranny; and the colonists respecting, or overawed by, the authority with which he was invested, for a long time endured it without resistance. Roused at length, by reiterated provocation, and impatient of farther suffering, the Virginians, in a transport of general rage, seized the person of Harvey, and sent him a prisoner to England, along with two deputies from their own body, who were charged with the duty of representing the grievances of the colony and the misconduct of the governor. But their reliance on the justice of the king



ARREST OF HARVEY.

proved to be very ill-founded. Charles was fated to teach his subjects, that if they meant to retain their liberties, they must prepare to defend them; that neither enduring patience nor respectful remonstrance could avail to relax or divert his arbitrary purpose; and that if they would obtain justice to themselves, they must deprive him of the power to withhold it. The inhabitants of Virginia had never irritated the king by disputing, like their fellow subjects in England, the validity of his civil or ecclesiastical edicts; they had entered into no contest with him, and neither possessed forces nor pretended to privileges which could alarm his jealousy. They had borne extreme oppression (of which he had already evinced his consciousness) with long patience, and even when driven to despair, had shown that they neither imputed their wrongs to him nor doubted his justice. Defenceless and oppressed, they appealed to him as their protector; and their appeal was enforced by every circumstance that could impress a just, or move a generous mind. Yet, so far from commiserating their sufferings, or redressing their wrongs, Charles regarded their conduct as an act of presumptuous audacity little short of rebellion; and all the applications of their deputies were rejected with calm injustice and inflexible disdain. He refused even to admit them to his presence, or to hear a single article of their charges against Harvey; and, having reinstated that obnoxious governor in his office, he sent him back to Virginia, with an ample renewal of the powers which he had so grossly abused. There, elated with his triumph, and inflamed with rage, Harvey resumed and aggravated a tyrannical sway that has entailed infamy on himself and disgrace on his sovereign, and provoked complaints so loud and vehement that they began to penetrate into England, and produce an impression on the minds of the people which could not be safely disregarded. It is in those scenes and circumstances in which men feel themselves entirely delivered from restraint, that their natural character most distinctly betrays itself. Enjoying abso-

lute power over Virginia, Charles has inscribed his character more legibly on the history of that province, than of any other portion of his dominions.

Had the government of Sir John Harvey been continued much longer, it must have ended in the revolt or the ruin of the colony. So great was the distress it occasioned, as to excite the attention of the Indians, and awaken their slumbering enmity by suggesting the hope of revenge. Opechancanough, the ancient enemy of the colonists, was now far advanced in years; but age had not dimmed his discernment, nor extinguished his animosity. Seeing the favourable occasion presented by the distracted state of the province, he again led his warriors to a sudden and furious attack, which the colonists did not repel without the loss of five hundred men. A general war ensued between them and all the Indian tribes under the influence of Opechancanough.

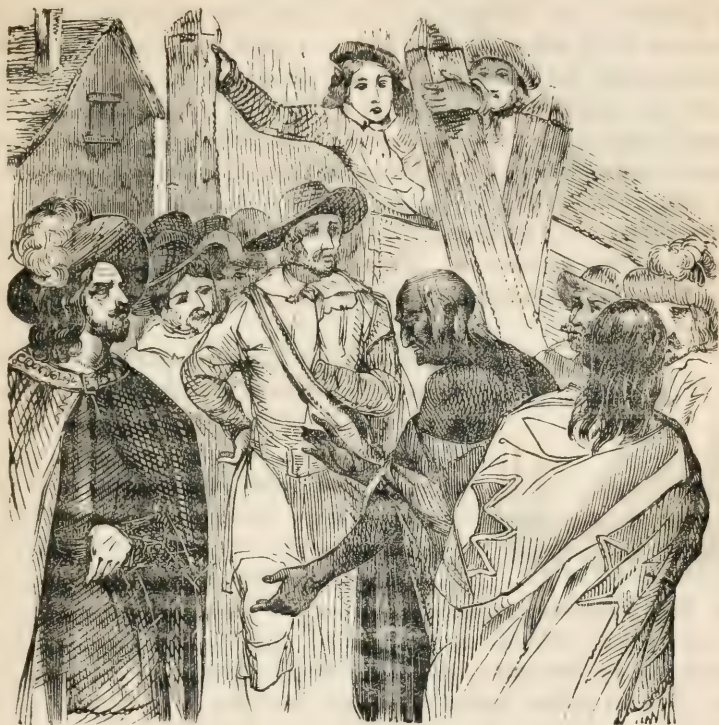
But a great change was now at hand, which was to reward the patience of the Virginians with a bloodless redress of their grievances. The public discontents, which had for many years been multiplying in England, were now advancing with rapid strides to a full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great convulsion. After a long intermission, Charles was forced to contemplate the reassembling of a parliament; and, well aware of the ill humour which his government at home had excited, he had the strongest reason to dread that the displeasure of the Commons would be inflamed, and their worst suspicions confirmed, by complaints and descriptions of the despotism that had been exercised in Virginia. There was yet time to soothe the irritation, and even secure the adherence of a people, who, in spite of every wrong, retained a generous attachment to the prince, whose sovereignty was still felt to unite them with the parent state: and, from the propagation of the complaints of colonial grievances in England, there was every reason to apprehend that the redress of them, if longer withheld by the king, would be granted, to the great detriment of his credit and influence, by the parliament. To that body the Virginians had applied on a former occasion, and the encouragement they had met with increased the probability both of a repetition of their application and of a successful issue to it.

These considerations alone seem to account for the sudden and total change which the colonial policy of the king now evinced. Harvey was recalled, and the government of Virginia committed to Sir William Berkeley, a person not only of superior rank and abilities to his predecessor, but distinguished by every popular virtue of which Harvey was deficient—of upright and honourable character, mild and prudent temper, and manners at once dignified and engaging. A change, not less gratifying was introduced into the system of government. The new governor was instructed to restore the Colonial Assembly, and to invite it to enact a body

of laws for the province, and to improve the administration of justice, by introduction of the forms of English judicial procedure. Thus, all at once, and when they least expected it, was restored to the colonists the system of freedom which they had originally derived from the Virginia Company, which had been involved in the same ruin with that corporation, and the recollection of which had been additionally endeared to them by the oppression that had succeeded its overthrow. Universal joy and gratitude was excited throughout the colony, by this signal and happy change; and the king, who, amidst the hostility that was gathering around him in every other quarter, was addressed in the language of affection and attachment by this people, seems to have been somewhat struck and softened by the generous sentiments which he had so little deserved; and which forcibly proved to him how cheap and easy were the means by which princes may render their subjects grateful and happy. And yet so strong were the illusions of his self-love, or so deliberate his artifice, that in his answer to an address of the colonists, he eagerly appropriated the praise for which he was indebted to their generosity alone, and endeavoured to extend the application of their grateful expressions even to the administration which he had abandoned in order to procure them.

While Charles thus again introduced the principles of the British constitution into the internal government of Virginia, he did not neglect to take precautions for preserving its connection with the mother country, and securing to England an exclusive possession of the colonial trade. For this purpose Sir William Berkeley was instructed to prohibit all commerce with other nations, and to take a bond from the master of every vessel that sailed from Virginia, obliging him to land his cargo in some part of the king's dominions in Europe. Yet the pressure of this restraint was more than counterbalanced by the liberality of the other instructions: and with a free and mild government, which offered a peaceful asylum, and distributed ample tracts of land to all who sought its protection, the colony advanced so rapidly in prosperity and population, that at the beginning of the Civil Wars it contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants. By the vigour and conduct of Sir William Berkeley, the Indian war, after a few expeditions, was brought to a successful close: Opechancanough was taken prisoner, and a peace concluded with the savages, which endured for many years.

It was the intention of Sir William Berkeley to have sent this remarkable personage to England; but he was shot after being taken prisoner by a soldier, in resentment of the calamities he had inflicted on the province. He lingered under the wound for several days, and died with the pride and firmness of an old Roman. Indignant at the crowds who came to gaze at him on his death-bed, he exclaimed, "If I had taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to the



OPECHANCANOUGH REPROVING BERKELEY.

people." Perhaps he remembered that he had saved the life of Captain Smith, and forgot the numberless instances in which he had exposed other prisoners to public derision and lingering torture.

It was happy for Virginia that the restoration of its domestic constitution was accomplished in this manner, and not deferred to a later period, when it would probably have been accompanied by a restoration of the exclusive company. To this consummation some of the members of that body had been eagerly looking forward; and, notwithstanding the disappointment that their hopes had sustained by the redress of those grievances which would have forced their pretensions, they endeavoured to avail themselves of the avidity with which every complaint against the king was received by the Long Parliament, by presenting a petition in the name of the Assembly of Virginia, praying for a restoration of the ancient patents and government. The assembly had tasted the sweets of unrestricted freedom, and were not disposed to hazard or encumber their system of liberty, by re-attaching it to the mercantile corporation from

which it had been originally derived. No sooner were they apprized of the petition to the House of Commons than they transmitted an explicit disavowal of it; and at the same time presented an address to the king, acknowledging his bounty and favour to them, and desiring to continue under his immediate protection. In the fervour of their loyalty, they enacted a declaration, "That they were born under monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births by being subject to any other government."

The efforts of the parliamentary rulers of England were as prompt and vigorous as their declarations. They quickly despatched a powerful armament under the command of Sir George Ayscue to reduce all their enemies to submission.



The English squadron, after reducing the colonies in Barbadoes and the other islands to submit to the commonwealth, entered the bay of Chesapeake. Berkeley, apprized of the invasion, made haste to hire the assistance of a few Dutch ships which were then trading to Virginia, contrary both to the royal and the parliamentary injunctions, and with more courage than prudence prepared to oppose this formidable armament; but though he was cordially supported by the loyalists, who formed the great majority of the inhabitants, he could not long maintain so unequal a contest. Yet his gallant resistance, though unavailing to repel the invaders, enabled him to procure favourable terms of submission to the colony. By the articles of surrender, a complete indemnity was stipulated for all past offences; and the colonists, while they recognised the authority, were admitted into the bosom of the commonwealth, and expressly assured of an equal participation in all the privileges of the free people of England. In particular it was provided that the General Assembly should transact, as formerly, the affairs of the settlement, and enjoy the exclusive right of taxation; and that "the people of Virginia shall have a free trade, as the people of England, to all places and with all nations." Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself with those whom his principles of loyalty taught him to consider as usurpers. Without leaving Virginia, he withdrew to a retired situation, where he continued to reside as a private individual, universally beloved and respected, till a new revolution was again to call him to preside once more over the colony.

But it was the dependence and not the alliance of the colonies, that the rulers of the English commonwealth were concerned to obtain; and in their shameless disregard of the treaty concluded by their commissioners, they signally proved with how little equity absolute power is exercised even by those who have shown themselves most prompt to resent and mos'

vigorous to resist the endurance of its excesses. Having succeeded in obtaining from the colonies a recognition of the authority which they administered, they proceeded to the adoption of measures calculated to enforce their dependence on England, and to secure the exclusive possession of their increasing commerce. With this view, as well as for the purpose of provoking hostilities with the Dutch, by aiming a blow at their carrying trade, the parliament not only forbore to repeal the ordinance of the preceding year, which prohibited commercial intercourse between the colonies and foreign states, but framed another law which was to introduce a new era of commercial jurisprudence, and to found the celebrated navigation system of England. This remarkable law enacted that no production of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, but in vessels belonging to English owners or the inhabitants of the English colonies, and navigated by crews of which the captain and the majority of the sailors should be Englishmen. Willing at the same time to encourage the cultivation of the staple commodity of Virginia, the parliament soon after passed an act confirming all the royal proclamations against planting tobacco in England.

This unjust and injurious treatment kept alive in Virginia the attachment to the royal cause, which was further maintained by the emigrations of the distressed cavaliers, who resorted in such numbers to Virginia, that the population of the colony amounted to thirty thousand persons at the epoch of the restoration. But Cromwell had now prevailed over the parliament, and held the reins of the commonwealth in his vigorous hands; and though the discontents of the Virginians were secretly inflamed by the severity of his policy and the invidious distinctions which it evinced, their expression was repressed by the terror of his name, and the energy which he infused into every department of his administration; and under the superintendence of governors appointed by him, the exterior, at least, of tranquillity was maintained in Virginia till the period of his death. Warmly attached by similarity of religious and political sentiments to the colonists of Massachusetts, Cromwell indulged them with a dispensation from the commercial laws of the Long Parliament, while he rigorously exacted their observance in Virginia. The enforcement of these restrictions on the obnoxious colonists, at a time when England could neither afford a sufficient market to their produce nor an adequate supply to their wants, and while Massachusetts enjoyed a monopoly of the advantages of which they were deprived, strongly impeached the magnanimity of the protector and the fearless justice by which he professed to dignify his usurped dominion, and proved no less burdensome than irritating to the Virginians. Such partial and illiberal policy subverts in the minds of subjects those sentiments which facilitate the administration of human affairs and assure the stability of government, and habituates them to ascribe every burden and restriction



CROMWELL

which views of public expediency may impose, to causes that provoke enmity and redouble impatience. In the minds of the Virginians it produced not only this evil habit, but other no less unfortunate consequences; for retorting the dislike with which they found themselves treated, and encountering the partiality of their adversaries with prejudices equally unjust, they conceived a violent antipathy against all the doctrines, sentiments, and practices that seemed peculiar to the Puritans, and rejected all communication of the knowledge that flourished in Massachusetts, from hatred of the authority under whose shelter it grew, and of the principles to whose support it seemed to administer. At length the disgust and impatience of the inhabitants of Virginia could no longer be restrained. Matthews, the last governor appointed by Cromwell, died nearly at the same period with the protector; and the Virginians, though not yet apprized of the full extent of their deliverance, took advantage of the suspension of authority caused by the governor's demise; and having forced Sir William Berkeley from his retirement, unanimously elected him to preside over the colony. Berkeley refusing to act under usurped authority, the colonists boldly erected the royal standard, and proclaimed Charles the Second to be their lawful sovereign; thus venturously adopting a measure which, according to all appearances, involved a contest with the arms of Cromwell and the whole resources of England. Happily for the colony, the distractions that ensued in England deferred the vengeance which the

ruling powers had equal ability and inclination to inflict upon it, till the sudden and unexpected restoration of Charles to the throne of his ancestors converted their imprudent temerity into meritorious service, and enabled them safely to exult in the singularity which they long mentioned with triumph, that they had been the last of the British subjects who had renounced, and the first who had resumed their allegiance to the crown.

This display of loyalty was not rewarded by Charles, as the colonists were entitled to expect, or as they, perhaps, deserved. But the king, though he neither enlarged the boundaries of the settlement, nor introduced any regulation which was very advantageous to its commerce, was, nevertheless, sensible that the planters had shown themselves attached to his family, and spoke of their zeal in terms of high commendation. The spirit which influenced the parliament, however, was by no means favourable to the American settlers. The restraints which had been imposed upon their commerce, during the usurpation, were not removed. They were even obliged to trade within more narrow limits. The celebrated Navigation Act was passed by the Commons: and in this memorable statute, it was ordained, (12 Car. 2, c. 181,) that no commodities should be imported into any foreign settlement, unless in vessels, built either in England or its plantations, and manned with sailors, of whom three-fourths were the subjects of Great Britain: that none but Englishmen, born or naturalized, should act as merchants or factors in any of the colonies: that no ginger, tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, indigo, or other articles enumerated in the bill, should be exported from the colonies to any country but England: and (A. D. 1663) that no European commodity should be imported into the colonies that had not been *shipped in England*, and in vessels built and manned, as has been stated above. The Act of Navigation, however, allowed the settlers in America to export the enumerated commodities from one plantation to another, without paying any duty: but in the year 1672, they were farther subjected to a tax equivalent to what was paid by the consumers of the same commodities in England. In the subsequent transactions of the mother country and the colonies, we find a perpetual and undeviating effort on the part of the former to support these restraints; and on the part of the latter to break through or elude them.

As soon as the intelligence of what the Commons had done, in passing the Act of Navigation, reached Virginia, that important statute was felt as a grievance by all the settlers. They petitioned earnestly for relief, but without effect. Murmurs and dissatisfaction spread through the colony. It was openly maintained, that they ought to assert their rights by force of arms; and they wanted nothing but a leader to carry them to all the extravagances of actual rebellion. This leader they found in Nathaniel Bacon, a man of great influence among the people; eloquent, ambitious,



THE SIGNING OF BACON'S COMMISSION.

and daring. He made application to the governor for an official confirmation of the popular election, offering to march instantly against their common foe, the Indians. Berkeley refused the application, and commanded the insurgents to disperse.

But Bacon had advanced too far to recede. He marched to Jamestown, at the head of six hundred armed men, and surrounding the house where the governor and council were met, repeated his demand. The council, intimidated by the threats of the multitude, hastily made out the desired commission, and prevailed upon the governor to sign it. Bacon immediately marched with his troops against the Indians; but the council, now relieved from their fears, declared the commission void, and Bacon a rebel. Enraged at this, he returned to Jamestown, and engaged in several skirmishes with the old governor, who, unsupported, and almost abandoned, had fled to Accomack, on the eastern shore of the colony, where he collected a few of the well-affected to oppose the insurgents. Jamestown was burnt, the districts which still adhered to the old administration were laid waste, and the property of the loyalists confiscated by the insurgents; whose possessions were again, in return, seized by Berkeley, and several of their leaders executed. Nor was Bacon destitute of support in his new situation. Many of the respectable planters acknowledged his jurisdiction, and declared their resolution of adhering to him with their lives and fortunes, till such times as they had an opportunity of laying their grievances before their sovereign. Meanwhile, Berkeley had transmitted an account of the insurrection to Europe, and a body of troops arrived from England. But, just as he was about to take the field with

all his strength, Bacon sickened and died, (A. D. 1677,) and his followers, deprived of their leader, submitted without reluctance to the authority of the governor. Soon after, Colonel Jefferies was appointed in the room of Sir William Berkeley; and, from that period to the revolution in 1688, there is scarcely any memorable occurrence in the history of Virginia.

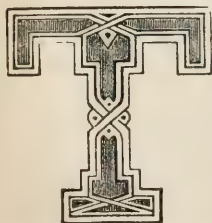
The administration, however, was still carried on in the full spirit of arbitrary dominion; and the Virginians, though their constitution resembled that of England in its form, were so utterly unacquainted with liberty, that they were denied even the privilege of complaining, the last consolation of the oppressed: for they were prohibited by a law, and under severe penalties, "from speaking disrespectfully of the governor, or defaming, either by words or writing, the administration of the colony." (Robertson's America, vol. iii., p. 288.) Yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, they doubled their numbers in less than twenty-eight years.





GEORGE CALVERT, THE FIRST LORD BALTIMORE.

SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.



HE colony of Maryland, contiguous to Virginia, was settled at a later period. The Virginia company considered themselves the real proprietors of this territory, which was undoubtedly covered by their charter. But King James I., who had granted that charter, set their claims aside in favour of another party.

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, held several lucrative situations, and obtained extensive grants of land in Ireland and Newfoundland, under James I.; but having, in the year 1624, become a Roman Catholic, he was compelled to give up his office of secre

tary of state, and to abstain altogether from interfering in public affairs, the intolerant spirit of that age prohibiting the open exercise of the Catholic worship. It was an age, however, of great enterprise as well as of religious intolerance. The impulse towards maritime discovery given by the discovery of America, and the passage by sea to the East Indies, had not yet spent its force; and the founding of settlements, or plantations, as they were then called, in distant colonies, was pursued with great ardour, no less by the adventurous spirits, who, in a less pacific reign, would have employed their energies in war, than by those who in vain sought for freedom of conscience at home, or who, abhorring the civil and religious tyranny of the Stuarts, became voluntary exiles from the land of their birth. The Catholics were not, it is true, as politically obnoxious to the court of James I. and his successor, as those numerous Protestant sectaries who are known to us by the common appellation of "Puritans;" but by the great bulk of the nation they were regarded with feelings of fanatical hatred. Though the plantation of Maryland was originally what, in modern phraseology, might be termed a commercial speculation, the religion of its founder and the political events of the time invested it with the character of a purely Catholic settlement.

The French having taken possession of a settlement in Newfoundland, upon which Lord Baltimore had expended a very large sum of money, Charles I. made him a grant of all that tract of country which constitutes the present state of Maryland, but he died before the grant was legalized; and the patent or charter was accordingly made out in the name of his son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore. This charter was dated June 20th, 1632, and states in the preamble that "Whereas, our right trusty and well-beloved Cecil Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, of Longford in Ireland, pursuing his father's intent, and being excited with a laudable Christian zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, and the enlargement of our empire and dominions, hath humbly besought leave of us, by his own industry and charge, to transfer an ample colony of the English nation into a certain country, hereafter to be described, in part of America not yet cultivated or planted, though in some parts thereof inhabited by certain barbarous people, having no knowledge of Almighty God," &c., &c. The charter goes on to invest Lord Baltimore and his heirs with full powers over the new colony, "to be holders of us and our heirs and successors as of our castle of Windsor, and in fee and common soccage, by fealty only, for all services, and not *in capite*, or by knight's service; yielding and paying, therefore, to us, two Indian arrows of those parts every year, on Easter Tuesday, and also the fifth part of all gold and silver mines which shall hereafter be discovered."

Under this charter, about two hundred persons, of respectable family, and mostly of the Roman Catholic persuasion entered the Chesapeake



SETTLEMENT OF ST. MARY'S.

Bay, in February, 1634. Having purchased a tract of country from the native Indians, they proceeded to organize the new colony, called *Maryland*, in honour of Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I.

Leonard Calvert, who had been appointed the first governor of the colony and had brought out the settlers, sailed up to Piscataqua, an Indian settlement, nearly opposite Mount Vernon, where the chief received him with kindness, saying, "He would not bid him go, neither would he bid him stay; he might use his own discretion." On reflection, he considered the place too far up the river, and, therefore, the vessel was moved down to a tributary, named then *St. George's*, and now *St. Mary's*. Ascending it four leagues, he came to a considerable Indian town, named *Yoacomoco*, afterwards called *St. Mary's* by the colonists; and being hospitably received, as well as pleased with the situation, he determined to fix his colony there. The Werowannee accepted an invitation on board, and Sir John Harvey having just arrived from Virginia, the chief was led down to the cabin, and seated at dinner between the two governors. An alarm having spread among the people on shore, that he was detained as a prisoner, they made the banks echo with shouts of alarm; the Indian attendants durst not go to them, but when he himself appeared on deck, they were satisfied. He became so much attached to the English as to declare, that if they should kill him, he would not wish his death avenged, being sure that he must have deserved his fate. Amid these dispositions



INDIANS TEACHING THE COLONISTS TO HUNT.

it was not difficult to negotiate the formation of a settlement. For hatchets, noes, knives, cloth, and other articles of probably very small original cost, the strangers not only obtained a large tract of land, but were allowed by the inhabitants to occupy immediately half of their village, with the corn growing adjacent to it, and at the end of harvest were to receive the whole. Thus were they at once comfortably established, without those severe hardships which usually attend an infant settlement.

The kindness of the natives was testified by their going every day into the woods with the colonists, showing them where to find game, joining them in the chase, and teaching them their own rude arts of hunting, such as disguising themselves in the skins of deer, and shooting from under this odd disguise.

They also brought them supplies of venison and wild turkeys, and were paid in knives, tools, and toys. They also furnished abundance of fish, and taught the wives of the colonists to make bread of maize.

This good understanding was prolonged for a number of years; but at length, in 1642, the emigrants had the usual misfortune of being involved in a war with the natives. For two years they suffered all its distressing and harassing accompaniments, which, in 1644, were happily terminated by a treaty, the conditions of which, and some acts of Assembly immediately following, seem to prove that the evil had arisen entirely from the interested proceedings of individuals. The prohibition of kidnapping the Indians, and of selling arms to them, show the existence of these culpable practices. This peace was of long duration, and the Maryland govern-

ment seem, on the whole, to have acted more laudably towards this race than any other, that of Penn excepted.

The domestic administration was first disturbed by the following painful transaction. Captain William Clayborne, a man of large property, and holding high offices in the colonial government, had opened a considerable trade in furs, and other articles on the upper part of the Chesapeake, and even established a settlement on Kent Island, where he expended upwards of six thousand pounds. The proprietary forthwith called upon him to yield up all these establishments, as lying within the range of his patent. Clayborne, very little disposed to consent, referred the claim to the council of Virginia, who expressed their astonishment that it should ever have been even mentioned. The demand certainly appears to have been one of extreme hardship. The captain some years before had received from the king a patent for trade, though not indeed for plantation; but this last object was attended with such expense, hazard, and difficulty, that not permission merely, but ample encouragement had always been considered due to the undertaker. That on Kent Island had been fully sanctioned by the local authorities, within whose recognised limits it then was, and the inhabitants had a right to send two burgesses to the Assembly. Situate near the opposite coast of the Chesapeake, it did not materially interfere with the new plantation, and ages must have elapsed before the two could come into contact.

The influence of the proprietary, however, was powerful at home. The Virginians, though they obeyed the order to afford aid to the new colonists, presented a strong remonstrance on the severe discouragement and loss sustained by the severing of so fine a portion of their territory, which they had already partly occupied. By a sentence of the Star-chamber, however, of 5th July, 1633, the members present "did think fit to leave Lord Baltimore to his patent, and the other parties to the course of law, according to their desire." They ordered, meanwhile, that, "*things standing as they do,*" the planters on either side shall have free traffic and commerce each with the other,—and lastly, that "they shall sincerely entertain all good correspondence, and assist each other on all occasions, in such manner as becometh fellow-subjects, and members of the same state." Notwithstanding this injunction, and another of the same tenor, expressly relating to the dispute with Clayborne, his lordship determined to proceed to immediate extremities. An act of attainder was passed against the other in the Maryland Assembly; a hostile armament was fitted out; and the Longtail, a merchant vessel belonging to him, was captured, after a contest in which the captain and several of the crew were killed. This was followed by other encounters; and at length, by a midnight assault; the Isle of Kent was carried, and the principal planters either made prisoners or forced to seek safety in flight.

Clayborne, now repairing to England, laid his wrongs before the king, when Charles, in a letter to the proprietary, on the 14th July, 1638, expresses a strong and apparently a just indignation. He refers to a former order that Clayborne and his associates "should in no sort be interrupted in their trade or plantation by you, but rather be encouraged to proceed cheerfully in so good a work;" then adverting to the violences committed, commands them to cease, and that no further molestation be given to these persons or their agents till the case should be decided.

On the 4th April, 1639, however, the Commissioners of Plantations pronounced their decision in a very different tone. They state that, by the admission of Clayborne, who was present, his patent, which had also been granted only under the great seal of Scotland, was exclusively for trade, not for settlement; that the island was admitted by him to be within the limits of Lord Baltimore's patent; and therefore that he had not the slightest claim to either. It concluded, "concerning the violences and wrongs by the said Clayborne, and the rest complained of, they did now also declare, that they found no cause at all to relieve them, but do leave both sides therein to the ordinary course of justice."

By what agency so remarkable a change was effected does not fully appear. It is supposed, however, to be owing to the fact that in the great contest between the king and the parliament, which was now begun, Clayborne embraced with zeal the popular side.

The most prominent feature in the internal management of the colony was the proclamation made of complete liberty of conscience, and worship to all sects, who acknowledged the fundamental truths of Christianity. We have seen that an assembly of the people or their deputies was in some shape required by the charter; and this could scarcely have been denied to the colonists, after having been sanctioned both in Virginia and New England. The proprietary, however, had secured the power of constituting this assembly in any manner he pleased, and, moreover, of making laws quite binding, without their concurrence. Besides these two clauses, he reserved also the right of originating statutes, only requiring the consent of the deputies. He accordingly prepared and sent over to Maryland a complete code, expecting, probably, under the peculiar circumstances, that its acceptance would have been a matter of course. But the Marylanders, who showed always a determined zeal for their franchises, threw it entirely overboard, and prepared another of their own, which they transmitted for his assent. In what spirit it was received is discoverable only from the fact that no part ever appeared in the records; so that it must have been wholly rejected, and probably with no little indignation. How any adjustment took place between views so widely discordant, cannot be distinctly traced; but the freemen appear to have made good their right of originating laws, subject to the proprietary's negative.

In 1638, an act introduced a new form of representative Assembly, instead of that hitherto formed by the freemen in general. Lord Baltimore, then availing himself of the unlimited power given in the charter, inserted a truly extraordinary clause, giving him power to summon his own friends by special writ, seemingly without any limitation of number, to sit and vote along with the burgesses. It is obvious that he had thus full means of swamping all opposition, and of dictating every measure of the Assembly. The burgesses, accordingly, soon complained that they then had not even "a negative," to obtain which they demanded, that they should sit in one house, and the Baltimore nominees in another. But the proprietary put a decided negative on such a change. Under the Assembly thus modelled, he was granted five per cent. on tobacco exported; and all the inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance to him.

In 1645, an insurrection was raised, when Calvert, the governor, unable, it should seem, to make even a show of resistance, was obliged to flee into Virginia. In about a year and a half, the original rule was restored; though no detail is given of the means. An amnesty and other prudent measures restored tranquillity.

The burgesses, notwithstanding, continued to struggle for that division into two houses, by which only they could obtain any real legislative power. At last they obtained their object, though at a time which took away almost all the grace of the boon. It was in the fatal year of 1649, when the republican party, completely triumphant, had brought Charles to the block, and the proprietary was using all his efforts to court, or at least to soothe its leaders. In 1650, an act was ratified, sanctioning this new constitution.

Lord Baltimore began about this time not only to permit, but earnestly to invite Protestant settlers from different parts of America. One object, at least, was to fill up the population of the colony, which was probably insufficient, at the low rents exacted, to repay the expenses of settlement. It now derived small supplies from emigration, which, after the commencement of the great civil contest, ceased to flow into the western settlements. The Assembly about this time passed an act for peopling the colony, and this course also tended to conciliate the now triumphant Puritans at home. The New Englanders, however, to whom this invitation was first addressed, "felt no temptation that way;" but the Virginian reformers, compelled by the persecutions of Berkeley, and the Assembly, came in large bodies, till, according to the assertion, though probably exaggerated, of opposite parties, the Protestant population exceeded the Catholic. They occupied the territory north of the Patuxent, and formed a new county, named Severn or Anne Arundel, reaching nearly to the modern site of Baltimore. Having thus invited them, he probably intended they should have full liberty of worship; and in 1649, an act of religious liberty was passed, which



CECIL CALVERT, THE SECOND LORD BALTIMORE.

seems to display an impartial spirit. Unluckily, however, for the proprietary, these settlers brought with them the principles of political liberty, which usually accompanied their religious profession. They were prepared to own the proprietary as lord of the soil, and to pay him all his dues. But great was their surprise, when, after much expense in removal, and in cultivating their ground, which derived almost its whole value from their labour, an oath was presented to them, in default of signing which, they were to be ejected from their lands, and banished from the colony. On looking into it, they were astonished to find no mention either of their rights or duties as English subjects; but that they were to pledge their sole allegiance to Lord Baltimore and his successors, binding themselves "to the uttermost of their power to defend and maintain his right, title, interest, privileges, *royal* jurisdiction, prerogative, proprietary, and dominion." This appeared "far too high for him, and strangely unsuitable to the present liberty which God had given to English subjects." It even seemed quite inconsistent with the allegiance due, and which many of them had actually sworn, to the government at home. They felt peculiarly reluctant to devote themselves so entirely to the support of rulers who, on their part, were bound to countenance and uphold antichrist.

They drew up, however, a modified oath, not anywhere recorded; but it was one which Stone, the governor, who never showed any want of zeal for his master's interest, considered admissible, and agreed to receive. Nevertheless, when sent home, the proprietary indignantly returned it, ordering that the original one should be taken, and directing that those who within three months failed to comply, should immediately suffer the sentence of forfeiture and banishment. Stone, consulting his lordship's benefit by seeking to moderate his violence, did not choose to proceed to this extremity, and merely refused land to new comers on any other terms. The threat, however, was kept hanging over the heads of all, and placed the colony in a state of alarm and agitation, which ill prepared it for the crisis in which it was soon to be involved.

In the great contest between the king and the Commons, it cannot be doubted that all the partialities of Lord Baltimore were on the royal side. It is even said, that when Charles was at Oxford, he obtained a commission to arm vessels and men against the insurgents. He felt, however, much disinclined to become a martyr in that monarch's cause; and, as soon as his downfall appeared inevitable, began loudly to proclaim his attachment to the republicans. Greene, his governor, having hastily proclaimed Charles II., was removed, and his place supplied by Stone, a Protestant, who was stated to be "always zealously affected to the Parliament." His lordship boasted of the contrast of his government to that of Virginia, and the shelter afforded by him to the persecuted Puritans of that colony. So fully did he impress these views on the public, that the king, from Breda, issued a commission, in which, branding him as "visibly adhering to the rebels, and admitting schismatics, sectaries, and other ill-affected persons into his plantation," he deposed him, and named Sir William Davenant his successor. The latter, having collected a colony of Frenchmen, set sail for America, but was taken by a parliamentary vessel; and being condemned to death, he was saved only by the intercession of Milton, who was attached to him on account of his poetical talents. The commission, though it failed wholly as to its object, was industriously circulated by Lord Baltimore, and ostentatiously exhibited as a proof of his avowed attachment to the commonwealth.

All these particulars were brought carefully forward at the critical period when, as formerly mentioned, a commission was sent out to reduce Virginia under the new government. His lordship states, that after the name of Maryland had been inserted, the parliamentary leaders were, by his representations, induced to expunge it. But he adds, that "somehow or other" there was afterwards introduced "all the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake."

The commission consisted of five members, two being Americans; and as by accident only one from England (Captain Curtis) reached his desti-



CHARLES II

nation, they became the majority. Those two were Bennet and Clayborne, the deadliest foes of the house of Baltimore; and their influence was greatly increased, when the one was named governor of Virginia, and the other appointed his secretary. In the clause above mentioned they found full warrant to include Maryland; and seeing no ground for its exemption, they treated with derision the professed zeal of the colony and its ruler in the cause of liberty. They accordingly repaired thither, and began by calling upon Stone to expunge the king's name from the writs, and substitute the title then assumed by the parliament, of "Keepers of the Liberties of England." The governor replied, that the first demand was impossible, the writs never having been issued in any name but that of the proprietary, without whose authority he did not feel justified in making any alteration. The commissioners regarded this explanation as very unsatisfactory; and receiving many complaints, particularly as to the required

oath, and the ruin which impended over the Protestant settlers for refusing it, they determined upon an entire change of government. The other did not directly oppose, but strongly remonstrated; and after a discussion of some months, a compromise was effected. Stone and one or two other leading men were replaced in power; but the subordinate officers, particularly the judges, were to continue as nominated by the commission.

Baltimore, considering himself highly aggrieved by these proceedings, presented a petition to the House of Commons, to which he had procured the signature of twenty Protestant proprietors; the Catholics being for the present kept in the back-ground. He complained that two members of the commission, his avowed enemies, taking advantage of some ambiguous expressions, which were quite contrary to the intent of its framers, had subverted his government, without regard to his undoubted rights, and zealous attachment to the commonwealth. The house immediately appointed a committee of inquiry, who presenting the facts of the case as they really were, the house appears to have seen no ground to disturb the arrangements made by the commissioners.

This appears in fact to be one of the happiest intervals in the troubled history of the colony. The proprietary, however, indignantly bore this limitation on his authority, and eagerly sought to regain his full prerogative. An opportunity seemed to occur, when Cromwell, secure in the affections of the soldiery, dismissed the parliament, and centred the whole power of the state in his own person. His lordship now paid assiduous court to one not indifferent to the homage of men of rank, and eagerly solicited of him the desired boon. We suspect he obtained at least a promise that he should not be interfered with, though this is discredited by the opposite party, and the Protector did not withdraw any of the powers vested in the commissioners; but we will soon produce, on the part of this extraordinary person, such proofs of ignorance and carelessness in regard to these colonies, as to make it quite probable that he might issue very opposite mandates. Certain it is, that in the beginning of 1654, the proprietary sent to Stone strict directions forthwith to overthrow every thing that had been set up by the commissioners; to displace every officer appointed by them; and to seize and try all, themselves not excepted, who should move in support of their system. The oath, in particular, was no longer to be trifled with; but all who should not take it within three months were to be rigorously ejected. The agent immediately proceeded to put those orders in execution, with, it is said, a violence and impetuosity which he had not formerly displayed.

The Protestants complained, and the deputies, who lent no unwilling ear to their complaints, sent orders to pay no regard to the authorities thus unwarrantably set up. Yet they seem not to have been in haste to interfere personally. Bennet, it is alleged, had received a letter from Cromwell,

urging him to preserve peace, and containing perhaps other equivocal expressions. They endeavoured by an amicable correspondence to induce Stone to desist. But when the three months elapsed without success, and matters were becoming always more urgent, they resolved no longer to delay. So confident, indeed, were they of support in the colony, that, in June, 1654, they set sail in an open boat, with only two rowers, and landed at Patuxent. Learning that Stone was determined to resist, and even if possible to seize their persons, they published a declaration virtually deposing him, by ordering that the government should be administered solely in the name of the Protector. Finding themselves soon at the head of a strong body of armed Protestants, they advanced upon the governor, who was using every effort to assemble an army of Romanists. They were mustered, however, with difficulty, and in small numbers, and, says Hammond, "they importunately advised him not to fight." With an inadequate body of men tendering such advice, and the dread of reinforcements from Virginia, he considered resistance quite hopeless. He declined any part in altering or modifying the government, but, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, simply resigned it into the hands of Bennet and Clayborne; who, placing it under ten local commissioners, of whom the chief were Fuller and Preston, departed for Virginia.

The Protestants, thus completely triumphant, did not use their victory with the moderation which, indeed, was rather to be desired than expected. Bennet and Clayborne, in a platform of government, published 22d July, 1654, deprived the Roman Catholics of the elective franchise; and the next Assembly, exclusively Protestant, passed an act that none who professed the popish religion could be protected in the province by the laws of England formerly established, and yet unrepealed; and the freedom of worship was not extended "to popery or prelacy, or to such as, under the profession of Christ, practised licentiousness." While we must join in the general censure of this conduct, it ought not to be forgotten that in those days the toleration of popery scarcely existed, and would even have been considered criminal. Milton, an avowed and zealous advocate of religious freedom, did not extend it to them. The measure was a most unhappy one, in a colony founded, and still to so great an extent occupied by Romanists. We find, indeed, no mention of any actual expulsion, or even interruption of worship; but they were placed in a degraded condition, which they were not likely to brook. The arrangement was inconsistent with the peace of the settlers, and soon gave rise to the most violent conflict yet waged between Englishmen on this side of the Atlantic.

The Catholics, notwithstanding the favour shown to their religion, had displayed towards the proprietary government an apathy with which Hammond vehemently reproaches them. They had seen it three times subverted, without lifting an arm in its defence; but now they were driven

as if it were by main force into its ranks. Stone, taunted by the proprietary with his former timidity, and warned that, without a greater display of energy, another would forthwith take his place, now summoned the Catholics, and all others attached to the Baltimore government, to rally round him. They obeyed with unwonted alacrity, and he soon saw himself at the head of a greater force than had ever before been mustered in Maryland. With the consciousness of strength seems to have grown an indifference to persuasive measures, and a disposition to carry all by main force. The first object was to possess the records then deposited at Patuxent. Hammond boasts, that proceeding thither in a boat with only three rowers, he ventured among these "sons of thunder," and carried off the deeds without opposition. The Catholic force soon possessed themselves of the whole district, and advanced upon the mainhold of the adverse party, at Providence, in Anne Arundel.

The Protestants appear to have been taken very much by surprise, and without any of those precautions which a prudent foresight would have dictated. The deepest alarm is said to have been felt at the advance of this overwhelming force, coming, as was reported, with the determination to kill men, women, and children. Their letters, preserved by Heamans, do not breathe any thing of a violent or imperious spirit. The commissioners, in their first address to Stone, declared that if he would make known his authority, he should not be opposed or disturbed in the least degree; that they had no wish to retain a power to which they felt themselves unequal, and were ready to submit to any government which God might place over them. They received, it is said, no answer, but what tended to make them desperate. According to Strong, the adverse leaders laid their hands on their swords, intimating that these gave authority sufficient, and would carry all before them. On the return of the messengers, the people assembled, and as the panic still prevailed, they were induced to make a very humble proposal. It was agreed that Stone should resume the government, on condition of ruling them as English subjects, of granting an amnesty for former acts, and a permission that any one who desired it might leave the country without injury to his property. As soon as this proposal was sent, they repented having gone so far; however, no result followed. The boat which conveyed the message met the expedition rapidly advancing, partly along the coast, partly in vessels by sea. The barge and crew were seized, and no notice was taken of the message; but two persons escaped and brought this intelligence.

The Protestants now formed a decisive resolution to conquer or die. As a large trader, well armed, was at that time lying in the Severn, Fuller delivered a summons to Heamans, the captain, and fastened another to the main-mast, calling upon him to defend the Protector's government; a mandate which he was nothing loath to obey. His crew also expressed an

eager disposition "to make the Protestant cause their own." Stone, anxious to detach him, sent a letter, stating that he had enclosed a petition with the Protector's order upon it; but there was no such enclosure; and though the messenger declared he had seen the document, this assurance was not considered a sufficient ground to act upon.

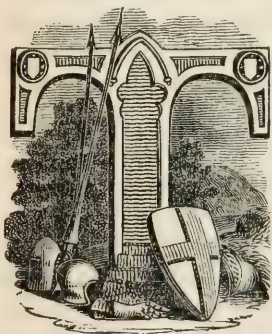
On the evening of the 24th March, the alarm was given, and the Catholic armament, with drums beating and colours flying, was seen entering the broad estuary of the Severn. The seamen eagerly asked permission to fire, but Heamans restrained them till he could hail the advancing foe, and endeavour to persuade them to desist. As they paid no regard to him, he gave the word, and when the balls began to play, they retreated, exclaiming, "round-headed rogues!" and ran into a creek, where they disembarked. Next morning, they were seen marching along the coast, two hundred and fifty strong, while the Protestants, only one hundred and seven in number, having chosen probably an advantageous position, determined to make their final stand. Heamans lent them a pair of colours, and though he did not leave his ship, afforded, doubtless, all the aid in his power. They profess, however, not to have attacked, but left still an opening for amicable adjustment; but the assailants having poured in a fire, which wounded several, the signal was given to close. The two parties rushed upon each other, with the cry, on one side, of "God is our strength;" on the other, "Hey for St. Mary." The contest was brisk, but short. Victory soon decided so completely in favour of the Protestants, that the whole opposite army, with the exception of five, were either killed or taken. Stone himself, with his principal officers, were among the captives. All the boats, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, who boast also of an extensive capture of beads, relics, and other "trash in which they trusted."

The conquerors are accused of a cruel intention to put to death the governor, with some of the leading men, who were saved by the humane interposition of the females; but the authors on their side make no mention of such a design. Heamans describes "the religious, humble, and holy rejoicing which followed," as the most interesting scene he had ever witnessed.

The Protestants were thus again triumphant; yet, immediately, there arose another alarm. About the same time that the proprietary despatched his last imperious mandate, Cromwell, who, we suspect, had sanctioned it, wrote to Bennet, strongly censuring him for having gone into Baltimore's plantation, in Maryland, and countenancing some people there in opposing his government. He ordered him to forbear such interference, and leave the boundaries of the two colonies to be fixed by the decision of the authorities at home. Another mandate is quoted as having been sent to the governor and council, "not to meddle in the business that hath happened between the men of Severn and Lord Baltimore's officers; but to leave that

affair to be settled by the '*Commissioners of the Parliament.*'" It would be difficult to display grosser ignorance on any subject than is here manifested. He did not know that the commissioners and the rulers of Virginia were the same persons, but supposed that they interposed in the latter capacity, to extend the jurisdiction of that settlement, and that the chief dispute respected the boundaries between it and Maryland.

The Baltimore party, however, now published these documents, announcing to their antagonists, that they were rebels against one who would not suffer his power to be defied with impunity; and the colony remained some time in a state of extreme agitation. Pains, however, were now doubtless taken to explain to him the real state of the case. We suspect, too, that, amid the deep interest excited in England by the late contest, the public voice, especially among his own party, would declare itself, perhaps, with extreme force on the Protestant side. Heamans, even while implicitly referring the question to his decision, intimates a trust, that he "hath provided better governors for the people of God than professed enemies of the truth, and that hunt after the innocent." We find him, next September, writing an angry letter, not owning his own ignorance, but telling the commissioners, "that they had mistaken his meaning, as if he would have had a stop put to their proceedings for settling the civil government, whereas he only intended to prevent any violence to be offered to Virginia, with regard to bounds; they being now under consideration.



HE Protestant governors were thus relieved from present apprehension, but they had placed the colony in a false position, under which tranquillity could not be permanent. At this crisis a new character appeared on the scene. Josiah Fendall, who had actively supported Stone, now rallied round him the Catholic and proprietary interests. He thereby raised an insurrection, the events of which do not seem to have been remarkable, and are nowhere given in detail; but it was not put down without difficulty.

Lord Baltimore was so much pleased with his exertions, that he sent to him a commission as governor; and thus armed, after some farther efforts, he obtained possession of the Catholic district of St. Mary, while the Protestants still ruled in their own territory. After some time he had the address to bring about, on the 24th of March, 1658, an arrangement by which he and his master were acknowledged throughout the whole colony. Freedom of worship, equal privileges, relief from the obnoxious oath, and permission to retain arms, appear to have been the basis of this agreement, by which the jarring elements that had distracted the plantation were for

some time happily composed. But the political wheel, now rapidly revolving, soon brought round another revolution.

In March, 1660, news arrived of the restoration of Charles II., when the Assembly, recollecting probably the indignation of that prince against Lord Baltimore, his deposition, and the appointment of another governor, imagined that an opportunity was afforded for emancipating themselves altogether from his rule, and becoming free as a royal colony. They met and declared, that no power should be recognised in Maryland except their own and the king's. The council, with the authority by which they had been nominated, were entirely set aside; though the place of governor was still tendered to Fendall, on condition of his holding it in the name of the Assembly. Ambitious of retaining his station, and reckoning probably that he owed it rather to his own energy and popularity, than to the proprietary's favour, he accepted the offer.

These steps were premature and inconsiderate. Baltimore, who was a skilful courtier, soon persuaded Charles of what was doubtless the truth, that all his real partialities had been for the royal cause, and his republican profession made merely under the urgency of political circumstances. He therefore soon obtained the full restoration of his chartered privileges; and Philip Calvert, his brother, was sent out to assume the government. No attempt was made to resist him. All the services of Fendall were now cancelled: he was brought to trial and found guilty of high treason, but, instead of capital punishment, was merely fined, and declared incapable of ever holding office. Considering his influence with the people, it might perhaps have been wiser to treat leniently an offence committed under peculiar circumstances, than thus provoke the enmity of one who could render it formidable.

Thus began the second period of Lord Baltimore's government, respecting which we have only scattered and imperfect notices, whose tenor, as before, is very contradictory. According to one party, his rule was beyond example mild, tolerant, and beneficent, such as ought to have rendered Maryland an earthly paradise. On the other side, fresh charges are made of domineering tyranny and covert persecution. Nor is it denied that the people showed little sense of their alleged happiness; that much dissatisfaction existed; and that repeated attempts were made to shake off the yoke. The discontents are indicated by the severe laws against those who divulged false news or stirred up opposition to the governor, who were to be punished with whipping, boring the tongue, imprisonment, exile, and even death.

Lord Effingham, though a high partisan of authority, describes Maryland as threatening to fall to pieces, and imputes the blame to the proprietary. Heavy complaints were laid before the English government of the slender provision for Protestant worship, as well as of the partiality shown to Ca-



LORD BALTIMORE'S INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM PENN.

tholics in the distribution of offices ; but the notices on the subject are so slight and partial, that it is difficult to form any positive judgment. The Quakers, so severely persecuted everywhere else, had gone thither in considerable numbers ; but though not molested as to their worship, little indulgence was shown to their scruples in respect to military and other public services.

A considerable emigration, however, continued to take place, particularly of the labouring class, who, on coming under indentures for a term of years, had the expenses of their voyage defrayed. The more opulent classes, as in Virginia, found their incomes depressed by the low value of tobacco ; but they rendered the evil less oppressive by bearing it more patiently, and making no foolish attempts to relieve it by renouncing or suspending the culture. The commercial monopoly, and the duties on their produce, also pressed hard on them ; and upon these points the proprietary and the king were involved in a warm controversy.

In the year 1682, William Penn arrived in America, when an interview took place between him and Lord Baltimore, in the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of their respective territories. But so inconsistent were the claims, and so little was either party inclined to yield to the other, that it was found impossible to adjust them in a manner satisfactory to both ; and by Penn's interest at court, he caused it to be

adjudged that the disputed district should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was appropriated to himself and the other to Lord Baltimore. The part thus dismembered from Maryland, constitutes the territory included within the limits of the present state of Delaware.

The rebellion of Bacon, in Virginia, with the popish plot and other disturbances in England, encouraged the discontented party to aim at another change. The movement was in the Protestant interest; and Fendall, being its leader, may be suspected as not unwilling to seek power under any banners. Very few details are given; but it appears that he and his accomplice Coode were suddenly apprehended. He was fined forty thousand pounds of tobacco, imprisoned for non-payment, and banished from the colony. Lord Baltimore might have expected favour under the Catholic rule of James II.; but that monarch, preferring arbitrary power to every other consideration, and having determined to reduce the charters of all the colonies, ordered proceedings to be commenced against that of Maryland, which were only arrested by his expulsion from the throne. This event, however, did not ultimately avail the proprietary. After the Revolution, his officers were accused of delaying to proclaim William and Mary; and the Protestants, inspired with new courage, rose in arms, overturned his government with the usual facility, and established a provisional one. In their defence, they published a statement, urging the often-repeated charges of civil tyranny and covert persecution.

William, who doubtless had an interest in favour of the insurgents, gave his entire sanction to their proceedings, and took the government into his own hands. After a short tenure by Andros, it was directed during six years by Nicholson, who, on the whole, gave satisfaction. The Protestants considered their wrongs as redressed, nor do we hear of any complaints from the opposite party. Under the successive administrations of Blackeston, Seymour, Corbet, and Hunt, the province continued tranquil and contented. In 1716, the inheritance having fallen to Charles, Lord Baltimore, who professed the Protestant religion, George I. was induced to restore his patent, which continued, till the Revolution, in the hands of the family. It was first ruled by B. Leonard Calvert, a relation of the proprietary, who was succeeded in 1732, by Samuel Ogle. The colony continuing to flourish, received a large accession of Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, who, after settling in Pennsylvania, sold their possessions and removed to this more favourable climate.





THE PILGRIMS OF NEW ENGLAND.



OUR American historians have given this title to the Puritans, who settled the Old Plymouth colony, afterwards incorporated with Massachusetts. The Pilgrims having left England to avoid persecution for their religious opinions, had settled at Leyden, in Holland, when, becoming uneasy at the apprehension of losing their nationality among the Dutch, they determined to establish a Puritan colony in America. For the purpose of obtaining a legal sanction to their proceedings, they deemed it necessary to have a patent from the Virginia Company, and agents for this purpose were chosen and despatched to England. One of these agents was *John Carver*, who afterwards became governor of the Plymouth colony.

The business of the agency was long delayed by the discontents and factions in the Company of Virginia, by the removal of their former treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and the enmity between him and Sir Edwin Sandys, his successor. At length, a patent was obtained, under the Company's seal; but, by the advice of some friends, it was taken in the name of *John Wincob*, a religious gentleman, belonging to the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to accompany the adventurers to America. This patent and the proposals of Thomas Weston, of London, merchant, and other persons who appeared friendly to the design, were carried to Leyden in the autumn of 1619, for the consideration of the people. At the same time there was a plan forming for a new council in the West of England, to superintend the plantation and fishery of North Virginia, the name of which was changed to *New England*. To this expected establishment, Weston and the other merchants began to incline, chiefly from the hope of present gain by the fishery. This caused some embar

rassment, and a variety of opinions; but, considering that the council for New England was not yet incorporated, and that if they should wait for that event, they might be detained another year, before which time the war between the Dutch and the Spaniards might be renewed, the majority concluded to take the patent, which had been obtained from the Company of South Virginia, and emigrate to some place near Hudson's river, which was within their territory.

The next spring, 1620, Weston himself went over to Leyden, where the people entered into articles of agreement with him, both for shipping and money, to assist in their transportation. Carver and Cushman were again sent to London, to receive the money and provide for the voyage. When they came there, they found the other merchants so very penurious and severe, that they were obliged to consent to some alteration in the articles; which, though not relished by their constituents, yet were so strongly insisted on, that without them the whole adventure must have been frustrated.

The articles, with their amendments, were these:

"1. The adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds; and that ten pounds be accounted a single share.

"2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share.

"3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership, the space of *seven years*, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole Company to agree otherwise; during which time, all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the *common stock*, until the division.

"4. That at their coming there, they shall choose out such a number of fit persons, as may furnish their ships and boats, for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest, in their several faculties, upon the land; as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony.

"5. That, at the end of the seven years, the capital and profits, viz., the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided among the adventurers; if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure*—

"6. Whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall, at the end of the seven years, be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

"7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be

* Here something seems to be wanting which cannot now be supplied.

allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years, and upwards, a single share in the division ; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share ; or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.

“8. That such children as now go; and are under ten years of age, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land.

“9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or shares, at the division ; proportionally to the time of their life in the colony.

“10. That all such persons as are of the colony, are to have meat, drink, and apparel out of the common stock and goods of the said colony.”

The difference between the articles as first agreed on, and as finally concluded, lay in these two points.

1. In the former, it was provided, that “the houses and lands improved, especially the gardens and home-fields, should remain undivided, wholly to the planters at the end of the seven years ;” but in the latter, the houses and lands were to be equally divided.

2. In the former, the planters “were allowed two days in the week, for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and families, especially such as had them to take care for.” In the latter, this article was wholly omitted.

On these hard conditions, and with this small encouragement, the pilgrims of Leyden, supported by a pious confidence in the Supreme Disposer of all things, and animated by a fortitude, resulting from the steady principles of the religion which they professed, determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence and embark for America.



With the proceeds of their own estates, put into a common stock, and the assistance of the merchants, to whom they had mortgaged their labour and trade for seven years, two vessels were provided. One in Holland, of sixty tons, called the Speedwell, commanded by a Captain Reynolds, which was intended to transport some of them to America, and there to remain in their service one year, for fishing and other uses. Another of one

hundred and eighty tons, called the Mayflower, was chartered by Mr. Cushman, in London, and sent round to Southampton, in Hampshire, whither Mr. Carver went to superintend her equipment. This vessel was commanded by a Captain Jones, and after discharging her passengers in America, was to return to England. Seven hundred pounds sterling were

expended in provisions and stores, and other necessary preparations ; and the value of the trading venture which they carried, was seventeen hundred pounds. Mr. Weston came from London to Southampton, to see them despatched. The *Speedwell*, with the passengers, having arrived there from Leyden, and the necessary officers being chosen to govern the people, and take care of the provisions and stores on the voyage ; both ships, carrying one hundred and twenty passengers, sailed from Southampton on the 5th day of August, 1620.

They had not sailed many leagues down the channel, before Reynolds, master of the *Speedwell*, complained that his vessel was too leaky to proceed. Both ships then put in at Dartmouth, where the *Speedwell* was searched and repaired ; and the workmen judged her sufficient for the voyage. On the twenty-first of August, they put to sea again ; and, having sailed in company about one hundred leagues, Reynolds renewed his complaints against his ship ; declaring, that by constant pumping he could scarcely keep her above water ; on which, both ships again put back to Plymouth. Another search was made, and no defect appearing, the leaky condition of the ship was judged to be owing to her general weakness, and she was pronounced unfit for the voyage. About twenty of the passengers went on shore. The others, with their provisions, were received on board the *Mayflower* ; and, on the sixth of September, the company, consisting of one hundred and one passengers, (besides the ships' officers and crew,) took their last leave of England, having consumed a whole month in these vexatious and expensive delays.

The true causes of these misadventures did not then appear. One was, that the *Speedwell* was overmasted ; which error being remedied, the vessel afterwards made several safe and profitable voyages. But the principal cause was the deceit of the master and crew ; who having engaged to remain a whole year in the service of the colony, and apprehending hard fare in that employment, were glad of such an excuse to rid themselves of the bargain.

The *Mayflower*, Jones, proceeded with fair winds in the former part of her voyage ; and then met with bad weather and contrary winds, so that for several days no sail could be carried. The ship laboured so much in the sea, that one of the main beams sprung, which renewed the fears and distress of the passengers. They had then made about one half of their voyage, and the chief of the company began a consultation with the commander of the ship, whether it were better to proceed or to return. But one of the passengers having on board a large iron screw, it was applied to the beam, and forced it into its place. This successful effort determined them to proceed.

No other particulars of this long and tedious voyage are preserved ; but that the ship being leaky, and the people close stowed, were continually



VOYAGE OF THE MAYFLOWER

wet ; that one young man, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died at sea ; and that one child was born, and called *Oceanus* ; he was son of Stephen Hopkins.

On the ninth of November, at break of day, they made land, which proved to be the white sandy cliffs of Cape Cod. This land-fall being further northward than they intended, they immediately put about the ship to the southward ; and, before noon, found themselves among shoals and breakers.* Had they pursued their southern course, as the weather was fine, they might, in a few hours more, have found an opening, and passed safely to the westward, agreeably to their original design, which was to go to Hudson's river. But having been so long at sea, the sight of any land was welcome to women and children ; the new danger was formidable ; and the eagerness of the passengers to be set on shore was irresistible. These circumstances, coinciding with the secret views of the master, who had been promised a reward by some agents of the Dutch West India Company, if he would not carry them to Hudson's river,† induced him to put about to the northward. Before night, the ship was clear of the danger. The next day, they doubled the northern extremity of the Cape, (Race-Point,) and, a storm coming on, the ship was brought to anchor in Cape Cod harbour, where she lay perfectly secure from winds and shoals.

* These shoals lie off the south-east extremity of the cape, which was called, by Gosnold, *Point Care*, by the Dutch and French, *Malebarre*, and is now known by the name of *Sandy Point*.

† Of this plot, between Jones and the Dutch, Secretary Morton says, he had *certain* intelligence.



EXPLORING PARTY.

This harbour, being in the forty-second degree of north latitude, was without the territory of the South Virginia Company. The charter which these emigrants had received from them, of course, became useless. Some symptoms of faction, at the same time, appearing among the servants, who had been received on board in England, purporting that when on shore they should be under no government, and that one man would be as good as another; it was thought proper, by the most judicious persons, to have recourse to natural law; and that, before disembarkation, they should enter into an association, and combine themselves in a political body, to be governed by the majority. To this they consented; and, after solemn prayer and thanksgiving, a written instrument being drawn, they subscribed it with their own hands, and, by a unanimous vote, chose *John Carver* their governor for one year.

The instrument was conceived in these terms: "In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour

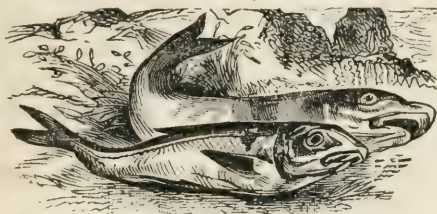
of our king and country, a voyage, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland, the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini, 1620.”*

Government being thus regularly established, on a truly republican principle, sixteen armed men were sent on shore, as soon as the weather would permit, to fetch wood and make discoveries. They returned at night, with a boat-load of juniper wood; and made report, “that they found the land to be a narrow neck, having the harbour on one side, and the ocean on the

* The names of the subscribers are placed in the following order by Secretary Morton; but Mr. Prince, with his usual accuracy, has compared the list with Governor Bradford’s MS. History, and added their titles, and the number of each one’s family which came over at this time; observing that some left the whole, and others part of their families, either in England or Holland, who came over afterward. He has also been so curious as to note those who brought their wives, marked with a (†), and those who died before the end of the next March, distinguished by an asterism (*).

Mr. John Carver,†	8	Francis Eaton,†	3
Mr. William Bradford,†	2	*James Chilton,†	3
Mr. Edward Winslow,†	5	*John Crackston,	2
Mr. William Brewster,†	6	John Billington,†	4
Mr. Isaac Allerton,†	6	*Moses Fletcher,	1
Captain Miles Standish,†	2	*John Goodman,	1
John Alden,	1	*Degory Priest,	1
Mr. Samuel Fuller,	2	*Thomas Williams,	1
*Mr. Christopher Martin,†	4	Gilbert Winslow,	1
*Mr. William Mullins,†	5	*Edmund Margeson,	1
*Mr. William White,†	5	Peter Brown,	1
[besides a son born in Cape Cod harbour, and named Peregrine.]		*Richard Britteridge,	1
Mr. Richard Warren,	1	George Soule, [of Edward Winslow’s family.]	
John Howland, [of Carver’s family.]		*Richard Clarke,	1
Mr. Stephen Hopkins,†	8	Richard Gardiner,	1
*Edward Tilly,†	4	*John Allerton,	1
*John Tilly,†	3	*Thomas English,	1
Francis Cook,	2	Edward Doty, } both of Stephen Edward Leister, } Hopkins’ family.	
*Thomas Rogers,	2		
*Thomas Tinker,†	3		
*John Ridgale,†	2		
*Edward Fuller,†	3		
*John Turner,	3		
		Total persons,	101
		Of whom were subscribers	41

other ; that the ground consisted of sand-hills, like the Downs in Holland ; that in some places the soil was black earth 'a spit's depth ;' that the trees were oak, pine, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, ash, and walnut ; that the forest was open, and without underwood ; that no inhabitants, houses, nor fresh water were to be seen." This account was as much as could be collected in one Saturday's afternoon. The next day they rested.



THEY saw whilst they lay in this harbour, which was the space of five weeks, great flocks of sea-fowl and whales every day playing about them. The master and mate, who had been acquainted with the fishery, in the northern

seas of Europe, supposed that they might, in that time, have made oil, to the value of three or four thousand pounds. It was too late in the season for cod ; and indeed they caught none but small fish, near the shore, and shell-fish. The margin of the sea was so shallow that they were obliged to wade ashore ; and, the weather being severe, many of them took colds and coughs, which, in the course of the winter, proved mortal.

On Monday, the 13th of November, the women went ashore, under a guard, to wash their clothes ; and the men were impatient for a further discovery. The shallop, which had been cut down and stowed between decks, needed repairing, in which seventeen days were employed. Whilst this was doing, they proposed that excursions might be made on foot. Much caution was necessary in an enterprise of this kind, in a new and savage country. After consultation and preparation, sixteen men were equipped with musket and ammunition, sword and corselet, under the command of Captain Miles Standish, who had William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilly, for his council of war. After many instructions given, they were rather permitted than ordered to go, and the time of their absence was limited to two days.

When they had travelled one mile by the shore, they saw five or six of the natives, who on the sight of them, fled. They attempted to pursue ; and, lighting on their track, followed them till night ; but the thickets through which they had to pass, the weight of their armour, and their debility, after a long voyage, made them an unequal match, in point of travelling, to these nimble sons of nature. They rested, at length, by a spring, which afforded them the first refreshing draught of American water.

The discoveries made in this march were few, but novel and amusing. In one place they found a deer trap, made by the bending of a young tree to the earth, with a noose under ground, covered with acorns. Mr. Bradford's foot was caught in the trap, from which his companions disengaged

him, and they were all entertained with the ingenuity of the device. In another place they came to an Indian burying-ground ; and, in one of the graves, they found a mortar, an earthen pot, a bow and arrows, and other implements, all which they very carefully replaced ; because they would not be guilty of violating the repositories of the dead. But when they found a cellar, carefully lined with bark and covered with a heap of sand, in which about four bushels of seed corn in ears were well secured, after reasoning on the morality of the action, they took as much of the corn as they could carry, intending, when they should find the owners, to pay them to their satisfaction. On the third day they arrived, weary and welcome, where the ship lay, and delivered their corn into the common store. The company resolved to keep it for seed, and to pay the natives the full value, when they should have opportunity.

When the shallop was repaired and rigged, twenty-four of the company ventured on a second excursion to the same place, to make further discovery ; having Captain Jones for their commander, with ten of his seamen and the ship's long-boat. The wind being high, and the sea rough, the shallop came to anchor under the land, whilst part of the company waded on shore from the long-boat, and travelled, as they supposed, six or seven miles, having directed the shallop to follow them the next morning. The weather was very cold, with snow ; and the people having no shelter, took such colds as afterwards proved fatal to many.

Before noon the next day the shallop took them on board, and sailed to the place which they denominated *Cold Harbour*. Finding it not navigable for ships, and consequently not proper for their residence, after shooting some geese and ducks, which they devoured with "soldiers' stomachs," they went in search of seed-corn. The ground was frozen and covered with snow ; but the cellars were known by heaps of sand ; and the frozen earth was penetrated with their swords, till they gathered corn to the amount of ten bushels. This fortunate supply, with a quantity of beans preserved in the same manner, they took on the same condition as before ; and it is remarked by Governor Bradford, that in six months after, they paid the owners to their entire satisfaction. The acquisition of this corn, they always regarded as a particular favour of Divine Providence, without which the colony could not have subsisted.

Captain Jones, in the shallop, went back to the ship with the corn and fifteen of the weakest of the people ; intending to send mattocks and spades the next day. The eighteen who remained, marched, as they supposed, five or six miles into the woods, and returning another way, discovered a mound of earth, in which they hoped to find more corn. On opening it, nothing appeared but the skull of a man, preserved in red earth, the skeleton of an infant, and such arms, utensils, and ornaments, as are usually deposited in Indian graves. Not far distant were two deserted wigwams,

with their furniture and some venison, so ill preserved that even "soldiers' stomachs" could not relish it. On the arrival of the shallop, they returned to the ship, the first of December. During their absence, the wife of William White had been delivered of a son, who, from the circumstances of his birth, was named Peregrine.

At this time they held a consultation respecting their future settlement. Some thought that Cold Harbour might be a proper place, because, though not deep enough for ships, it might be convenient for boats, and because a valuable fishery for whales and cod might be carried on there. The land was partly cleared of wood and good for corn, as appeared from the seed. It was also likely to be healthful and defensible. But the principal reasons were, that the winter was so far advanced as to prevent coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boats; that the winds were variable, and the storms sudden and violent; that by cold and wet lodging the people were, much affected with coughs, which, if they should not soon obtain shelter, would prove mortal; that provisions were daily consuming, and the ship must reserve sufficient for the homeward voyage, whatever became of the colony.

Others thought it best to go to a place called Agawam, twenty leagues northward, where they had heard of an excellent harbour, good fishing, and a better soil for planting. To this it was answered, that there might possibly be as good a place nearer to them. *Robert Coppin*, their pilot, who had been here before, assured them that he knew of a good harbour and a navigable river, not more than eight leagues across the bay to the westward. Upon the whole, they resolved to send the shallop round the shore of the bay on discovery, but not beyond the harbour of which Coppin had informed them.

On Wednesday, the 6th of December, Governor Carver, with nine of the principal men, well armed, and the same number of seamen, of which Coppin was one, went out in the shallop. The weather was so cold, that the spray of the sea froze on their coats, till they were cased with ice, "like coats of iron." They sailed by the eastern shore of the bay, as they judged, six or seven leagues, without finding any river or creek. At length they saw "a tongue of land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point; they bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income, or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and two or three in length; but they made right over to the land before them." As they came near the shore, they saw ten or twelve Indians, cutting up a grampus, who on sight of them ran away, carrying pieces of the fish which they had cut. They landed at the distance of a league or more from the grampus, with great difficulty, on account of the flat sands. Here they built a barricade, and, placing sentinels, lay down to rest.

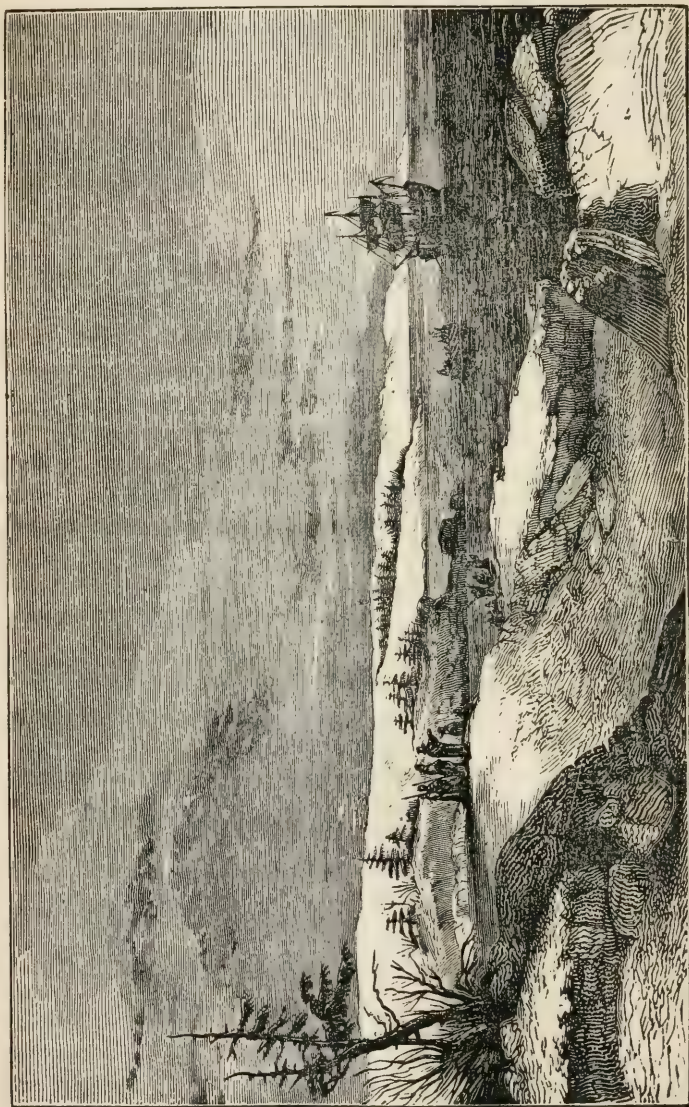
The next morning, Thursday, December 7th, they divided themselves

into two parties: eight in the shallop, and the rest on shore, to make further discovery of this place, which they found to be "a bay, without either river or creek coming into it." They gave it the name of Grampus Bay, because they saw many fish of that species. They tracked the Indians on the sand, and found a path into the woods, which they followed a great way, till they came to old corn-fields and a spacious burying ground, enclosed with pales. They ranged the wood till the close of the day, and then came down to the shore to meet the shallop which they had not seen since the morning. At high water she put into a creek, and, six men being left on board, two came on shore and lodged with their companions, under cover of a barricade and a guard.

On Friday, December 8th, they rose at five in the morning, to be ready to go on board at high water. At the dawn of day they were surprised with the war-cry of the natives, and a flight of arrows. They immediately seized their arms, and on the first discharge of musketry all the Indians fled, but one stout man, who stood three shots, behind a tree, and then retired, as they supposed, wounded. They took up eighteen arrows headed either with brass, deers' horns, or birds' claws, which they sent as a present to their friends in England. This unwelcome reception, and the shoal water of the place, determined them to seek further. They sailed along the shore as near as the extensive shoals would permit, but saw no harbour. The weather began to look threatening, and Coppin assured them that they might reach the harbour, of which he had some knowledge, before night. The wind being south-easterly, they put themselves before it. After some hours it began to rain; the storm increasing, their rudder broke, their mast sprung, and their sails fell overboard. In this piteous plight, steering with two oars, the wind and the flood-tide carried them into a cove full of breakers, and it being dark, they were in danger of being driven on shore. The pilot confessed that he knew not the place; but a stout seaman, who was steering, called to the rowers to put about and row hard. This effort happily brought them out of the cove into a fair sound, and under a point of land where they came safely to anchor. They were divided in their opinions about going on shore, but about midnight, the wind shifting to the north-west, the severity of the cold made a fire necessary. They therefore got on shore, and with some difficulty kindled a fire, and rested in safety.

In the morning they found themselves on a small uninhabited island, within the entrance of a spacious bay. Here they stayed all the next day (Saturday) drying their clothes, cleaning their arms, and repairing, as well as they could, their shallop. The following day, being the Christian Sabbath, they rested.

On Monday, December 11th, they surveyed and sounded the bay, which is described to be "in the shape of a fish-hook; a good harbour for ship



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

ping, larger than that of Cape Cod ; containing two small islands without inhabitants ; innumerable store of fowls ; different sorts of fish, besides shell-fish in abundance. As they marched into the land, they found corn-fields and brooks, and a very good situation for building." With this joyful news they returned to the company, and on the 16th of December the ship came to anchor in the harbour with all the passengers, except four, who died at Cape Cod.



IN three days, having surveyed the land, as well as the season would permit, they pitched upon a high ground on the south-west side of the bay, which was cleared of wood, and had formerly been planted. Under the south side of it was "a very sweet brook, in the entrance of which the shallop and boats could be secured, and many delicate springs of as good water as could be drank." On the opposite side of the brook was a cleared field, and beyond it a commanding eminence, on which they intended to lay a platform, and mount their cannon.

They went immediately to work, laying out house-lots and a street ; felling, sawing, riving and carrying timber ; and before the end of December, though much interrupted by stormy weather, by the death of two, and the sickness of many of their number, they had erected a store-house, with a thatched roof, in which their goods were deposited under a guard. Two rows of houses were begun, and as fast as they could be covered, the people, who were classed into nineteen families, came ashore, and lodged in them. On Lord's day, the 31st of December, they attended divine service, for the first time on shore, and named the place *Plymouth* ; partly because this harbour was so called in Captain Smith's map, published three or four years before, and partly in remembrance of the very kind and friendly treatment which they had received from the inhabitants of Plymouth, the last port of their native country from which they sailed.

At this time some of the people lodged on shore, and others on board the ship, which lay at the distance of a mile and a half from the town ; and when the tide was out, there could be no communication between them. On the 14th of January, very early in the morning, as Governor Carver and Mr. Bradford lay sick in bed, at the store-house, the thatched roof, by means of a spark, caught on fire, and was soon consumed ; but, by the timely assistance of the people on shore, the lower part of the building was preserved. Here were deposited their whole stock of ammunition, and several loaded guns ; but happily the fire did not reach them. The fire was seen by the people on board the ship, who could not come on shore till an hour afterward. They were greatly alarmed at the appearance, be-

cause two men, who had strolled into the woods, were missing, and they were apprehensive that the Indians had made an attack on the place. In the evening, the strollers found their way home, almost dead with hunger, fatigue, and cold.

The bad weather and severe hardships to which this company were exposed, in a climate much more rigorous than any to which they had ever been accustomed, with the scorbutic habits contracted in their voyage, and by living so long on shipboard, caused a great mortality among them in the winter. Before the month of April, nearly one-half of them died. At some times, the number of the sick was so great, that not more than six or seven were fit for duty, and these were almost wholly employed in attending the sick. The ship's company was in the same situation; and Captain Jones, though earnestly desirous to get away, was obliged to stay till April, having lost one-half of his men.

By the beginning of March, the governor was so far recovered of his first illness, that he was able to walk three miles, to visit a large pond, which Francis Billington had discovered, from the top of a tree on a hill. At first it was supposed to be part of the ocean; but it proved to be the head water of the brook which runs by the town. It has ever since borne the name of the first discoverer, which would otherwise have been forgotten.

Hitherto they had not seen any of the natives at this place. The mortal pestilence which raged through the country, four years before, had almost depopulated it. One remarkable circumstance attending this pestilence was not known till after this settlement was made. A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod. The men were saved, with their provisions and goods. The natives kept their eye on them, till they found an opportunity to kill all but three or four, and divide their goods. The captives were sent from one tribe to another, as slaves. One of them learned so much of their language as to tell them that "God was angry with them, for their cruelty, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people." They answered that "they were too many for God to kill." He replied that "if they were ever so many, God had many ways to kill them, of which they were then ignorant." When the pestilence came among them, (a new disease, probably the yellow fever,) they remembered the Frenchman's words; and when the Plymouth settlers arrived at Cape Cod, the few survivors imagined that the other part of his prediction would soon be accomplished. Soon after their arrival, the Indian priests or powows convened, and performed their incantations in a dark swamp three days successively, with a view to curse and destroy the new comers. Had they known the mortality which raged among them they would doubtless have rejoiced in the success of their endeavours, and might very easily have taken advantage of their weakness to exterminate them. But none of them

were seen, till after the sickness had abated ; though some tools which had been left in the woods were missing, which they had stolen in the night.



IN March, (the 16th,) when the spring was so far advanced as to invite them to make their gardens, a savage came boldly into the place alone, walked through the street, to the rendezvous or store-house, and pronounced the words *welcome Englishmen!* His name was Samoset ; he belonged to a place, distant five days' journey to the eastward, and had learned of the fishermen to speak broken English.

He was received with kindness and hospitality, and he informed them "that by the last pestilence, and a ferocious war, the number of his countrymen had been so diminished, that not more than one in twenty remained ; that the spot where they were now seated was called Patukset, and though formerly populous, yet every human being in it had died of the pestilence." This account was confirmed by the extent of the fields, the number of graves, and the remnants of skeletons lying on the ground.

The account which he gave of himself, was, "that he had been absent from home eight moons, part of the time among the Nausets, their nearest neighbours at the south-east, who were about one hundred strong, and more lately among the Wompaneags at the westward, who were about sixty ; that he had heard of the attack made on them by the Nausets at Namskeket ; and these people were full of resentment against the Europeans, on account of the perfidy of Hunt, master of an English vessel, who had some years before the pestilence decoyed some of the natives (twenty from Patukset and seven from Nauset) on board his ship, and sold them abroad as slaves ; that they had killed three English fishermen, besides the Frenchmen aforementioned, in revenge for this affront. He also gave information of the lost tools, and promised to see them restored ; and that he would bring the natives to trade with them."

Samoset being dismissed with a present, returned the next day with five more of the natives, bringing the stolen tools, and a few skins for trade. They were dismissed with a request to bring more, which they promised in a few days. Samoset feigned himself sick, and remained ; but as his companions did not return at the time, he was sent to inquire the reason.

On the 22d, he returned, in company with Squanto or Squantum, a native of Patukset, and the only one then living. He was one of the twenty whom Hunt had carried away ; he had been sold in Spain, had lived in London, with John Slany Merchant, treasurer of the Newfoundland Company ; had learned the English language, and came back to his native country with the fishermen. These two persons were deputed by



THE TREATY WITH MASASSOIT.

the sachem of the Wompaneags, *Ma-sass-o-it*, whose residence was at Sowams or Pokanoket, on the Narraganset Bay, to announce his coming, and bring some skins as a present. In about an hour, the sachem, with his brother *Qua-de-qui-nah*, and his whole force of sixty men, appeared on the hill over against them. Squantum was sent to know his pleasure, and returned with the sachem's request, that one of the company should come to him. Edward Winslow immediately went alone, carrying a present in his hand, with the governor's compliments, desiring to see the sachem, and enter on a friendly treaty. Masassoit left Winslow in the custody of his brother, to whom another present was made, and taking twenty of his men, unarmed, descended the hill toward the brook, over which lay a log bridge. Captain Miles Standish, at the head of six men, met him at the brook, and escorted him and his train, to one of the best houses, where three or four cushions were placed on a green rug, spread over the floor. The governor came in, preceded by a drum and trumpet, the sound of which greatly delighted the Indians. After mutual salutations, he entered into conversation with the sachem, which issued in a treaty. The articles were, "1. That neither he nor his should injure any of our's. 2. That if they

did, he should send the offender, that *we* might punish him. 3. That if our tools were taken away, he should restore them. 4. That if any *unjustly* warred against him, we would aid him; and if any warred against us, he should aid us. 5. That he should certify his neighbour confederates of this, that they might not wrong us, but be comprised in the conditions of peace. 6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them; as we should leave our pieces when we came to them. 7. That in doing thus, King *James* would esteem him as his friend and ally."

The conference being ended, and the company having been entertained with such refreshments as the place afforded, the sachem returned to his camp. This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Masassoit lived, but was afterward broken by Philip, his successor.

The next day, Masassoit sent for some of the English to visit him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went, were kindly received, and treated with ground-nuts and tobacco.

The sachem then returned to his head-quarters, distant about forty miles; but Squantum and Samoset remained at Plymouth, and instructed the people how to plant their corn, and dress it with herrings, of which an immense quantity came into the brooks. The ground which they planted with corn was twenty acres. They sowed six acres with barley and peas; the former yielded an indifferent crop, but the latter were parched with the heat, and came to nothing.

Whilst they were engaged in this labour, in which all were alike employed, on the 5th of April, (the day on which the ship sailed for England,) Governor Carver came out of the field, at noon, complaining of a pain in his head, caused by the heat of the sun. It soon deprived him of his senses, and in a few days put an end to his life, to the great grief of this infant plantation. He was buried with all the honours which could be shown to the memory of a good man by a grateful people. The men were under arms, and fired several volleys over his grave. His affectionate wife, overcome with her loss, survived him but six weeks.

After the sudden death of Governor Carver, the infant colony cast their eyes on Bradford to succeed him; but, being at that time so very ill that his life was despaired of, they waited for his recovery, and then invested him with the command. He was in the thirty-third year of his age; his wisdom, piety, fortitude, and goodness of heart, were so conspicuous as to merit the sincere esteem of the people. Carver had been alone in command. They confided in his prudence, that he would not adventure on any matter of moment without the consent of the people, or the advice of the wisest. To Bradford they appointed an assistant, Isaac Allerton, not because they had not the same confidence in him, but partly for the sake



DEATH OF GOVERNOR CARVER.

of regularity, and partly on account of his precarious health. They appointed but one, because they were so reduced in number, that to have made a greater disproportion between rulers and people would have been absurd; and they knew that it would always be in their power to increase the number at their pleasure. Their voluntary combination was designed only as a temporary expedient, till they should obtain a charter under the authority of their sovereign.

One of the first acts of Bradford's administration, was, by advice of the company, to send Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins to Masassoit, with Squanto for their guide. The design of this embassy was to explore the country, to confirm the league, to learn the situation and strength of their new friend, to carry some presents, to apologize for some misbehaviour, to regulate the intercourse between them and the Indians, and to procure seed-corn for the next planting season.

These gentlemen found the sachem at Pokanoket, about forty miles from Plymouth. They delivered the presents, renewed the friendship, and satisfied themselves respecting the strength of the natives, which did not appear formidable, nor was the entertainment which they received either liberal or splendid. The marks of desolation and death, by reason of the



pestilence, were very conspicuous, in all the country through which they passed; but they were informed that the Narragansets, who resided on the western shore of the bay of that name, were very numerous, and that the pestilence had not reached them.

After the return of this embassy, another was sent to Nauset, to recover a boy who had straggled from Plymouth, and had been taken up by some of the Indians of that place. They were so fortunate as to recover the boy, and to make peace with Aspinet, the Sachem, whom they paid for the seed-corn which they had taken out of the ground at Paomet, in the preceding autumn. During this expedition, an old woman, who had never before seen any white people, burst into tears of grief and rage at the sight of them. She had lost three sons by the perfidy of Thomas Hunt, who decoyed them, with others, on board his ship, and sold them for slaves. Squanto, who was present, told her that he had been carried away at the same time; that Hunt was a bad man; that his countrymen disapproved his conduct, and that the English at Plymouth would not offer them any injury. This declaration, accompanied by a small present, appeased her anger, though it was impossible to remove the cause of her grief.

It was fortunate for the colony that they had secured the friendship of Masassoit; for his influence was found to be very extensive. He was regarded and revered by all the natives, from the Bay of Narraganset to that of Massachusetts. Though some of the petty sachems were disposed to be jealous of a new colony, and to disturb its peace, yet their mutual connection with Masassoit proved the means of its preservation; as a proof of which, nine of these sachems voluntarily came to Plymouth, and subscribed an instrument of submission in the following terms, viz:—

“September 13, Anno Domini, 1621. Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks, as followeth:

OHQUAMEHUD,	NATTAWAHUNT,	QUADEQUINA,
CAWNACOME,	CAUNBATANT,	HUTTAMOIDEN,
OBBATINUA,	CHIKATABAK,	APANNOW.”

Hobamak, another of these subordinate chiefs, came and took up his residence at Plymouth, where he continued as a faithful guide and interpreter as long as he lived. The Indians of the island of Capawock, which

had now obtained the name of Martha's or Martin's Vineyard, also sent messengers of peace.

Having heard much of the Bay of Massachusetts, both from the Indians and the English fishermen, Governor Bradford appointed ten men, with Squanto and two other Indians, to visit the place, and trade with the natives. On the 18th of September, they sailed in a shallop, and the next day got to the bottom of the bay, where they landed under a cliff, and were kindly received by Obbatinua, the sachem who had subscribed the submission at Plymouth, a few days before. He renewed his submission, and received a promise of assistance and defence against the squaw sachem of Massachusetts, and other enemies.

The appearance of this bay was pleasing. They saw the mouths of two rivers which emptied into it. The islands were cleared of wood, and had been planted; but most of the people who had inhabited them either were dead, or had removed. Those who remained were continually in fear of the Tarratenes, who frequently came from the eastward in a hostile manner, and robbed them of their corn. In one of these predatory invasions, Nanepashamet, a sachem had been slain; his body lay buried under a frame, surrounded by an intrenchment and palisade. A monument on the top of a hill designated the place where he was killed.



Having explored the bay, and collected some beaver, the shallop returned to Plymouth, and brought so good a report of the place, that the people wished they had been seated there. But having planted corn and built huts at Plymouth, and being there in security from the natives, they judged the motives for continuance to be stronger than for removal. Many of their posterity have judged otherwise.

In November, a ship arrived from England, with thirty-five passengers, to augment the colony. Unhappily, they were so short of provision, that the people of Plymouth were obliged to victual the ship home, and then put themselves and the new comers to half allowance. Before the next spring, 1622, the colony began to feel the rigour of famine. In the height of this distress, the governor received from Canonicus, sachem of Narraganset, a threatening message, in the emblematical style of the ancient Scythians; a bundle of arrows, bound with the skin of a serpent. The governor sent an answer in the same style, the skin of a serpent filled with powder and ball. The Narragansets, afraid of its contents, sent it back unopened; and here the correspondence ended.

It was now judged proper to fortify the town. Accordingly it was surrounded with a stockade and four flankarts; a guard was kept by day and

night, the company being divided into four squadrons. A select number were appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard with their backs to the fire, to prevent a surprise from the Indians. Within the stockade was enclosed the top of the hill, under which the town was built, and a sufficiency of land for a garden to each family. The works were begun in February, and finished in March.

At this time the famine was very severe. Fish and spring water were the only provision on which the people subsisted. The want of bread reduced their flesh; yet they had so much health and spirit, that, on hearing of the massacre in Virginia, they erected an additional fort on the top of the hill, with a flat roof, on which the guns were mounted; the lower story served them for a place of worship. Sixty acres of ground were planted with corn; and their gardens were sown with the seeds of other esculent vegetables, in great plenty.

The arrival of two ships with a new colony, sent out by *Thomas Weston*, but without provisions, was an additional misfortune. Some of these people being sick, were lodged in the hospital at Plymouth till they were so far recovered as to join their companions, who seated themselves at Wessagusset, since called Weymouth.

The first supply of provision was obtained from the fishing-vessels, of which thirty-five came this spring, from England, to the coast. In August, two ships arrived with trading goods, which the planters bought at a great disadvantage, giving beaver in exchange. The summer being dry, and the harvest short, it became necessary to make excursions among the natives, to procure corn and beans, with the goods purchased from the ships. Governor Bradford undertook this service, having Squanto for his guide and interpreter, who was taken ill on the passage, and died at Manamoik. Before his death he requested the governor to pray for him, "that he might go to the Englishman's God."

In these excursions Mr. Bradford was treated by the natives with great respect; and the trade was conducted, on both parts, with justice and confidence. At Nauset, the shallop being stranded, it was necessary to put the corn which had been purchased in stack, and to leave it, covered with mats and sedge, in the care of the Indians, whilst the governor and his party came home, fifty miles, on foot. It remained there from November to January, and, when another shallop was sent, it was found in perfect safety, and the stranded shallop was recovered.

At Namasket, (Middleborough,) an inland place, he bought another quantity, which was brought home, partly by the people of the colony, and partly by the Indian women, their men disdaining to bear burdens.

At Manomet (Sandwich) he bargained for more, which he was obliged to leave till March, when Captain Standish went and fetched it home, the Indian women bringing it down to the shallop. The whole quantity thus

purchased amounted to twenty-eight hogsheads of corn and beans, of which Weston's people had a share, as they had joined in the purchase.

In the spring (1623) the governor received a message from Masassoit, that he was sick; on which occasion it is usual for all the friends of the Indians to visit them or send them presents. Mr. Winslow again went to visit the sachem, accompanied by Mr. John Hampden, and they had Hobamak for their guide and interpreter. The visit was very consolatory to their sick friend, and the more so, as Winslow carried him some cordials, and made him broth after the English mode, which contributed to his recovery. In return for this friendly attention, Masassoit communicated to Hobamak intelligence of a dangerous conspiracy then in agitation among the Indians, in which he had been solicited to join. Its object was nothing less than the total extirpation of the English; and it was occasioned by the imprudent conduct of Weston's people in the Bay of Massachusetts. The Indians had it in contemplation to make them the first victims, and then to fall on the people of Plymouth. Masassoit's advice was, that the English should seize and put to death the chief conspirators, whom he named; and said that this would prevent the execution of the plot. Hobamak communicated this secret to Winslow, as they were returning; and it was reported to the governor.



On this alarming occasion the whole company were assembled in court, and the news was imparted to them. Such was their confidence in the governor, that they unanimously requested him, with Allerton his assistant, to concert the best measures for their safety. The result was to strengthen the fortifications, to be vigilant at home, and to send such a force to the Bay of Massachusetts, under Captain Standish, as he should judge sufficient to crush the conspiracy. An Indian who had come into the town was suspected as a spy, and confined in irons. Standish, with eight chosen men and the faithful Hobamak, went in the shallop to Weston's plantation, having goods, as usual, to trade with the Indians. Here he met the persons who had been named as conspirators, who personally insulted and threatened him. A quarrel ensued, in which seven of the Indians were killed. The others were so struck with terror that they forsook their houses and retreated to the swamps, where many of them died with cold and hunger; the survivors would have sued for peace but were afraid to go to Plymouth. Weston's people were so apprehensive of the consequences of this affair, that they quitted the plantation: and the people of Plymouth, who offered them protection, which they would not accept, were glad to be rid of such troublesome neighbours.

Thus, by the spirited conduct of a handful of brave men, in conformity to the advice of the friendly sachem, the whole conspiracy was annihilated. But when the report of this transaction was carried to their brethren in Holland, Mr. Robinson, in his next letter to the governor, lamented with great concern and tenderness, "O that you had converted some before you had killed any!"

The scarcity which they had hitherto experienced was partly owing to the increase of their numbers, and the scantiness of their supplies from Europe; but principally to their mode of labouring in common, and putting the fruit of their labour into the public store: an error which had the same effect here as in Virginia. To remedy this evil, as far as was consistent with their engagements, it was agreed in the spring of 1623 that every family should plant for themselves, on such ground as should be assigned to them by lot, without any division for inheritance; and that in the time of harvest a competent portion should be brought into the common store for the maintenance of the public officers, fishermen, and such other persons as could not be employed in agriculture. This regulation gave a spring to industry; the women and children cheerfully went to work with the men in the fields, and much more corn was planted than ever before. Having but one boat, the men were divided into parties of six or seven, who took their turns to catch fish; the shore afforded them shell-fish, and ground-nuts served them for bread. When any deer was killed, the flesh was divided among the whole colony. Water-fowl came in plenty at the proper season, but the want of boats prevented them from being taken in great numbers. Thus they subsisted through the third summer, in the latter end of which two vessels arrived with sixty passengers. The harvest was plentiful; and after this time they had no general want of food, because they had learned to depend on their own exertions rather than on foreign supplies.

Whilst the Plymouth colonists were few in number, the whole body of associates or freemen assembled for legislative, executive, and judicial business. In 1634, the governor and assistants were constituted a judicial court, and afterward the supreme judiciary. Petty offences and actions of debt, trespass, and damage, not exceeding forty shillings, were tried by the selectmen of each town, with liberty to appeal to the next Court of Assistants. The first Assembly of Representatives was held in 1639, when two deputies were sent from each town, and four from Plymouth. In 1649, Plymouth was restricted to the same number with the other towns. These deputies were chosen by the freemen; and none were admitted to the privilege of freemen but such as were twenty-one years of age, of sober and peaceable conversation; orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and possessed of twenty pounds rateable estate. In 1689, Plymouth colony was incorporated with Massachusetts.*

* Belknap.



SETTLEMENT OF MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE.



HE proper founder of Maine was *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*. He was governor of the fort and island of Plymouth, in Devonshire, and one of the first and chief promoters of the New England plantations. He was the intimate friend of Sir Walter Raleigh. They were both men of enterprising genius, with a similar turn for adventure, and promoted some of the most important voyages, which never would have been undertaken without their assistance. In 1604, Gorges

was appointed governor of Plymouth. Obtaining a patent from King James, of making settlements in America, he fitted out a ship, August, 1606, for discovery, which was seized and carried to Spain. The next year, he, and Sir John Popham, sent over two ships, with one hundred men, who landed at the mouth of Kennebeck river, on a peninsula, where they built a fort. When the ships departed, only forty-five persons were left. It was the month of December, and they had to bear the cold of a North American winter. They had but a poor shelter from the storm, and, to add to their misfortune, their store-house was burnt, with a large part of their provisions. Other melancholy circumstances concurred to make them sick of the place, and they left it with disgust. This was the first settlement in New England. It was begun and ended in less than a year.

Gorges was not discouraged ; but with other associates, after the death of Sir John Popham, who contributed the most to help the first adventure, he planned several voyages to New England, which were executed with more or less success. He probably would have been discouraged, if the church at Leyden had not formed a settlement at New Plymouth ; but this gave a new animation to his spirits, and strengthened him in his schemes.



O entertain a just view of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, we must consider him both as a member of the council of Plymouth, pursuing the general interest of American plantations ; and at the same time as an adventurer, undertaking a settlement of his own, in a particular part of the territory, which was subject to the jurisdiction of the council. Having formed an intimacy with Captain John Mason, governor of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants, who was also a member of the council ; and, having (1622) jointly with him, procured from the council a grant of a large extent of country, which they called *Laconia*, extending from the river Merrimack to Sagadahock, and from the ocean to the lakes and river of Canada, they indulged sanguine expectation of success. From the accounts given of the country by some romantic travellers, they had conceived an idea of it as a kind of terrestrial paradise, not merely *capable* of producing all the necessaries and conveniences of life, but as already richly furnished by the bountiful hand of nature. The air was said to be pure and salubrious ; the country pleasant and delightful, full of goodly forests, fair valleys, and fertile plains ; abounding in vines, chestnuts, walnuts, and many other sorts of fruit ; the rivers stored with fish, and environed with goodly meadows full of timber trees. In the great lake,* it was said, were four islands, full of pleasant woods and meadows, having great store of stags, fallow deer, elks, roebucks, beavers, and other game ; and these islands were supposed to be commodiously situate for habitation and traffic, in the midst of a fine lake, abounding with the most delicate fish. This lake was thought to be less than one hundred miles distant from the sea-coast ; and there was some secret expectation that mines and precious stones would be the reward of their patient and diligent attention to the business of discovery. Such were the charms of *Laconia* !

Gorges had sent over Richard Vines, with some others, on a discovery, to prepare the way for a colony. The place which Vines pitched upon was at the mouth of the river Saco. Some years after, another settlement was made on the river of Agamenticus, by Francis Norton, whom Gorges sent over with a number of other people, having procured for them a patent of twelve thousand acres on the east side of the river, and twelve

thousand more on the west side ; his son Ferdinando Gorges, being named as one of the grantees : this was the beginning of the town of York. Norton was a lieutenant-colonel, and had raised himself to that rank from a common soldier, by his own merit. In this company were several artificers, who were employed in building saw-mills, and they were supplied with cattle and other necessities for the business of getting lumber.

About the same time, (viz. 1623,) a settlement was begun at the river Piscataqua, by Captain Mason, and several other merchants, among whom Gorges had a share. The principal design of these settlements was, to establish a permanent fishery, to make salt, to trade with the natives, and to prepare lumber for exportation. Agriculture was but a secondary object, though in itself the true source of all opulence and all subsistence.

These attempts proved very expensive, and yielded no adequate returns. The associates were discouraged, and dropped off one after another, till none but Gorges and Mason remained. Much patience was necessary but in this case it could be grounded only on enthusiasm. It was not possible in the nature of things, that their interest should be advanced by the manner in which they conducted their business. Their colonists came over either as tenants or as hired servants. The produce of the plantation could not pay their wages, and they soon became their own masters. The charge of making a settlement in such a wilderness was more than the value of the lands when the improvements were made : overseers were appointed, but they could not hold the tenants under command ; nor prevent their changing places on every discontent : the proprietors themselves never came in person to superintend their interests, and no regular government was established to punish offenders, or preserve order. For these reasons, though Gorges and Mason expended, from first to last, more than *twenty thousand pounds* each, yet they only opened the way for others to follow, and the money was lost to them and their posterity.



WHILST their private interest was thus sinking in America, the reputation of the council of which they were members, lay under such disadvantages in England, as tended to endanger their political existence. As they had been incorporated for the purpose, not merely of granting lands, but of making actual plantations in America, they were fond of encouraging all attempts, from whatever quarter, which might realize their views and expectations.

The ecclesiastical government at this time allowed no liberty to scrupulous consciences ; for which reason many who had hitherto been peaceable members of the national church, and wished to continue such, finding that

no indulgence could be granted, turned their thoughts toward America, where some of their brethren had already made a settlement. They first purchased of the council of Plymouth a large territory, and afterward obtained of the crown a charter, by which they were constituted a body politic within the realm. In June, 1630, they brought their charter to America, and began the colony of *Massachusetts*. This proved an effectual settlement, and the reasons which rendered it so, were the zeal and ardour which animated their exertions; the wealth which they possessed, and which they converted into materials for a new plantation; but principally the *presence* of the adventurers themselves, on the spot, where their fortunes were to be expended, and their zeal exerted. The difference between a man's doing business by himself, and by his substitutes, was never more fairly exemplified than in the conduct of the Massachusetts planters, compared with that of Sir Ferdinando Gorges: what the one had been labouring for, above twenty years, without any success, was realized by the others in two or three years; in five, they were so far advanced as to be able to send out a colony from themselves, to begin another at Connecticut; and in less than ten, they founded a university, which has ever since produced an uninterrupted succession of serviceable men in church and state.

The great number of people who flocked to this new plantation, raised an alarm in England. As they had manifested their discontent with the ecclesiastical government, it was suspected that they aimed at *independence*, and would throw off their allegiance to the crown. This jealousy was so strong, that a royal order was made to restrain any from coming hither who should not first take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and obtain a license for their removal.

To refute this jealous cavil against the planters of New England, we need only to observe, that at the time when they began their settlement, and for many years after, the lands which they occupied were objects of envy both to the Dutch and the French. The Dutch claimed from Hudson, as far as Connecticut river, where they had erected a trading house. The French claimed all the lands of New England; and the governor of Port Royal, when he wrote to Governor Winthrop, directed his letters to him as *Governor of the English, at Boston, in Acadia*. Had the New England planters thrown off their subjection to the crown of England, they must have become a prey to one or the other of these rival powers. Of this they were well aware, and if they had entertained any idea of independence, which they certainly did not, (*nor did their successors, till driven to it by Britain herself*;) it would have been the most impolitic thing in the world to have avowed it, in the presence of neighbours with whom they did not wish to be connected.

This jealousy, however groundless, had an influence on the public councils of the nation, as well as on the sentiments of individuals, and contributed to increase the prejudice which had been formed against all who were concerned in the colonization of New England. The merchants still considered the Council of Plymouth, as monopolizing a lucrative branch of trade. The South Virginia Company disrelished their exclusive charter, and spared no pains to get it revoked. The popular party in the Commons regarded them as supporters of the prerogative, and under the royal influence. The high church party were incensed against them, as enemies of prelacy, because they had favoured the settlement of the Puritans within their territory: and the king himself suspected that the colonies in New England had too much liberty to consist with his notions of government. Gorges was looked upon as the author of all the mischief; and being publicly called upon, declared, "that though he had earnestly sought the interest of the plantations, yet he could not answer for the evils which had happened by them." It was extremely mortifying to him to find, that after all his exertions and expenses in the service of the nation, he had become a very unpopular character, and had enemies on all sides.

To remedy these difficulties, he projected the resignation of the charter to the crown; and the division of the territory into twelve lordships, to be united under one general governor. As the charter of Massachusetts stood in the way of this project, he, in conjunction with Mason, petitioned the crown for a revocation of it. This brought on him the ill-will of those colonists also, who from that time regarded him and Mason as their enemies. Before the council surrendered their charter, they made grants to some of their own members, of twelve districts, from Maryland to St. Croix, among which the district from Piscataqua to Sagadahock, extending one hundred and twenty miles northward into the country, was assigned to Gorges. In June, 1635, the council resigned their charter, and petitioned the king and the lords of the privy council for a confirmation of the several proprietary grants, and the establishment of a general government. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then threescore years of age, was the person nominated to be the general governor. About this time, Mason, one of the principal actors in this affair, was removed by death: and a ship, which was intended for the service of the new government, fell and broke in launching. A *quo warranto* was issued against the Massachusetts charter, but the proceedings upon it were delayed, and never completed. An order of the king in council was also issued, in 1637, for the establishment of the general government, and Gorges was therein appointed governor; but the troubles in Scotland and England at this time grew very serious, and put a check to the business. Soon after, Archbishop Laud and some other lords of coun-



GORGES AND MASON NAMING THEIR COLONIES.

cil, who were zealous in the affair, lost their authority, and the whole project came to nothing.

Gorges, however, obtained of the crown, in 1639, a confirmation of his own grant, which was styled the *province of Maine*, and of which he was made Lord Palatine, with the same powers and privileges as the bishop of Durham in the county Palatine of Durham. In virtue of these powers, he constituted a government within his said province, and incorporated the plantation at Agamenticus into a city, by the name of *Gorgeana*, of which his cousin, Thomas Gorges, was mayor, who resided there about two years, and then returned to England. The council for the administration of government were Sir Thomas Josselyn, knight, Richard Vines, (Steward,) Francis Champernoon, (a nephew to Gorges,) Henry Josselyn, Richard Boniton, William Hooke, and Edward Godfrey.

The plan which he formed for the government of his province was this: It was to be divided into eight counties, and these into sixteen hundreds; the hundreds were to be subdivided into parishes and tithings, as the people should increase. In the absence of the proprietor, a lieutenant was to preside. A chancellor was constituted for the decision of civil causes; a treasurer to receive the revenue, a marshal for managing the militia, and a marshal's court, for criminal matters; an admiral, and admiral's court, for maritime causes, a master of ordnance and a secretary. These officers were to be a standing council. Eight deputies were to be elected, one from each county, by the inhabitants, to sit in the same council; and all

matters of moment were to be determined by the lieutenant, with advice of the majority. This council were to appoint justices, to give licenses for the sale of lands *subject to a rent of four pence or six pence per acre*. When any law was to be enacted or repealed, or public money to be raised, they were to call on the counties to elect each two deputies, "to join with the council in the performance of the service;" but nothing is said of their voting as a separate house. One lieutenant and eight justices were allowed to each county; two head constables to every hundred; one constable and four tithingmen to every parish; and in conformity to the institutions of King Alfred, each tithingman was to give an account of the demeanor of the families within his tithing, to the constable of the parish, who was to render the same to the head constables of the hundred, and they to the lieutenant and justices of the county; who were to take cognisance of all misdemeanors, and from them an appeal might be made to the proprietor's lieutenant and council.

Forms of government and plans of settlement are much more easily drawn on paper than carried into execution. Few people could be induced to become tenants in the neighbourhood of such a colony as Massachusetts, where *all were freeholders*. No provision was made for public institutions; schools were unknown, and they had no ministers, till, in pity to their deplorable state, two went thither from Boston on a voluntary mission, and were well received by them. The city of Gorgeana, though a lofty name, was in fact but an inconsiderable village; and there were only a few houses in some of the best places for navigation. The people were without order and morals.

Gorges himself complained of the prodigality of his servants, and had very little confidence in his own sons, for whose aggrandizement he had been labouring to establish a foundation. He had indeed erected saw-mills and corn-mills, and had received some acknowledgment in the way of rents, but lamented, that he had not reaped the "happy success of those who are *their own* stewards, and the disposers of *their own* affairs."

How long Gorges continued in his office as governor of Plymouth, does not appear from any materials within my reach. In 1625, he commanded a ship of war in a squadron under the Duke of Buckingham, which was sent to the assistance of France, under pretence of being employed against the Genoese. But a suspicion having arisen that they were destined to assist Louis against his Protestant subjects at Rochelle, as soon as they were arrived at Dieppe, and found that they had been deceived, Gorges was the first to break his orders and return with his ship to England. The others followed his example, and their zeal for the Protestant religion was much applauded.



WHEN the civil dissensions in England broke out into a war, Gorges took the royal side; and, though then far advanced in years, engaged personally in the service of the crown. He was in Prince Rupert's army, at the siege of Bristol, in 1643; and when that city was retaken, in 1645, by the parliament's forces, he was plundered and imprisoned. His political principles rendered him obnoxious to the ruling powers, and when it was necessary for him to appear before the commissioners for foreign plantations, he was severely frowned upon, and consequently discouraged.

The time of his death is uncertain; he is spoken of in the records of the province of Maine, *as dead* in June, 1647. Upon his decease, his estate fell to his eldest son, John Gorges, who, whether discouraged by his father's ill success, or incapacitated by the severity of the times, took no care of the province, nor do we find any thing memorable concerning him. Most of the commissioners who had been appointed to govern the province deserted it; and the remaining inhabitants, in 1749, were obliged to combine for their own security. In 1651, they petitioned the Council of State, that they might be considered as part of the commonwealth of England. The next year, upon the request of a great part of the inhabitants, the colony of Massachusetts took them under their protection, being supposed to be within the limits of their charter; some opposition was made to this step; but the majority submitted or acquiesced, and, considering the difficulties of the times, and the unsettled state of affairs in England, this was the best expedient for their security.

On the death of John Gorges, the propriety descended to his son Ferdinando Gorges, of Westminster, who seems to have been a man of information and activity. He printed a description of New England, in 1658, to which he annexed a narrative written by his grandfather, from which this account is chiefly compiled; but another piece, which in some editions is tacked to these, entitled "Wonder-working Providences," was unfairly ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, though written by a Mr. Johnson, of Woburn, in New England.

On the restoration of King Charles II., Gorges petitioned the crown, complaining of the Massachusetts colony for usurping the government of Maine, and extending their boundary lines. In 1664, commissioners were sent to America, who, finding the people in the province of Maine divided in their opinions with respect to matters of government, appointed justices in the king's name to govern them; and, about the same time, the proprietor nominated thirteen commissioners, and prepared a set of instructions which were entered on the records of the province. But upon the departure of the royal commissioners, the colony resumed its jurisdiction over them. These

two sources of government kept alive two parties, each of whom were always ready to complain of the other and justify themselves.

An inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts had been instituted in England, and the colony was ordered to send over agents to answer the complaints of Gorges, and Mason the proprietor of New Hampshire, who had jointly proposed to sell their property to the crown, to make a government for the Duke of Monmouth. This proposal not being accepted, the colony themselves took the hint, and thought the most effectual way of silencing the complaint would be to make a purchase. The circumstances of the province of Maine were such as to favour their views. The Indians had invaded it, most of the settlements were destroyed or deserted, and the whole country was in trouble; the colony had afforded them all the assistance which was in their power, and they had no help from any other quarter. In the height of this calamity, John Usher, Esq., was employed to negotiate with Mr. Gorges for the purchase of the whole territory, which was effected in the year 1677. The sum of twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling was paid for it, and it became a part of Massachusetts. It was admitted into the Union as a separate state in 1520.*

* Belknap.





GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS.



HE severities exercised on the Puritans in England, and the gradual extinction of the hopes they had so long entertained of a mitigation of ecclesiastical rigour, had for some time directed their thoughts to that distant territory in which their brethren at New Plymouth had achieved a secure establishment and obtained the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. In the last year of James's reign, a few non-conformist families had removed to New England and taken possession of a corner of Massachusetts Bay ; but being disappointed in the hope they had entertained of the accession of numbers sufficient to found a permanent society, they were on the point of returning to England, when they received the agreeable intelligence of the approach of a numerous and powerful reinforcement. Mr. White, a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, had projected a new settlement at Massachusetts Bay, and by his zeal and activity he succeeded in forming an association of a number of the gentry in his neighbourhood, who had imbibed the Puritan sentiments, for the purpose of conducting a colony to that region. The views and feelings

that actuated the leaders of this enterprise were committed to writing, and circulated among their friends under the title of *General Considerations for the Plantation of New England*.

These projectors purchased from the council of Plymouth all the territory extending in length from three miles north of the river Merrimack to three miles south of Charles river, and, in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Their acts were as vigorous as their designs were elevated. As the precursors of the main body of emigrants whom it was intended to transport, a small body of planters and servants were despatched under Mr. Endicot, one of the leading projectors; who, arriving safely in Massachusetts, were cordially greeted and kindly assisted by the colonists of New Plymouth, and laid the foundations of a town, which they denominated Salem, from a Hebrew word that signifies *peace*.

But zealous as these projectors were to accomplish their favourite purpose, they very soon perceived their total inability to maintain effectual possession of such an extensive territory, without the aid of more opulent coadjutors. Of these, by the influence and activity of Mr. White, they obtained a sufficient number in London, among the commercial men who openly professed, or secretly favoured, the tenets of the Puritans. These auxiliaries brought an accession of prudent precaution, as well as of pecuniary resources, to the conduct of the design; and, justly doubting the expediency of founding a colony on the basis of a grant from a private company of patentees, who might convey a right of property in the soil, but could not confer jurisdiction, or the privilege of governing the society which it was proposed to establish, they persuaded their associates to unite with them in an application to the crown for a royal charter. The readiness with which this application was granted, and the terms in which the charter was framed, are absolutely unaccountable, except on the supposition that Charles and his ecclesiastical counsellors were willing, at this time, to disencumber the church, in which they meditated such extensive innovations, of a body of men, from whom the most unbending opposition to their measures might be expected: a line of policy which appears perfectly credible; although, at a subsequent period, they endeavoured to counteract it, when they were sensible of the reflective influence exercised on the Puritan body in England by the spread and predominance of their tenets in America. It seems impossible, on any other supposition, to account for the remarkable facts that, at the very time when this monarch was introducing despotic authority into the government of Virginia, he extended to a colony of Puritans a constitution containing all the immunities of which the Virginians beheld themselves so unjustly deprived; and that, well aware of the purpose of the applicants to escape from the constitutions of the church of England, he granted them a charter containing ample commendation of the religious ends they had in view, without the imposi-

tion of a single ordinance respecting the constitution of their church government, or the forms and ceremonies of their worship : nay, so completely, in this instance, did he surrender the maxims of his colonial policy to the wishes of the projectors of a Puritan colony, that although he had recently declared, in a public proclamation, that a mercantile company was utterly unfit to administer the affairs of a remote colony ; yet, on the present occasion, he scrupled not, in compliance with the wishes of the mercantile part of the adventurers, to commit the supreme direction of the colony to be planted in the province of Massachusetts Bay, to a corporation consisting chiefly of merchants resident in London. The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic ; and their right to the territory which they had purchased from the Council of Plymouth being confirmed by the king, they were empowered to dispose of the lands, and to govern the people who should settle upon them. The first governor of the company and his council were named by the crown : the right of electing their successors was vested in the members of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and a council of assistants : the legislative, to the body of proprietors, who might make and enforce statutes and orders for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England. They obtained the same temporary exemption that had been granted to the Virginian company from internal taxes, and from duties on goods exported or imported ; and, notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural-born subjects.

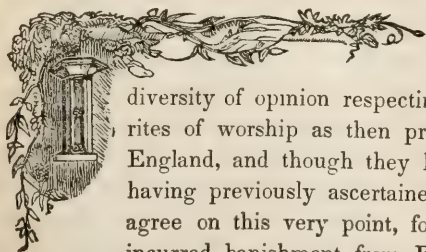


Soon after the power of the adventurers to establish a colony had been rendered complete, by the royal charter, they equipped and despatched five ships for New England, containing three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous Puritans, accompanied by some eminent non-conformist ministers. The regrets which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire, the distressing inconvenience of a long voyage, to persons unaccustomed to the sea, and the

formidable scene of toil and danger that confronted them in the barbarous land where so many preceding adventurers had found an untimely grave, seem to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, sustained by the worth and dignity of the purpose which they had combined to pursue. They did not postpone the practice of piety till the conclusion of their voyage ; but, occupied continually with the exercises of devotion, they caused the ocean which they traversed to resound with unwonted acclaim

of praise and thanksgiving to its great Creator. The seamen, partaking their spirit, readily joined in all their religious exercises and ordinances, and expressed their belief that they had practised the first *sea-fasts* that had ever been kept in the world. After a prosperous voyage, the emigrants had the happiness of reuniting themselves to their friends, already established at Salem under Mr. Endicot, who had been appointed deputy-governor of the colony.

To the body of men thus collected together, the institution of a church appeared the most interesting of all their concerns, and it occupied, accordingly, their earliest and most solemn deliberation. They had been advised, before they quitted England, to agree among themselves on the form of church government which was to be established in the colony; but, neglecting this advice, they had gone no farther than to express their general concurrence in the principle that *the reformation of the church was to be endeavoured according to the written word of God*. They now applied to their brethren at Plymouth, and desired to be acquainted with the grounds of the constitution which had there been established; and having heard these fully explained, and devoted some time to a diligent comparison of the model with the warrants of Scripture which were cited in its vindication, and earnestly besought the enlightening aid of Him who alone can teach his creatures how to worship him with acceptance, they declared their entire approbation of the sister church, and proceeded to copy her structure in the establishment of their own. They united together in religious society by a covenant, in which, after a solemn dedication of themselves to live in the fear of God, and to walk in his ways, so far as he should be pleased to reveal himself to them; they engaged to each other to cultivate watchfulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse; to avoid jealousies, suspicions, and secret risings of spirit; and in all cases of offence to bear and forbear, give and forgive, after the example of their Divine pattern.



It is a notable fact, that, although these emigrants were collected from a body embracing such diversity of opinion respecting church government and the rites of worship as then prevailed among the Puritans of England, and though they had landed in America without having previously ascertained how far they were likely to agree on this very point, for the sake of which they had incurred banishment from England, the constitution which was copied from the church of New Plymouth gave satisfaction to almost every individual among them. Two brothers, however, of the name of *Browne*, one a lawyer and the other a merchant, both of them men of note, and among the number of the original patentees, dissented from this

constitution; and arguing with vehement absurdity that all who adhered to it would infallibly become Anabaptists, endeavoured to obtain converts to their opinion, and to establish a separate congregation on a model more approximated to the forms of the church of England. The defectiveness of their argument they endeavoured to supply by the vehemence of their clamour; and they obtained a favourable audience from a few who regarded with unfriendly eye the discipline which the colonial church was disposed to exercise upon offenders against the laws of morality. Mr. Endicot, the governor, called these men, together with the ministers, before the people; who, after hearing both parties, repeated their approbation of the system they had consented to; and, as the two brothers still persisted in their attempts to create a schism in the church, and even endeavoured to excite a mutiny against the government, they were judged unfit to remain in the colony, and sent back by the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants in the voyage from England. Their absence restored unity of sentiment to the colonists, who were proceeding to complete their settlement and extend their occupation of the country, when they were interrupted by the approach of winter and the ravages of disease, which quickly deprived them of nearly one-half of their number, but produced no other change on their minds than to cause the sentiments of hope and fear to converge more steadily to the Author of their existence.

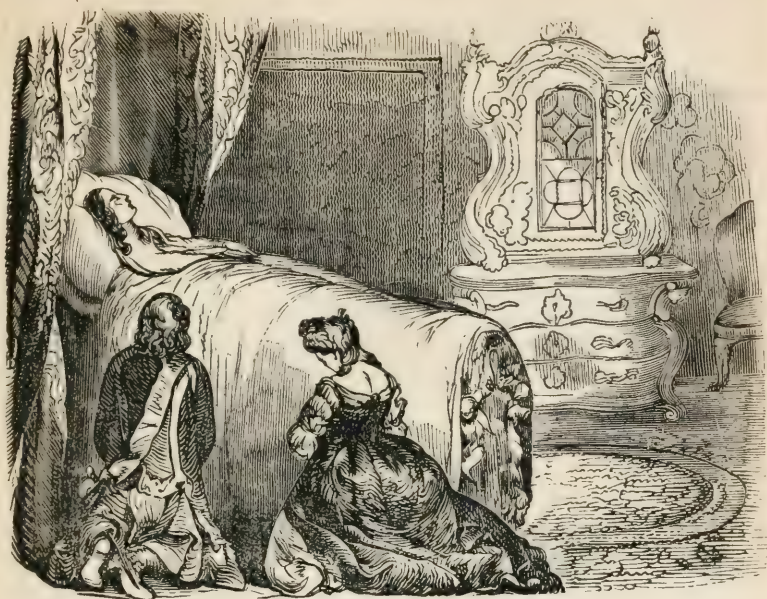
The directors of the Massachusetts Bay Company in England meanwhile exerted their utmost endeavours to reinforce the colony with a numerous body of additional settlers. Their designs were promoted by the rigour and intolerance of Laud's administration, which, daily multiplying the hardships imposed on all who scrupled entire conformity to the ecclesiastical ordinances, proportionably diminished, in their estimation, the danger and hardships attending a retreat to America. Many persons began to treat with the company for a settlement in New England, and several of these were people of distinguished family and fortune. But foreseeing the misrule inseparable from the residence of the legislative power in Britain, they demanded, as a previous condition of their emigration, that the charter and all the powers of government should be transferred to New England, and exercised within the territory of the colony. The company, who had incurred a considerable expense with little prospect of speedy remuneration, were very well disposed to obtain such important aid by embracing the measure that was proposed to them: but doubting its legality, they thought proper to consult lawyers of eminence on the subject. Unaccountable as it must appear to every person in the slightest degree conversant with legal considerations, they received an opinion favourable to the wishes of the emigrants; and accordingly it was determined, by general consent, "that the charter should be transferred, and the government be settled in New England." To the



SETTLEMENT OF BOSTON.

members of the corporation who chose to remain at home, was reserved a share in the trading, stock, and profits of the company, for the term of seven years. By this transaction, one of the most singular that is recorded in the history of a civilized people, the liberties of the New England communities were placed on a sure and respectable basis. When we consider the means by which this was effected, we find ourselves encompassed with doubts and difficulties, of which the only solution that I am able to discover is the opinion I have already expressed, that the king was at this time exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the Puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them, that if they would bestow their presence on another part of his dominions, and employ their energies in peopling the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations on the church of England, they were free to arrange their internal constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, according to their own discretion. An English corporation, appointed by its charter to reside in London, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts: and this was openly transacted by men whose principles rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to their rulers, and under the eyes of a prince no less vigilant to observe, than vigorous to repress every encroachment on the limits of his prerogative.

Having effected this important revolution in their system of government, the adventurers proceeded to make the most vigorous exertions to realize



DEATH OF LADY ARABELLA JOHNSON.

the designs they had undertaken. In a general court, John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants were chosen; in whom, together with a body of freemen who should settle in New England, were vested all the corporate rights of the company. With such zeal and activity did they prepare for emigration, that in the course of the ensuing year, above fifteen hundred settlers, among whom were several wealthy and high-born persons, both men and women, who chose to follow truth into a desert, rather than to enjoy all the pleasures of the world under the dominion of error, set sail aboard a fleet of seventeen ships for New England. On their arrival at Salem, many of them were so ill satisfied with its situation, that they explored the country in quest of better stations; and, settling in different places around the bay, according to their various predilections, laid the foundation of Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and other societies which have since expanded into considerable towns. In each of these a church was established on the same model with that of Salem. This, together with the care of making provision for their subsistence during winter, occupied them entirely for several months. The approach of winter was attended with a repetition of those trials and distresses through the ordeal of which, every body of settlers in New England was long fated to pass. Afflicted with severe scarcity, which all the generous contribu-

tions of the other settlements in the province were able but feebly to mitigate, attacked with various distempers, the consequence of hunger, cold, and the peculiarities of a soil and climate uncongenial to constitutions formed in Europe, and lodged for the most part in booths and tents that afforded but imperfect protection from the weather, great numbers of them were carried to the grave. Among these was Lady Arabella Johnson, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln.

When the restoration of plenty, by the arrival of supplies from England, and the abatement of the severity of winter, permitted the colonists to resume their assemblies for the transaction of public business, their very first proceedings demonstrated that a great majority of them were considerably leavened with a spirit of intolerance, and were determined in their practical administration to exemplify a thorough intermixture, and mutual dependence of church and state. A law was passed, enacting that none should hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen, but such as had been or should hereafter be received into the church as members. This law at once divested every person who did not hold the prevailing opinions, not only on the great points of doctrine, but with respect to the discipline of the church and the ceremonies of worship, of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church, being vested in the ministers and leading men of each congregation, the most valuable civil rights were made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. Even at a later period, when the colonists were compelled, by the remonstrances of Charles the Second, to make some alteration of this law, they altered it only in appearance, and enacted that every candidate for the privilege of a freeman, should produce a certificate from some minister of the established church, that they were persons of orthodox principles, and of honest life and conversation; a certificate which they who did not belong to the established church necessarily solicited with great disadvantage. The consequence of such laws was to elevate the clergy to a very high degree of influence and authority: and, happily for the colony, she was long blessed with a succession of ministers, whose admirable virtues were calculated to counteract the mischief of this inordinate influence, and even to convert it into an instrument of good.





ROGER WILLIAMS EXILED.

SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND.



THE first religious dissension that arose in the colony of Massachusetts was promoted by Roger Williams, who had come over to New England in 1630, and preached for some years to the inhabitants of New Plymouth; but, not finding there an audience suitable to his purposes, he had solicited his dismissal, and had recently been appointed minister of Salem. This man was a rigid Brownist, precise, illiberal, unforbearing, and passionate: he began to vent from the pulpit, which he had gained by his substantial piety and fervid zeal, a singular medley of notions; some wildly speculative, some boldly opposed to the constitutions of civil society, and some which, if unexceptionable in theory, were highly unsuitable to the place from

which they were delivered, and the exercises and sentiments with which he endeavoured to associate them. He maintained that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for Christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate; that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate, not even the oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to refuse; that King Charles had no right to usurp the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the colonial patent was utterly invalid; that the magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that any thing short of unlimited toleration for all religions was detestable persecution. These liberal principles of toleration he combined with a spirit so rigid and separating, that he not only refused all communion with any who did not profess every one of the foregoing opinions, but forbade the members of the church at Salem to communicate with any of the other churches in the colony; and, when they refused to obey this prohibition, he withdrew from them, and set up a separate meeting in his own house. Here he was attended by a select assembly of zealous admirers, composed of men, in whose minds an impetuous temper, inflamed by persecution, had greatly impaired the sense of moral perspective; who entertained disproportioned ideas of those branches of the trunk of godliness, for the sake of which they had endured such mighty sufferings, and had seen worth and piety so foully wronged; and who abhorred every symbol, badge, and practice, that was associated with the remembrance, and spotted, as they conceived, with the iniquity of their idolatrous oppressors. One of his followers, Mr. Endicot, a magistrate of the place, and formerly deputy-governor of the colony, in a transport of zeal against superstition, cut the red cross out of the king's colours; and many of the trained bands, who had hitherto followed these colours without objection, caught the contagion of Endicot's zeal, and protested that they would follow them no longer, if the cross were permitted to remain. The riotous and violent conduct of Endicot was universally disapproved, and the colonial authorities punished his misdemeanor by reprimand and disability of holding office for one year; but they were obliged to compromise the dispute with the protesters among the trained bands, and comply, to a certain extent, with their remonstrances. They were preparing to call Williams to a judicial reckoning, when Mr. Cotton and other ministers interposed, and desired to be allowed to reason with him, alleging that his violence was prompted rather by a misguided conscience, than seditious principles; and that there was hope they might gain, instead of losing, their brother. *You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you*, was the prediction of the governor, and the result of the conference proving the justice of it, sentence of banishment from the colony was forthwith pronounced upon Williams. This sentence

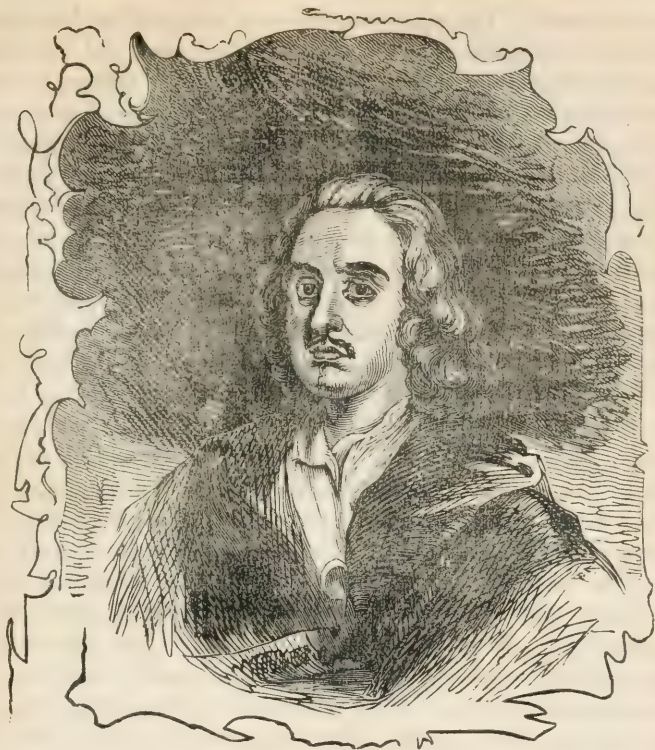


ROGER WILLIAMS ENTERTAINED BY THE INDIAN CHIEFS.

excited a great uproar in Salem, and was so successfully denounced as persecution by the adherents of Williams, that the bulk of the inhabitants of the place were preparing to follow him into exile; when an earnest admonition, transmitted to them by Mr. Cotton and the other ministers of Boston, induced them to relinquish their purpose, to acknowledge the justice of the proceeding, and abandon the noble Williams to his fortunes. He was not, however, abandoned by his more select adherents, whose esteem and affection he had gained to such a degree, that they resolved to incur every hazard, in order to live and die with him. Accompanying him in his exile, during which he was welcomed by Canonicus, and his other Indian friends, they directed their march towards the south, and settling at a place beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they bought a considerable tract of land from the Indians, and bestowed on their settlement the name of Providence. Had this man encountered the treatment to which the publication of his peculiar opinions would have exposed him in England, he would probably have been driven to madness: the wiser and kinder treatment he experienced from the Massachusetts authorities was productive of happier effects; and Mr. Cotton and his associates were not deceived, in supposing that they would gain their brother. They gained him in a manner, indeed, less flattering to themselves than a triumphant issue of the conference would have been, but much more beneficial to the interests of America. He concurred, as we shall see, at a later period, in founding the state of Rhode Island, and was one of its most eminent benefactors. He lived to an advanced age; and soon throwing off the wild

and separating spirit with which his sentiments had been leavened, he regained the friendship and esteem of his ancient fellow colonists, and preserved a friendly correspondence with Mr. Cotton and others of them till his death. The principles of toleration, which he had formerly discredited, by the rigidity with which he disallowed the slightest difference of opinions between the members of his own communion, he now enforced by exercising that forbearance by which the differences that distinguish Christians are prevented from dividing them, and by cultivating that charity, by which even the sense of these differences is often melted down. The great fundamental principles of Christianity daily acquiring a more exclusive and absorbing influence over his mind, he began to labour for the conversion of the Indians; and, in addition to the benefits of which his ministry among them was productive to themselves, he acquired over them an influence which he rendered highly advantageous to his old associates in Massachusetts, whom he was enabled frequently to warn of conspiracies formed against them by the savages in their vicinity, and communicated to him by the tribes with whom he maintained relations of friendship. The vehemence that Endicot had displayed, was not less mellowed by time and the ascendancy of sound wisdom and piety. He remained in Massachusetts, and, at a later period, held for many years the chief office in its government with great advantage and general respect.





SIR HARRY VANE.

SIR HARRY VANE, IN NEW ENGLAND.



HE colony of Massachusetts had continued meanwhile to attain stability and prosperity, and to extend its settlements; and this year an important and beneficial change took place in its internal constitution. The mortality that had prevailed among the Indians, had vacated a great many of the stations which their tribes had occupied, and as many of these were well chosen,

the colonists took possession of them with an eagerness that dispersed their settlements widely over the province. This necessarily led to the introduction of representative government, and, accordingly, at the period of assembling the general court, the freemen, instead of attending it in person, according to the prescription of the charter, elected representatives in their several districts, whom they authorized to appear in their name and

act in their behalf. The representatives were admitted, and henceforward considered themselves, in conjunction with the governor and assistants, as the supreme legislative assembly of the colony. The abstract wisdom of this innovation could not admit of doubt, and, in defence of their right to effect it, it was forcibly urged that the colonists were only making a new way to the enjoyment of a right already extended to them, and preventing their assemblies from becoming either too numerous to transact business, or too thin and partial to represent the interests which they were intended to administer, and supposed to embrace. The number of freemen had greatly increased since the charter was granted; many resided at a distance from the places where the supreme courts were held; personal attendance had become inconvenient; and, in such circumstances, it will not be easy to blame them for making with their own hands the improvement that was necessary to preserve their existing rights, instead of applying to the government of England, which was steadily pursuing the plan of subverting the organs of liberty in the mother country, and had already begun to exhibit an altered countenance towards the colony. In consequence of this important measure, the colony advanced beyond the state of a corporation, and acquired by its own act the condition of a society which was endowed with political liberty, and which had framed for itself a government derived from the model of the English constitution. The representatives having established themselves in their office, proceeded to assert the rights which necessarily attached to it, by enacting that no law should be passed, no tax imposed, and no public officer appointed but by the general assembly.

The increasing violence and injustice of the royal government in England, meanwhile, co-operated so powerfully with the tidings that were circulated of the prosperity of Massachusetts; and the simple frame of ecclesiastical policy that had been established in the colony, presented a prospect so desirable, and rendered the gorgeous hierarchy and recent superstitious innovations in the ceremonies of the English church so additionally odious, that the flow of emigration seemed rather to enlarge than subside, and crowds of new settlers continued to flock to New England. Among the passengers, in a fleet of twenty vessels that arrived in the following year, were two persons who afterwards made a distinguished figure on a more conspicuous theatre. One of these was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell, and the other was Vane, whose father, Sir Harry Vane the elder, was a privy councillor, and high in office and credit with the king. Peters became minister of Salem, and, possessing a mind unusually active and enterprising, he not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example. His labours were blessed with a produce not less honourable

than enduring. The spirit which he excited has continued to prevail with unabated vigour; and nearly two centuries after his death, the piety, good morals, and industry by which Salem has ever been distinguished, have been traced to the effects of Peters's ministry. He remained in New England till the year 1641, when, at the request of the colonists, he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return. Vane, afterwards Sir Harry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to proceed to New England, by the prohibition of his father, who was at length induced to wave his objections by the interference of the king. A young man of noble family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty, that, relinquishing all his hopes in England, he chose to settle in an infant colony, which as yet afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he had made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. The awful composure of his aspect and demeanour stamped a serious grace and grandeur on the bloom of manhood; his countenance appeared the surface of a character not less resolute than profound, and whose energy was not extinguished, but concentrated into a sublime and solemn calm. He has been charged with enthusiasm by some who have remarked the intensity with which he pursued purposes which to them have appeared worthless and ignoble; and with hypocrisy, by others who have contrasted the strength and stretch of his resolution with the calmness of his manners. But a juster consideration, perhaps, may suggest that it was the habitual energy of his determination that repressed every symptom of vehement impetuosity, and induced an equality of manner that scarcely appeared to exceed the pitch of a grave composure and constancy. It is the disproportion so frequently evinced, between the genius and the character of eminent men, that occasions their irregular conduct and impetuous demeanour. But Vane, fully embracing the loftiest projects of his genius, with all the faculties of his being, was deeply impressed with the vast and arduous nature of the work he undertook, and devoted himself to it with such a diligence and concentration of his forces, as to the idle, the careless, and the speculative part of mankind, appears like insanity. So much did his mind predominate over his senses, and the nobler control the more ignoble part of his being, that, though constitutionally timid and susceptible, in no common degree, of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one continued course of great and daring enterprise; and when amidst the wreck of his fortunes, and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to himself in the appalling form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with an animated and even cheerful intrepid-

ity, and encountered it with dignified composure. The man who could so subdue himself, was formed to exercise a strong influence on the minds of others. He was instantly complimented with the freedom of the colony; and enforcing his claims to respect, by the address and ability which he showed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival, by the universal consent of the colonists, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration. These hopes, however, were disappointed. Vane, not finding in the political affairs of the colonists a wide enough field for the excursion of his active spirit, embarked his energy in their theological discussions; and, unfortunately, connecting himself with a party who had conceived singularly just and profound views of doctrine, but associated them with some dangerous errors, and discredited them by the wildest vehemence and disorder, he very soon witnessed the abridgment of his usefulness and the decline of his popularity.





EMIGRATION OF MR. HOOKER'S COLONY.

SETTLEMENT OF CONNECTICUT.



THE present territory of Connecticut, when the English first arrived in it, was possessed by the Pequots, the Mohegans, the Podunks, and several other smaller tribes of Indians. The grant was made by the Plymouth council, to the Earl of Warwick, and confirmed by King Charles I., in 1630. This grant comprehended all that part of New England which lies west from Narraganset river, one hundred and twenty miles on the sea-coast, from thence to the South Sea. In 1631, the earl assigned this grant to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and nine others.

The first English settlements were attempted in 1633, when a number of Indian traders, having purchased of Zequasson and Natawanute, two principal sachems, a tract of land at the mouth of Little river, in Windsor. built a house and fortified it, and ever after maintained their right of soil upon the river. The same year, a little before the arrival of the English a company of Dutch traders came to Hartford, and built a house which

they called the *Hirse of Good Hope*, and erected a small fort, in which they planted two cannons. The remains of this settlement are still visible on the bank of the Connecticut.

In 1634, Lord Say and Seal sent over a small number of men, who built a fort at Saybrook, and held a treaty with the Pequot Indians, who, in a formal manner, gave to the English their right to Connecticut river and the adjacent country.

In 1635, the Plymouth Council granted to the Duke of Hamilton all the lands between Narraganset and Connecticut rivers, and back into the country as far as Massachusetts south line. This covered a part of the Earl of Warwick's patent, and occasioned some disputes in the colony.

In October, about sixty persons from Newtown, Dorchester, and Watertown, in Massachusetts, settled in Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, in Connecticut; and in June, 1636, the famous *Mr. Hooker*, with his company, settled at Hartford, and became an active and useful member of the colony to his death. The first court held in Connecticut, was at Hartford, April 26, 1636.

The year 1637 was distinguished by the war with the Pequots. This warlike nation had for some time been troublesome neighbours. They solicited the Narragansets to join them in extirpating the English. They had surprised and killed several of the English upon Connecticut river. These hostilities induced the three colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, to combine their forces, to carry the war into their country, and to attempt the entire destruction of the whole tribe.

Mayantonomo, the Narraganset sachem, and Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, voluntarily joined the English against the Pequots. Forces were accordingly raised in all the colonies; but those of Connecticut, on account of their vicinity to the enemy, were first in action. *Captain Mason*, with eighty English and one hundred Indians from Connecticut river, proceeded by water to the Narragansets' country, where two hundred of that tribe joined him. On the 24th of May, they began their march for Sassacus fort, on the Pequot, now Thames river. They afterwards determined first to assault Mystic fort, which was situated between them and Pequot river.

On the 26th of May, the attack was made. The Indians, after a midnight revel, were buried in a deep sleep. At the moment of their approach, the sentinel happened to be gone into a wigwam to light his pipe. The barking of a dog gave the alarm. The Indians awoke, seized their arrows, and began their hideous yell. They were joined in their tremendous noise by the Indians in the English army, who were in the rear and afraid to approach. The battle was warm and bloody, and the victory complete.

The fort was taken, about seventy wigwams burnt, fifty or sixty of the



DESTRUCTION OF THE PEQUOTS.

Indians were killed, many were wounded and taken, and the rest escaped. Sassacus and his warriors at Pequot, struck with terror at the news of this defeat, demolished their principal fort, burnt their wigwams, and fled to the westward. *Captain Stoughton*, with one hundred and sixty men from Massachusetts, had by this time arrived at Saybrook. He with his forces joined Captain Mason, pursued the Indians, and overtook and surrounded them in a great swamp near Fairfield.

A sachem, and ninety-nine women and children, came out and delivered themselves up to their pursuers. Terms of peace were offered to the rest: but after a short parley they determined, that as they had lived they would die together. There were about eighty who made this resolution. Part of these escaped by the darkness of the night. The rest were either killed or taken.

In this action the Indians had guns, which is the first account of their having used them. Sassacus fled to the Mohawks, by whom it is reported he was murdered; but it is more probable that he and his company incorporated with them. Many of the Indian captives were unjustifiably sent to Bermudas and sold for slaves. The Pequot tribe was thus wholly extirpated. This successful expedition struck the Indians that remained with such terror, as restrained them from open hostilities for near forty years after. The English thus obtained the country east of the Dutch settlements, by right of conquest.



The pursuit of the Indians led to an acquaintance with the lands on the sea-coast from Saybrook to Fairfield. Being reported to be a very fine country, *Messrs. Eaton and Hopkins*, two very respectable London merchants, and the *Rev. Mr. Davenport*, a man of distinguished piety and abilities, with their company, who arrived in 1637, from London, were induced to think of this part of the country as the place of their settlement, though their friends in Massachusetts endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose. Accordingly, in March, 1638, they settled in New Haven, and laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, of which Quinnipiack, now New Haven, was the chief town.

The first public worship in this new plantation was attended April 18, 1638, under a large spreading oak. Mr. Davenport preached from Matt. iii. 1, on the temptations of the wilderness. Both colonies, by voluntary compact, formed themselves into distinct commonwealths, and remained so until the union, in 1665.

In 1639, the people of the three towns on Connecticut river formed themselves into a body politic, and agreed upon articles of civil government. These articles were the foundation of Connecticut charter, which was granted in 1662; the substance of them, respecting assemblies, the

electing of magistrates, and the extent of legislative powers, being transferred into, and established in it. The first church was established in New Haven, in 1639, and seven members were chosen by the settlers, as managers, and as a court to try all civil actions.

The first settlers in New Haven had all things common; all purchases were made in the name and for the use of the whole plantation; and the lands were apportioned out to each family according to their number and original stock.

At their first election, in October, 1639, *Mr. Theopholus Eaton* was chosen governor for the first year. Their elections were to be annual, and the word of God their only rule in conducting the affairs of government in the plantation. In 1643, the articles of confederation between the four New England colonies were unanimously adopted by the colonies of New Haven and Connecticut.

The English settlement on Delaware, which was under the jurisdiction of New Haven, was surprised by the Swedes, and the people put in irons, under a false pretence that they were entering into a conspiracy with the Indians to extirpate the Swedes.

The General Court of New Haven, this year, ordained, "That each town should choose, from among themselves, judges to be a court, to have cognisance of all civil actions not exceeding twenty pounds, and of criminal causes where the punishment was sitting in the stocks, whipping, and fining not exceeding five pounds. The annual election of officers of government was at this time established, and has ever since continued. The unsettled state of the colony had hitherto prevented their establishing a code of laws. To supply this defect, the General Court ordered, "That the judicial laws of God, as delivered to Moses, being neither typical nor ceremonial, nor having any reference to Canaan, shall be accounted of moral equity, and be rule to all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceedings against offenders, until they be branched out into particulars hereafter." About this time a war broke out between the Mohegan and Narraganset Indians, wherein the colonists, though at first unwilling to interfere, were obliged at last to take part with their ally Uncas, the chief of the Mohegans; in consequence whereof, the Narragansets were completely subdued.

In consideration of the success and increase of the New England colonies, the English parliament, March 10, 1643, granted them an exemption from all customs, subsidies, and other duties, until further order. In 1644, the Connecticut adventurers purchased of Mr. Fenwick, agent for Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brook, their right to the colony of Connecticut for sixteen hundred pounds. The history of Connecticut is marked with traces of the same spirit which characterized the state of Massachusetts, in different stages of their history.



DEFEAT OF THE NARRAGANSETTS.

The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, from their first settlement, increased rapidly ; tracts of land were purchased of the Indians, and new towns settled from Stamford to Stonington, and far back into the country, when, in 1661, Major John Mason, as agent for the colony, bought of the natives all lands which had not before been purchased by particular towns, and made a public surrender of them to the colony, in the presence of the General Assembly. The colonies then petitioned King Charles II. for a charter, and their petition was granted on the 23d of April, 1662. But such was the ignorance of the Europeans respecting the geography of America, when they first assumed the right of giving away lands, which the God of Nature had long before given to the Indians, that their patents extended they knew not where ; many of them were of doubtful construction, very often covered each other in part, and produced innumerable disputes in the colonies.

The people of Connecticut construed their charter literally, and passing over New York, which was then in possession of the subjects of a Christian prince, claimed in latitude and breadth mentioned therein to the South Sea. Accordingly, purchases were made of the Indians, on the Delaware river, west of the western bounds of New York, and within the supposed limits of Connecticut charter ; and settlements were made thereon by people from, and under the jurisdiction of, Connecticut.

The charter of Pennsylvania, granted to William Penn, in 1681, covered these settlements. This laid the foundation for a dispute, which was long maintained with warmth on both sides. The matter was at last submitted to arbitrators, who decided the dispute in favour of Pennsylvania. The state of Connecticut has, since the peace, ceded to Congress all their

lands west of Pennsylvania, except a reserve of twenty miles square. This cession Congress have accepted, and thereby indubitably established the right of Connecticut to the reserve.

The colony of New Haven, though unconnected with the colony of Connecticut, was comprehended within the limits of their charter, and, as they concluded, within their jurisdiction. But New Haven remonstrated against their claim, and refused to unite with them until they should hear from England. It was not until 1665, when it was believed that the king's commissioners had a design upon the New England charters, that these two colonies formed a union, which has ever since amicably subsisted between them. In 1672, the laws of the colony were revised, and the General Court ordered them to be printed; and that every family should buy one of the law books. Perhaps it is owing to this early and universal spread of law books, that the people of Connecticut are still so fond of the law.

In 1684, the charters of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth were taken away, and that of Connecticut would have shared the same fate, had it not been for Mr. Wadsworth, who having artfully procured it, when it was on the point of being delivered up, buried it under an oak tree, in Hartford, where it remained until all danger was over, and then was dug up and reassumed. The commissioners of Governor Andros, who were sent to take it away, were greatly astonished, when, after an accidental extinguishment of the candles, and their being relighted, the charter was found to have unaccountably disappeared.

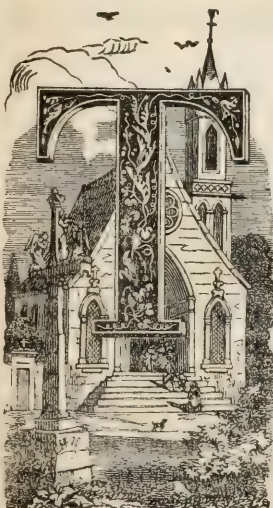


MONEY FIRST COINED IN NEW ENGLAND.



DEPUTIES SIGNING THE ACT OF UNION.

UNION OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.



THE coincidence between the principles of the colonists and the prevailing party in the Long Parliament, was cemented by the consciousness, that with the success of this body was identified the defence of the colonial liberties from the dangers that had so recently menaced them. As soon as the colonists were informed of the convocation of that famous assembly, they despatched Hugh Peters and two other persons to promote the colonial interests in England. The mission terminated more fortunately for the colony than for its ambassadors. By a vote of the House of Commons in the following year, the inhabitants of all the various plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties, either upon goods exported thither, or upon these which they imported into the

mother country, "until the House shall take further order therein to the contrary." The colonists, in return, cordially embraced the cause of their benefactors; and when the civil wars broke out in England, they passed an ordinance expressive of their approbation of the measures of parliament, and

denouncing capital punishment against any who should disturb the peace of the commonwealth, by endeavouring to raise a party for the king of England, or by discriminating between the king and the parliament, who truly maintained the cause of the king as well as their own. Happily for themselves, they were unable to signalize their predilection by more active interference in the contest; and, with a wise regard to their commercial interests, they gave free ingress into their harbours to trading vessels from the ports in possession of the king. They had likewise the good sense to decline an invitation that was sent to them, to depute Mr. Cotton, and others of their ministers, to attend, on their behalf, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Encouraged by the privileges that had been conferred on them, their industry made vigorous progress, and population rapidly increased. From the continent, they began to extend their occupation to the adjacent islands; and Mr. Mayhew, having obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, laid the foundation there of settlements that afterwards proved eminently serviceable to the conversion and civilization of the Indians. But an attempt which they made at the same time to extend, if not their settlements, at least their principles, in another quarter of the continent, proved quite unsuccessful. The colonists of Virginia were in general stanch royalists, and with comparatively little of the substance of religion, united a strong attachment to the forms and constitutions of the church of England. Yet, as we have seen, they had received, even as early as the reign of James, an accession to their numbers, composed of persons who had imbibed Puritan sentiments, and had fled from ecclesiastical persecution in England. A deputation from this portion of the Virginian settlers had been lately sent to Boston, to represent their destitution of a gospel ministry, and solicit a supply of ministers from the New England churches. In compliance with this request, three clergymen were selected to proceed to Virginia, and furnished with recommendatory letters from the governor of Massachusetts to Sir William Berkeley. On their arrival in Virginia, they began to preach in several parts of the country, and the people flocked to hear them with an eagerness that might have been productive of important consequences. But the Puritan principles, no less than the political sentiments of the colonists of New England, were too much the objects of aversion to Sir William Berkeley to admit of his encouragement being extended to proceedings so calculated to propagate their influence among his own people. So far from complying with the desire of his brother governor, he issued an order by which all persons who would not conform to the ceremonies of the church of England were commanded to depart from Virginia by a certain day. The preachers returned to their own settlement; and thus was laid the foundation of a jealousy which long subsisted between the two oldest colonies of North America.



THE failure of this endeavour to establish a friendly intercourse with the sister colony of Virginia, was amply compensated to the New England settlements by an important event, in their history, which occurred during the following year; the formation of a league by which they were knit together in the frame of a confederacy that greatly increased their security and power.

The Narraganset Indians had by this time had ample leisure to reflect on the policy of their conduct towards the Pequods; and the hatred which they had formerly cherished against that tribe being extinguished in the destruction of its objects, had been succeeded by an angry jealousy of those strangers who had obviously derived the chief and only advantage of which that event was productive. They saw the territories of their ancient rivals occupied by a much more powerful neighbour; and, mistaking their own inability to improve their advantages for the effect of fraud and injustice on the part of the colonists, who were so rapidly surpassing them in number, wealth, and power, they began to complain that the plunder of the Pequods had not been fairly divided, and proceeded to concert measures with the neighbouring tribes for a universal insurrection of the Indians against the English. Their designs had advanced but a little way towards maturity, when they were detected, in consequence of a sudden gust of that inordinate passion of private revenge which seemed fated to pervert and defeat their political views. The colonists, from the groundless murmurs they found themselves exposed to, and which proved only the rooted dislike of the savages, were sensible of their own danger without yet being aware of its extent, or feeling themselves entitled to anticipate some more certain indication of it; when, happily, they were called upon to act as umpires between two contending tribes. The Narragansets having conceived some disgust against a neighbouring chief, employed an assassin to kill him; and failing in this attempt, plunged into a war with the declared intention of exterminating the whole of his tribe. This tribe, who were at peace with the English, sent their chief to implore the protection of the Massachusetts colonists, who promised their interposition in his behalf. The Narragansets, apprized of this proceeding, recollecting the fate of the Pequods, and aware how well they deserved to share it, were struck with terror, and throwing down their arms, concluded a peace dictated to them by the English. When they found the danger blown over, they paid so little attention to the performance of their paction, that it was not till the colonists had made a demonstration of their readiness to employ force, that

they sullenly fulfilled it. Alarmed by such indications of fickleness, dislike, and furious passion, the government of Massachusetts deemed it prudent to provide, by a mutual concert of the colonies, for the common danger which they might expect to encounter at no distant day, when the savages, instructed by experience, would sacrifice their private feuds to combined hostility against a people whose progressive advancement seemed to minister occasion of incurable jealousy. Having conceived, for this purpose, a plan which was framed in imitation of the bond of union among the Dutch provinces, and which readily suggested itself to some of their leading characters who had resided with the Brownist congregation in Holland, they proposed it to the neighbouring settlements of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, by which it was cordially embraced. These four colonies accordingly entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive. It was stipulated that the confederates should thenceforth be distinguished by the title of the United Colonies of New England; that each colony should remain separate and distinct, and have exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederates should furnish its quota of men, money, and provisions, at a rate to be fixed from time to time in proportion to the number of people in each settlement; that an assembly composed of two commissioners from each colony should be held annually, with power to deliberate and decide on all points of common concern to the confederacy; and every determination sanctioned by the concurrence of six of their number, should be binding on the whole. The state of Rhode Island, which was not included in this confederacy, having petitioned a few years after to be admitted into it, her request was refused, except on the condition, which she declined, of merging her separate existence in an incorporation with the state of Plymouth. Thus excluded from the protection of the league or union, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavoured to provide for their security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians; and in the prosecution of their humane and courteous policy they were eminently successful.

The colonists have been reproached with arrogating the rights of sovereignty in this transaction, which truly may be regarded as a considerable step to independence. Yet it was a measure that could hardly be avoided by a people surrounded with enemies, and abandoned to their own resources in a territory many thousand miles removed from the seat of the government that claimed sovereign dominion over them. Every step that a people so situated made in enlarging their numbers, combining their resources, or otherwise promoting their security, was a step towards independence. Nothing but some politic system, or a series of events that might have kept the various settlements continually disunited in mutual jealousy and weakness, could have secured their perpetual existence as a dependent progeny

of England. But whatever effects the transaction which we have considered may have secretly produced on the course of American sentiment and opinion, and however likely it may now appear to have planted the seminal idea of independence in the minds of the colonists, it was regarded neither by themselves nor by their English rulers as indicating pretensions unsuitable to their condition. Even after the Restoration, the commissioners of the union were repeatedly noticed and recognised in the letters and official instruments of Charles the Second; and the union itself with some alterations subsisted till the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commission from King James. A few years after its establishment, the principal concern to which its efforts and deliberations were devoted was the conversion of the Indians, in co-operation with the society instituted by parliament in Britain for propagating the gospel in New England.

While the colonists were thus employed in measures calculated to secure and protect their institutions, the parliament passed an ordinance carrying a most formidable aspect, and fraught with consequences the most injurious to their rights. It appointed the Earl of Warwick governor-in-chief, and lord high-admiral of the colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners to assist him: it empowered him, in conjunction with his associates, to examine the state of affairs in the colonies; to send for papers and persons; to remove governors and officers, and to appoint others in their place, and delegate to them as much of the power granted to himself by the ordinance as he should think proper. This appointment, which created an authority that might have new modelled all the colonial governments, and abrogated all their charters, was not suffered to remain entirely inoperative. To some of the settlements the parliamentary council extended protection, and even granted new patents. Happily for Massachusetts, either the favour which it was thought to deserve, or the absorbing interest of the great contest that was carrying on in England, prevented the council from interfering with its institutions, till a period when the colonial assembly were able, as we shall see, to employ defensive measures that defeated its undesirable interposition without disputing its formidable authority.

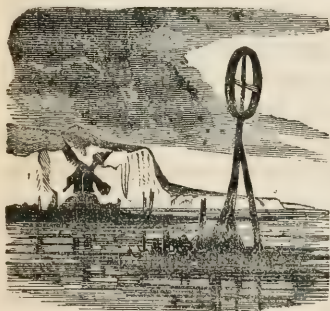


ARIOUS disputes had subsisted between the inhabitants of New England and the French settlers in Acadie. These were at length adjusted by a treaty between a commissioner for the king of France on the one part, and John Endicott Esq., governor of New England, and the rest of the magistrates there, on the other. The colonists had already debarred themselves from recognising the king as distinct from the parliament; and they probably found it difficult to explain to the other contracting parties to what denomination of authority they considered themselves to owe allegiance. This state of things, as it led to practices, so it

may have secretly fostered sentiments, that savoured of independence. A practice strongly fraught with the character of sovereign authority was adopted a few years after, when the increasing trade of the colony with the West Indies, and the quantity of Spanish bullion that was brought through this channel into New England, induced the colonial authorities, for the purpose of preventing frauds in the employment of the circulating medium in this inconvenient shape, to erect a mint for the coining of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on the one side, of Massachusetts, as the principal settlement, on the other, and with a tree, as an apt symbol of the progressive vigour which the colony had evinced. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin any metal into money : and indeed this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. "But it must be considered," says one of the colonial historians, "that at this time there was no king in Israel." In the distracted state of England it might well be judged unsafe to send their bullion there to be coined ; and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which might finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its favour and currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament, of Cromwell, and even of Charles the Second during twenty years of his reign.

The separation of the two branches of the legislature of Massachusetts naturally gave rise to some disputes respecting the boundaries of jurisdiction in a constitution not yet matured by practice. But what precedent could not supply, the influence and estimation of the clergy of the province were able to effect. By common consent, all the ministers were summoned to attend the session of the Assembly, and the points at issue being submitted to them, their judgment was willingly embraced and assented to. But in the following year a dissension much more violent in its nature, and much less creditable and satisfactory in its issue, was occasioned in this state by the intolerance which we have already noted in its original institutions. With the increasing prosperity and importance of the colony, the value of its political franchises had been proportionably augmented ; and the increasing opulence and respectability of the dissenters seemed to aggravate the hardship of the disfranchisement to which they were subjected. Some of these having violently assumed the privileges from which they were excluded by law, and disturbed an election by their interference, were punished by Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, who vigorously resisted and defeated their pretensions. They complained of this treatment to the general court by a petition couched in very strong language, demanding leave to impeach the deputy governor before the whole body of

his fellow-citizens, and to submit to the same tribunal the consideration of their general grievances, as well as of the particular severities they had experienced from Winthrop. The grievances under which they laboured were enumerated in the petition, which contained a forcible remonstrance against the injustice of depriving them of their rights as freemen, and of their privileges as Christians, because they could not join as members with the congregational churches, or when they solicited admission into them were arbitrarily rejected by the ministers. They petitioned, that either the full rights of citizenship might be communicated to them, or that they might no longer be required to obey laws to which they had not given assent,—to contribute to the maintenance of ministers who denied them the benefit of their ministry, and to pay taxes imposed by an Assembly in which they were not represented. The court were so far moved by the petition, or by the respectability of its promoters, that Mr. Winthrop was commanded to defend himself publicly from the charges which it advanced against him.



ON the day appointed for his trial, he descended from the tribunal, and placing himself at the bar, in presence of a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants, he proceeded to vindicate his conduct to his judges and fellow-citizens. Having clearly proved that his proceedings had been warranted by law, and had no other end than to maintain the existing institutions, by the exercise of the authority which had been committed to him for that purpose, he concluded an excellent harangue in the following manner. "Though I be justified before men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my administration as calls me to be humbled: and, indeed, for me to have been thus charged by men, is a matter of humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's father spit in her face, she is to be ashamed." Then proceeding to enforce some considerations calculated, he said, to rectify the opinions of the people on the nature of government: "The questions," he observed, "that have troubled the country have been about the authority of the magistracy, and the liberty of the people. It is you who have called us into this office; but being thus called, we have our authority from God. Magistracy is the ordinance of God, and it hath the image of God stamped upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. I entreat you to consider that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject unto like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe censurers of ours. The cove-

nant between us and you, is the oath you have exacted of us, which is to this purpose, '*That we shall govern you and judge your causes according to God's laws, and the particular statutes of the land, according to our best skill.*' As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error only therein, and not in the will, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list. This liberty is inconsistent with authority; impatient of all restraint; (by this liberty *sumus omnes deteriores* :) 'tis the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority: it is a liberty for that only which is just and good. For this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives; and whatsoever crosses it is not authority but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their true liberty by their murmuring at the honour and power of authority."

The circumstances in which this address was delivered, reminds us of scenes in Greek and Roman history; while the wisdom, worth, and dignity that it breathes, resemble the magnanimous vindication of a judge of Israel. Mr. Winthrop was not only honourably acquitted by the sentence of the court and voice of the public, but recommended so powerfully to the esteem of his fellow-citizens by this, and all the other indications of his character, that he was chosen governor of the province every year after as long as he lived. His accusers incurred a proportional degree of public displeasure: their petition was dismissed, and several of the chief promoters of it severely reprimanded, and adjudged to make confession of their fault in seeking to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony. Refusing to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and still persisting in their demands of an alteration of the law, with very indiscreet threats of complaining to the parliament, they were punished with fine or imprisonment. As several of these persons were known to be inclined to the form of presbytery, and as that constitution was also affected by the prevailing party in the English House of Commons, the menace of a complaint to parliament excited general alarm and indignation; and several of the petitioners having made preparations to sail for England, with very significant hints of the changes they hoped to effect by their machinations there, some of them were placed under arrest, and their papers were violently taken from them. Among these papers were found petitions to Lord Warwick, urging a forfeiture of the colonial charter, the introduction of a presbyterian establishment, and of the whole code of English jurispru-

dence, into the colonial institutions, with various other innovations, which were represented as no less accordant with legislative wisdom and justice, than adapted to the important end of securing and effectuating the supreme dominion of the parliament over the colony. The discovery of the intolerance meditated by these persons served to exasperate the intolerance which themselves were experiencing from the society of which they formed but an insignificant fraction. The contents of their papers excited so much resentment, that not a voice was raised against the arbitrary measure by which they had been intercepted; and the alarm was increased by the conviction of the utter impossibility of preventing designs so dangerous from being still attempted. The warmth of the public sentiment, as well as the peculiar nature of the subject that had excited it, introduced this all-prevalent topic into the pulpit; and even Mr. Cotton was so far overtaken with infirmity, as to declare, in a sermon, "That if any one should carry writings or complaints against the people of God in this country to England, he would find himself in the case of Jonas in the vessel." This was a prediction which a long voyage was very likely to realize. In effect, a short time after, certain deputies from the petitioners having embarked for England, were overtaken by a violent storm, and the sailors recollecting the prediction that had gone abroad, and, happily, considering the papers, and not the bearers of them, as the guilty parties, insisted so vehemently on casting all obnoxious writings overboard, that the deputies were compelled to commit their credentials to the waves. When they arrived in England, however, they did not fail to prosecute their application; but the attention of the parliamentary leaders being occupied with other matters, and Winslow and Peters opposing them, they obtained no redress.





ELLIOT INSTRUCTING THE INDIANS.

MISSIONARY LABOURS OF ELLIOT AND MAYHEW.



FROM the painful contemplation of the intolerance of the colonists, and their inordinate contentions about the forms of religion, it is pleasing to turn to the substantial fruits of Christian character evinced by those noble exertions for the conversion of the Indians that originated in the same year that had witnessed so much dissension and violence. The circumstances that had promoted the emigrations to New England, had operated with particular force on the ministers of the Puritans; and so many of them had accompanied the other settlers, that among a people who derived less enjoyment from the exercises of piety, the numbers of the clergy would have been thought exceedingly burdensome and very much disproportioned to the wants of the laity. This circumstance was highly favourable to the promotion of religious habits among the colonists, as well as to the extension of their settlements, in the plantation of which the co-operation of a minister was considered indispensable. It contributed also to suggest and facilitate missionary labour among the heathens, to

whom the colonists had associated themselves by superadding the ties of a common country to those of a common nature. While the people at large were daily extending their industry, and overcoming by cultivation the rudeness of desert nature, the clergy eagerly looked around for some addition to their peculiar sphere of usefulness, and at a very early period entertained designs of redeeming to the dominion of piety and civility the neglected wastes of human character that lay stretched in savage ignorance and idolatry around them. John Elliot, one of the ministers of Roxbury, a man whose large soul glowed with the intensest flame of zeal and charity, was strongly penetrated with a sense of this duty, and for some time had been diligently labouring to overcome the preliminary difficulty by which its performance was obstructed. He had now at length attained such acquaintance with the Indian language as enabled him not only himself to speak it with fluency, but to facilitate the acquisition of it to others, by the construction and publication of a system of *Indian grammar*. Having completed his preparatory inquiries, he began, in the close of this year, a scene of labour which has been traced with great interest and accuracy by the ecclesiastical historians of New England, and still more minutely, I doubt not, in that eternal record where alone the actions of men attain their just, their final, and everlasting proportions. It is a remarkable feature in his long and arduous career, that the energy by which he was actuated never sustained the slightest abatement, but, on the contrary, evinced a steady and vigorous increase. He appears never to have doubted its continuance; but, constantly referring it to God, he felt assured of its derivation from a source incapable of being wasted by the most liberal communication. He delighted to maintain this communication by incessant prayer; and before his missionary labours commenced, he had been known in the colony by the name of "praying Elliot,"—a noble designation, if the noblest employment of a rational creature be the cultivation of access to the Author of his being. Rarely, very rarely, I believe, has human nature been so completely embued, refined, and elevated by religion. Every thing he saw or knew occurred to him in a religious aspect: every faculty, and every acquisition that he derived from the employment of his faculties, was received by him as a ray let into his soul from that eternity for which he continually panted. As he was one of the holiest, so was he also one of the happiest of men; and his life for many years was a continual outpouring of his whole being in devotion to God and charity to mankind.

The kindness of Mr. Elliot's manner soon gained him a favourable hearing from many of the Indians; and both parties being sensible of the expediency of altering the civil and domestic habits that counteracted the impressions which he attempted to produce, he obtained from the general court an allotment of land in the neighbourhood of the settlement of Con-

cord, in Massachusetts, upon which a number of Indian families proceeded, by his directions, to build fixed habitations, and where they eagerly received his instructions, both spiritual and secular. It was not long before a violent opposition to these innovations was excited by the powaws, or Indian priests, who threatened death and other inflictions or the vengeance of their idols on all who should embrace Christianity. The menaces and artifices of these persons caused several of the seeming converts to draw back, but induced others to separate themselves more entirely from the society and converse of their countrymen, and seek the benefit and protection of a closer association with that superior race of men who showed themselves so generously willing to diffuse and communicate all the means and benefits of their superiority. A considerable body of Indians resorted to the land allotted them by the colonial government, and exchanged their wild and barbarous habits for the modes of civilized living and industry. Mr. Elliot was continually among them, instructing, animating, and directing them. They felt his superior wisdom, and saw him continually happy; and there was nothing in his circumstances or appearance that indicated sources of enjoyment from which they were debarred; on the contrary, it was obvious that of every article of selfish comfort he was willing to divest himself in order to communicate to them what he esteemed the only true riches of an immortal being. He who gave him this spirit, gave him favour in the eyes of the people among whom he ministered; and their affection for him reminds us of those primitive ages when the converts were willing, as it were, to pluck out their eyes if they could have given them to their pastor. The women in the new settlement learned to spin, the men to dig and till the ground, and the children were instructed in the English language, and taught to read and write. As the numbers of domesticated Indians increased, they built a town by the side of Charles River, which they called Natick; and they desired Mr. Elliot to frame a system of internal government for them. He directed their attention to the counsel that Jethro gave to Moses; and, in conformity with it, they elected for themselves rulers of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. The colonial government also appointed a court which, without assuming jurisdiction over them, offered the assistance of its judicial wisdom to all who should be willing to refer to it the determination of their more difficult or important subjects of controversy. In endeavouring to extend their missionary influence among the surrounding tribes, Mr. Elliot and his associates encountered a variety of success corresponding to the visible varieties of human character, and the invisible predeterminations of the Divine will. Many expressed the utmost abhorrence and contempt of Christianity: some made a hollow profession or willingness to hear, and even of conviction, with the view, as it afterward



MAYHEW, PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.

appeared, of obtaining the tools and other articles of value that were furnished to those who proposed to embrace the modes of civilized living. In spite of every discouragement, the missionaries persisted; and the difficulties that at first mocked their efforts seeming at length to vanish under an invisible touch, their labours were blessed with astonishing success. The character and habits of the lay colonists tended to promote the efficacy of these pious labours, in a manner which will be forcibly appreciated by all who have examined the history and progress of missions. Simple in their manners, devout, moral, and industrious in their lives, they enforced the lessons of the missionaries by demonstrating their practicability and beneficial effects, and presented a model which, in point of refinement, was not too elevated for Indian imitation.

While Mr. Elliot and an increasing body of associates were thus employed in the province of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew, a man who combined in a wonderful degree an affectionate mildness that nothing could disturb with an ardour and activity that nothing could overcome, together with a few coadjutors, not less diligently and successfully prosecuted the same design in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, and within the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent. Abasing themselves that they might elevate their species, and promote the Divine glory, they wrought with their own hands among those Indians whom

they persuaded to forsake savage habits ; and zealously employing all the influence they acquired to the communication of moral and spiritual improvement, their labours were eminently blessed by the same Power which had given them the grace so fully to devote themselves to his service. The character and manners of Mayhew appear to have been singularly calculated to excite the tenderness no less than the veneration of the objects of his benevolence, and to make them feel at once how amiable and how awful true goodness is. His address derived a captivating interest from that earnest concern, and high and holy value, which he manifestly entertained for every member of the family of mankind. Many years after his death, the Indians could not hear his name mentioned without shedding tears, and expressing transports of grateful emotion. Both Elliot and Mayhew found great advantage in the practice of selecting the most docile and ingenious of their Indian pupils, and by especial attention to their instruction, qualifying them to act as schoolmasters among their brethren. To a zeal that seemed to increase by exercise, they added insurmountable patience and admirable prudence ; and, steadily fixing their view on the glory of the Most High, and declaring that, whether outwardly successful or not in promoting it, they felt themselves blessed and happy in pursuing it, they found its influence sufficient to light them through every perplexity and peril, and finally conduct them to a degree of success and victory unparalleled, perhaps, since that era when the miraculous endowments of the apostolic ministry caused a nation to be born in a day. They were slow to push the Indians upon improved institutions ; they desired rather to lead them insensibly forward, more especially in the adoption of religious ordinances. Those practices, indeed, which they considered likely to commend themselves by their beneficial effects to the natural understanding of men, they were not restrained from recommending to their early adoption ; and trial by jury very soon superseded the savage modes of determining right or ascertaining guilt, and contributed to improve and refine the sense of equity. In the dress and mode of cohabitation of the savages, they also introduced, at an early period, alterations calculated to form and develope a sense of modesty, in which the Indians were found to be grossly and universally defective. But all these practices which are, or ought to be, exclusively the fruits of renewed nature and Divine light, they desired to teach entirely by example, and by diligently eradicating and cultivating in the minds of their flocks the principles out of which alone such practices can lastingly and beneficially grow. It was not till the year 1660, that the first Indian church was founded by Mr. Elliot, and his fellow-labourers in Massachusetts. There were at that time no fewer than ten settlements within the province, occupied by Indians comparatively civilized.

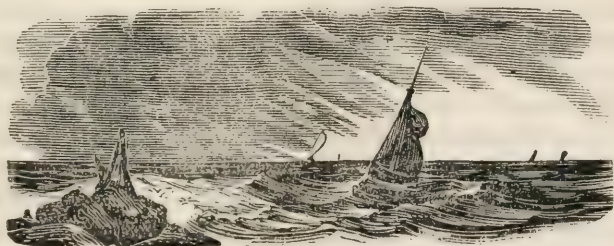


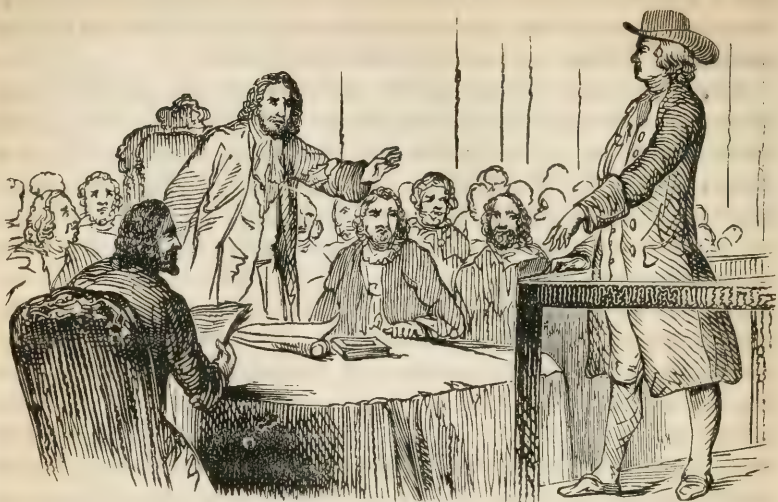
MR. ELLIOT had from time to time translated and printed various approved religious works for the use of the Indians, and, at length, in the year 1664, the Bible was printed, for the first time, in the language of the new world, at Cambridge, in Massachusetts. This great achievement was not effected without the assistance of pecuniary contributions from the mother country. The colonists had zealously and

gladly co-operated with their ministers, and assisted to defray the cost of their charitable undertakings ; but the increasing expenses threatened at last to exceed what their means were able to supply. Happily, the tidings of this great work excited a kindred spirit in the parent state, and in the year 1649 was formed there, by act of parliament, a *Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England*, whose co-operation proved of essential service to the missionary cause. This society, having been dissolved at the Restoration, was afterwards re-erected by a charter from Charles the Second, obtained by the exertions of the pious Richard Baxter, and the influence of the great Robert Boyle, who was thus the benefactor of New England, as well as of Virginia. Supported by its ample endowments, and the no less liberal contributions of their own fellow-colonists, the American missionaries exerted themselves with such energy and success in the work of converting and civilizing the savages, that, before the close of the seventeenth century, there were in the province of Massachusetts, more than thirty congregations of Indians, comprising upwards of three thousand persons reclaimed from a gross, degrading barbarism, and advanced to the comfort and respectability of civilized life, and the dignity and happiness of worshippers of the true God, through the mediation of the only name by which men can know or approach him. There were nearly as many converts to religion and civility in the islands of Massachusetts Bay : there were several Indian congregations in the Plymouth territories ; and among some of the tribes that still adhered to their roving barbarous mode of life, there was introduced a considerable improvement in their civil and moral habits. When we reflect on the toils that these missionaries encountered, on the vast and varied difficulties they were enabled to overcome, and survey the magnificent expanse of happiness and virtue that arose from their exertions ; and, when looking backwards, we trace the stream of events to its first spring in the pride and cruelty that was let loose to fortify the zeal of the Puritans, and, finally, to drive them from their native land to the scene appointed for this great and happy achievement ;—we acknowledge the unseen but eternal control of that Being who projects the end from the beginning, who alone does the good

that is done in the earth, and beneath whose irresistible will, the depravity that opposes, no less than the virtue that coincides with it, are but the instruments that blindly or knowingly effect its fulfilment.

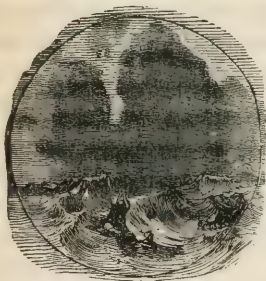
Among the various difficulties that obstructed the changes which the missionaries attempted to introduce into the habits of the Indians, it was found that the human constitution had been deeply deteriorated by ages of savage life. Habits of alternate energy and sloth, indulged from generation to generation, seemed at length to have given a character or bias to the animal faculties almost as deeply ingrained as the depraved hue of the negro body, and to have seriously impaired the capacity of continuous exertion. In every employment that demanded steady labour, the Indians were found decidedly inferior to the Europeans. The first missionaries, and their immediate successors, sustained this discouragement without shrinking, and animated their converts to resist or endure it. But, at a later period, when it was found that the taint which the Indian constitution had received, continued to be propagated among descendants educated in habits widely different from those of their forefathers, many persons began too hastily to apprehend that the imperfection was incurable; and missionary ardour was abated by the very circumstance that most strongly demanded its revival and enlargement. In concurrence with this cause of decline in the progress of the great work which we have contemplated, the energetic gratitude of the first converts from darkness to light had subsided; and the consequence unhappily was, that a considerable abatement ensued of the piety, morality, and industry, of the Indian communities that had been reclaimed from savage life. But the work has not been lost; its visible traces were never suffered to perish: amidst occasional decline and revival it has always been manifest, and the people gathered to God from this barbarous and deeply-revolted kindred have never been permitted to disappear.





TRIAL OF WENLOCH CHRISTISON.

PERSECUTION OF THE ANABAPTISTS AND QUAKERS IN NEW ENGLAND.



IF all the instances of persecution that occur in the history of New England, the most censurable in its principle, though happily also the least vehement in the severities which it produced, was the treatment inflicted on the Anabaptists by the government of Massachusetts. The first appearance of these sectaries in this province was in the year 1651, when, to the great astonishment and concern of the community, seven or eight persons, of whom the leader was one Obadiah Holmes, all at once professed the Baptist tenets, and separated from the congregation to which they had belonged, declaring that they could no longer take counsel, or partake divine ordinances, with unbaptized men, as they pronounced all the other inhabitants of the province to be. The erroneous doctrine which thus unexpectedly sprung up was at this time regarded with peculiar dread and jealousy, on account of the horrible enormities of sentiment and practice with which the first professors of it in Germany had associated its repute; and no sooner did Holmes and his friends set up a Baptist conventicle for themselves, than complaints of their proceedings, as an intolerable nuisance, came pouring into the general court from all quarters of the colony. From the tenor of

these complaints, it appears, that the influence of that infamous association, by which the wretched Boccold and his frantic followers at Munster had stained and degraded the Baptist tenets, still preserved its force in the minds of men, and that the profession of these tenets was calculated to awaken suspicions of the grossest immorality of conduct. Holmes was accused of having dishonoured the Almighty, not only by scattering his people and denying his ordinance, but by the commission of profligate impurities, and the shameful indecency with which it was alleged that his distinctive rite was administered. It is admitted by the colonial historians, that the evidence that was adduced in support of these latter charges was insufficient to establish them. The court at first proceeded no farther than to adjudge Holmes and his friends to desist from their unchristian separation: and they were permitted to retire, having first, however, publicly declared that they would follow out the leadings of their consciences, and obey God rather than man. Some time after, they were apprehended on a Sunday, while attending the preaching of one Clark, a Baptist, from Rhode Island, who had come to propagate his tenets in Massachusetts. The constables who took them into custody carried them to church, as a more proper place of Christian worship; where Clark put on his hat the moment that the minister began to pray. Clark, Holmes, and another, were sentenced to pay small fines, or be flogged; and thirty lashes were actually inflicted on Holmes, who resolutely persisted in choosing a punishment that would enable him to show with what constancy he could suffer for what he believed to be the truth. A law was at the same time passed, subjecting to banishment from the colony every person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, who should attempt to seduce others from the use or approbation thereof, or purposely depart from the congregation when that rite was administered, "*or deny the ordinance of the magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war.*" From these last words it would appear, that the Baptists either held, or were reported to hold, along with the proper tenets from whence they have derived their denomination, principles that might well be deemed adverse to the stability of government and the safety of society. In addition to this, we are assured by Cotton Mather, that it was the practice of the Anabaptists, in order to strengthen their party and manifest their contempt for the clerical congregations, to receive at once into their body every person whom the established church had suspended from ecclesiastical privileges for licentiousness of conduct, and even to appoint these persons administrators of the sacrament among them. Yet, even with these and other extenuating considerations, it is impossible to acquit the government of Massachusetts of having violated in this instance the rights of conscience, and made men offenders for the fidelity with which they had adhered to what they firmly, though erroneously, believed to be the will of God, in relation to a matter

purely ecclesiastical. The eagerness with which every collateral charge against the Baptists was credited in the colony, and the vehement impatience with which their claim of toleration was rejected, forcibly indicate the illiberality and delusion by which their persecutors were governed; and may suggest to the Christian philosopher a train of reflections no less instructive than interesting, on the self-deceit by which men so commonly infer the honesty of their convictions, and the rectitude of their proceedings, from that resentful perturbation which far more truly indicates a secret consciousness of injustice and inconsistency. There is not a more common nor more pernicious error in the world, than that one virtue may be practised at the expense of another. Where sincerity without charity is professed, there is always reason to suspect the professor of a dishonest disregard of the secret surmises of his own spirit.



It is mortifying to behold such tares growing up in the field that was already so richly productive of missionary exertion, and other fruits of genuine and exalted piety. The severities that were employed proved in the end totally ineffectual to restrain the growth of the Baptist tenets; though for the present the professors of these doctrines appear to have either desisted from holding separate assemblies, or to have retired from Massachusetts. Some of them proceeded to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone; but he rejected their complaint, and applauded the conduct of the colonial authorities.

The treatment which the Quakers experienced in Massachusetts was much more severe, but, at the same time, undoubtedly much more justly provoked. It is difficult for us, in the calm and rational demeanour of the Quakers of the present age, to recognise the successors of those wild enthusiasts who first appeared in the North of England, about the year 1644, and began a few years after to be distinguished by the name of Quakers. In the mind of George Fox, the collector of this sectarian body and the founder of their system of doctrine, there existed a singular mixture of Christian sentiment and gospel truth, with a deep shade of error and delusion. Profoundly pious and contemplative, but constitutionally visionary and hypochondriacal, he appears at first to have suspected that the peculiarities of his mental impressions might have arisen from some malady which advice could remove; and an old clergyman, to whom he applied for counsel, advised him to seek a cure of what was spiritual in

his disorder, by singing psalms, and of what was bodily, by smoking tobacco. Fox rejected both parts of the prescription as unsuitable to his condition, because disagreeable to his taste; and being now convinced that others were incapable of understanding his case, he took it entirely into his own hands, and resolved to cherish, study, and, if possible, cultivate into distinctness the unintelligible motions of his spirit; in short, to follow the leadings of his fancy as far as they would carry him. Unsuspicious of morbid influence, or of the deceitfulness of his own imagination, he yielded implicit credence to every suggestion of his mind, and was given up in an amazing degree to the delusions which, by prayer to the Almighty, he might have been enabled to overcome and dispel. Yet the powerful hold which the Scriptures had already taken of his mind, and the strong determination towards solid and genuine piety which his spirit had thence derived, prevented him from wandering into the same monstrous extravagance which the conduct of many of his associates and followers very speedily evinced. In his journal, which is one of the most remarkable and interesting productions of the human mind, he has faithfully related the influence which his tenets produced on the sentiments and conduct both of himself and his followers. It displays in many parts a wonderful insight into spiritual things, together with numberless instances of that delusion by which he mistook a strong perception of wrong and disorder in human nature and civil society, for a supernatural power to rectify what he saw amiss. He relates with perfect approbation many instances of contempt of decency and order in his own conduct, and of most insane and disgusting outrage in that of his followers; and though he reprobates the extravagances of some whom he denominates *Ranters*, it is not easy to discriminate between the extravagance which he sanctions and that which he condemns. Amidst much darkness, there glimmers a bright and beautiful ray of truth: many passages of Scripture are powerfully illustrated; and labours of zeal and piety, of courage and integrity, are recorded, that would do honour to the ministry of an inspired apostle. That his personal character was elevated and excellent in an unusual degree, appears from the impression it produced on the minds of all who approached him. Penn and Barclay, in particular, who, to the most eminent virtue, added talents of the first order, regarded Fox with the utmost fondness and veneration.

It was this man who first embraced and promulgated those tenets which have ever since remained the distinctive principles of Quaker doctrine: that the Holy Spirit, instead of operating (as the generality of Christians believe it in all ordinary cases to do) by insensible control of the ordinary motions of the mind, acts by direct and sensible impulse on the spirit of man; that its influence, instead of being obtained by prayer to Him who has promised to bestow it on those who ask it, is procured by an intro-

version of the intellectual eye upon the mind where it already resides, and in the stillness and watchful attention of which, the hidden spark will blaze into a clear inward light and sensible flame; and that the Spirit, instead of simply opening the minds of men to understand the Scriptures and receive their testimony, can and does convey instruction independently of the written word, and communicate knowledge which is not to be found in the Scriptures. These dangerous errors have never been renounced by the Quakers, though their practical influence has long since abated, and, indeed, had considerably declined before the end of that century, about the middle of which they arose. In proportion as they have been cultivated and realized, has been the progress of the sect into heresy of opinion or wild delusion of fancy, and irregularity of conduct: in proportion as they have subsided, has been the ascendancy which real piety, or rational and philosophical principle, has obtained over the minds of the Quakers. Even in the present day, we behold the evil influence of these erroneous doctrines, in the frequently silent meetings of the Quakers, in the license which they give to women to assume the office of teachers in the church, and in the abolition of the sacraments, so distinctly instituted and enjoined in Scripture. But when these doctrines were first published, the effects which they produced on many of their votaries, far exceeded the influence to which modern history restricts them, or which the experience of this cool and rational age finds it easy to conceive. In England, at that time, the minds of men were in an agitated, unsettled state, inflamed with the rage of speculation, strongly endued with religious sentiment, and yet strongly averse to restraint. The bands that had so long restrained liberty of speech being suddenly broken, many crude thoughts were eagerly broached, and many peculiar notions that had long been fermenting in the unwholesome silence of locked-up bosoms, were brought forth: and all these were presented to minds roused and whetted by civil war, kindled by great alarms or by vast and indeterminate designs, and so accustomed for a length of time to effect or contemplate the most surprising changes, that the distinction between speculation and certainty was greatly effaced. The Presbyterians alone, or nearly alone, appear to have been generally willing to submit to, as well as to impose, restraint on the lawless license of speculation; and to them the Quakers, from the beginning, were objects of unmixed disapprobation and even abhorrence. But to many other persons, this new scheme, opening a wide field of enthusiastic speculation, and presenting itself without the restrictive accompaniment of a creed, exhibited irresistible attractions, and rapidly absorbed a great variety of human character and feeling. Before many years had elapsed, the ranks of the Quakers were recruited, and their doctrines, without being substantially altered, were moulded into a more systematic shape, by such an accession of philosophical votaries, as, in the

early ages of the church, Christianity itself derived from the pretended adoption and real adulteration of its doctrines, by the disciples of the Platonic philosophy. But it was the wildest and most enthusiastic dreamers in the country, that the Quaker tenets counted among their earliest votaries, and to whom they afforded a sanction and a stimulus to the boldest excursions of lawless and uncertain thought, and a principle that was thought to consecrate the most irregular and disorderly conduct. And accordingly, these sectarians, who have always professed and inculcated the maxims of inviolable peace, who, not many years after, were accounted a class of philosophical deists, seeking to pave the way to a scheme of natural religion, by allegorizing the distinguishing articles of the Christian faith, and who are now in general remarkable for a calm benevolence and a peculiar remoteness from every active effort to make proselytes to their distinctive tenets, were, in the infancy of their body, the most impetuous zealots and inveterate disputers; and in their eagerness to proselytize the world, and to bear witness from the fountain of oracular testimony, which they supposed to reside within them, against a regular ministry which they called a priesthood of Baal, and against the sacraments, which they termed carnal and idolatrous observances, many of them committed the most revolting blasphemy, indecency, and disorderly outrage. The unfavourable impression that these actions created, long survived the extinction of the frenzy and folly that produced them.



WHILE in pursuance of their intentions to make proselytes of the whole world, some of the Quakers proceeded to Rome, in order to convert the Pope, and others to Constantinople, for the purpose of instructing the Grand Turk; a party of them proceeded to America and established themselves in Rhode Island, where persons of every religious denomination were permitted to settle in peace, and none gave heed to the sentiments or practices of his neighbours. From hence they soon made their way into the Plymouth territory, where they succeeded in persuading some of the people to embrace the mystical dispensation of an inward light as comprising the whole of religion, and to oppose all order, both civil and ecclesiastical, as a vain and judaizing substitution of the kingdom of the flesh for the kingdom of the spirit. On their first appearance in Massachusetts, where two male and six female Quakers arrived from Rhode Island and Barbadoes, they found that the reproach which their sect had incurred by the insane extravagance of some of its members in England, had preceded their arrival, and that they were objects of the utmost terror and dislike to the great body of the people. They were instantly apprehended by the government, and diligently examined for what were considered bodily

marks of witchcraft. None such having been found, they were sent back to the place whence they came, by the same vessels that had brought them, and prohibited with threats of the severest penal inflictions from ever again returning to the colony. A law was passed at the same time subjecting every ship-master importing Quakers or Quaker writings to a heavy fine ; adjudging all Quakers who should intrude into the colony to stripes and labour in the house of correction, and all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment, or exile. The four associated states concurred in this law, and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to co-operate with them in stemming the progress of Quaker opinions ; but the Assembly of that island returned for answer, that they could not punish any man for declaring his mind with regard to religion ; that they were much disturbed by the Quakers, and by the tendency of their doctrines to dissolve all the relations of society ; but that they found that the Quakers delighted to encounter persecution, quickly sickened of a patient audience, and had already begun to loathe Rhode Island as a place where their talent of patient suffering was completely buried. It is much to be lamented that the advice contained in this good-humoured letter was not adopted. The penal enactments resorted to by the other settlements, served only to inflame the impatience of the Quaker zealots to carry their teaching into places that seemed to them so much in need of it ; and the persons who had been disappointed in their first attempt returned almost immediately, and, dispersing themselves through the colony, began to announce their mysterious impressions, and succeeded in communicating them to some of the inhabitants of Salem. They were soon joined by Mary Clarke, the wife of a tailor in London, who announced that she had left her husband and six children, in order to carry a message from heaven, which she was commissioned to deliver to New England. Instead of joining with the colonial missionaries in attempts to reclaim the savages from their barbarous superstition and profligate immoralities, or themselves prosecuting separate missions of the same description, these people raised their voices against every thing that was most highly approved and revered in the doctrine and practice of the colonial churches. Having been seized and flogged, they were again dismissed with severer threats from the colony, and again they returned by the first vessels they could procure. The government and the great body of the colonists were incensed at their pertinacity, and shocked at the impression they had already produced on some minds, and which threatened to corrupt and subvert a system of piety whose establishment and perpetuation supplied their fondest recollections, their noblest enjoyment, and most energetic desires. New punishments were introduced into the legislative enactments against the intrusion of Quakers and the profession of Quakerism ; and in particular the abscission of an ear was added to the former ineffectual severities. Three male Quaker preachers endured the rigour of this cruel law.



UT all the exertions of the colonial authorities proved utterly unavailing, and seemed rather to stimulate the zeal of the obnoxious sectaries to encounter the danger and court the glory of persecution. Clouds of Quakers descended upon the colony ; and, violent and impetuous in provoking persecution, calm, resolute and inflexible in sustaining it, they opposed their powers of endurance to their adversaries' power of infliction, and not only multiplied their converts, but excited a considerable degree of favour and pity in the minds of men whose own experience had taught them to respect and sympathize with the virtue of suffering well. When the Quakers were committed to the house of correction, they refused to work ; when they were subjected to fines, they refused to pay them. In the hope of enforcing compliance, the court adjudged two of these contumacious persons to be sold as slaves in the West Indies ; but as even this appalling prospect could not move their stubborn resolution, the court, instead of executing its inhuman threat, resorted to the unavailing device of banishing them beyond its jurisdiction. It was by no slight provocations, that the Quakers attracted these and additional severities upon themselves. Men trembled for the faith and morals of their families and their friends, when they heard the blasphemous denunciations that were uttered against "a carnal Christ;" and when they beheld the frantic and indecent outrages that were prompted by the mystical impressions which the Quakers inculcated and professed to be guided by. In public assemblies, and in crowded streets, it was the practice of some of the Quakers to denounce the most tremendous manifestations of divine wrath on the people, unless they forsook their carnal system. Others interrupted divine service in the churches, by calling aloud that these were not the sacrifices that God would accept ; and one of them enforced this assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congregation, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." They declared that the Scriptures were replete with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were *blind beasts and liars* who denied it. The female preachers far exceeded their male associates in folly, frenzy, and indecency. One of them presented herself to a congregation with her face begrimed with coal dust, announcing it as an emblem of the *black pox*, which heaven had commissioned her to threaten as an approaching judgment on all carnal worshippers. Some of them in rueful attire perambulated the streets, declaring the immediate coming of an angel with a drawn sword to plead with the people. One woman entered stark naked into a church in the middle of divine service, and desired the people to take heed to her as the sign of the times ; and her associates highly extolled her submission to the inward light, that had revealed to her the duty of exposing the nakedness of others by the indecent exhibition of her own person. Another

was arrested as she was making a similar display in the streets of Salem. The horror that these insane enormities were fitted to inspire, was inflamed into the most vehement indignation, by the deliberate manner in which they were defended, and the disgusting profanity with which Scripture was linked in impure association with every thing that was odious, ridiculous, and contemptible. Among their other singularities, the Quakers exemplified and inculcated the forbearance of every mark of respect to courts and magistrates: they declared that governors, judges, lawyers, and constables were trees that must be cut down, that the true light might have leave to shine and space to rule alone; and, forgetting to what diabolical ends quotation of Scripture has been made subservient, they freely indulged every contumacious whimsey, which they could connect, however absurdly, with the language of the Bible. One woman who was summoned before the court to answer for some extravagance, being desired to tell where she lived, refused to give any other answer than that she lived in God, "for in him we live, and move, and have our being." Letters replete with coarse and virulent railing were addressed by others to the magistrates of Boston and Plymouth. Such was the inauspicious outset of the Quakers in America; a country where, a few years after, under the guidance of better judgment and feeling, they were destined to extend the empire of piety and benevolence, and to found establishments that have been largely productive of happiness and virtue.

It has been asserted by some of the modern apologists of the Quakers, that these frantic irregularities, which excited so much indignation, and produced such tragical consequences, were committed, not by genuine Quakers, but by the *ranter*s or wild separatists from the Quaker body. Of these ranters, indeed, a very large proportion appear to have betaken themselves to America; attracted chiefly by the glory of persecution, but in some instances, perhaps, by the hope of attaining among their brethren in that country a distinction from which they were excluded in England by the established pre-eminence of George Fox. It is certain, however, that these persons assumed the name of Quakers, and traced all their frenzy to the peculiar Quaker principle of seeking within themselves for sensible admonitions of the spirit, independent of the written word. And many scandalous outrages were committed by persons whose profession of Quaker principles was recognised by the Quaker body, and whose sufferings are related, and their frenzy applauded, by the pens of Quaker writers.

Exasperated by the repetition and increase of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of the principle whence they seemed to arise was propagating itself in the colony, the magistrates of Massachusetts at length, in the close of this year, introduced a law, denouncing the punishment of death upon all Quakers returning from banishment. This law met with much opposition; and many persons, who would have hazarded their

own lives to extirpate the opinions of the Quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the deputies, and finally carried by the narrow majority of a single voice. In the course of the two following years, this law was carried into execution on three separate occasions, when four Quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any of these unfortunate persons had been guilty of the outrages which the conduct of many of their brethren had associated with the profession of Quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice which had been created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the Quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning for ever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered, by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which on various occasions, they said, had sounded in their ears, in the fields, and in their dwellings, distinctly syllabling their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise. When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage, and their dying declarations breathed in general the most sublime and affecting piety. These executions excited a great clamour against the government: many persons were offended by the representation of severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony; and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the Quakers, that effaced all recollection of the indignant disgust that their principles had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons, and load the unfortunate Quakers with demonstrations of kindness and pity. The magistrates published a very strong vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice attained such general and forcible prevalence as to overpower all opposition. On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another Quaker named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished upon pain of death, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates for shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after put upon his trial. Being called to plead to his indictment, he desired to know by what law they tried him. When the last enactment against the Quakers was cited to him, he asked who empowered them to make that law, and whether it were not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England? The governor very inappositely answered, that there was a law in England that appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied, that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a Quaker, and that there was no law in England that made Quakerism a capital offence. The court, however, overruled his plea, and the jury

found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the Quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment." The talent and energy displayed by this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in mind to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison, and all the other Quakers who were in custody, were forthwith released, and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning, only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these were gradually relaxed, as the Quakers became gradually a more orderly people; and in the first year after the restoration of Charles the Second, even this degree of persecution was suspended, by a letter from the king to Mr. Endicot, and the other governors of the New England settlements, requiring that no Quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporal punishment in America, but if charged with offences that might seem to deserve such infliction, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily the moderation of the colonial governments was more permanent than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the Quakers, in the course of the following year.

The persecution which was thus put an end to, was not equally severe in all the New England states: the Quakers suffered most in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and New Haven. It was only in Massachusetts that the law inflicting capital punishment upon them was enacted. At a late period, the laws relating to *vagabond Quakers* were so far revived, that Quakers disturbing public assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of enforcing these severities; the wild excursions of the Quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the Quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws except such as related to the militia, and the support of the ministry; in their scruples as to which, the legislature, with corresponding moderation, consented to indulge them.





KING PHILIP'S WAR.



THE people of New England, in 1672, enjoyed a commerce as extensive as they could desire ; a consequent increase of wealth was visible among the merchants and planters ; and a spirit of industry and economy prevailing no less generally, the plantations were diligently improved, and the settlements considerably extended. From a document preserved in the archives of the colonial office of England, and published by Chalmers, it appears, that in the year 1673, New England was estimated to contain one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms ; and of the merchants and planters there were no fewer than five thousand persons, each of whom was worth three thousand pounds. Three-fourths of the wealth and population of the country centred in the territory of Massachusetts and its dependencies. The town of Boston alone contained fifteen hundred families. Theft was rare, and beggary unknown in New England. Josselyn, who returned about two years before this period from his second visit to America, commends highly the beauty and agreeableness of the towns and villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the

substantial structure and comfort of all the private dwellings. During this interval of tranquil prosperity, many of the most aged inhabitants of New England closed the career of a long and interesting life, and the original race of settlers was now almost entirely extinguished. The annals of this period are filled with accounts of their deaths, of the virtues by which they had contributed to the foundation of the new commonwealth, and of the fondness with which their closing eyes lingered upon its prosperity. To our view, enlarged by the acquaintance which history supplies of the approaching calamities from which these persons were thus happily removed, not the least enviable circumstance of their lot appears to have been, that they died in scenes so fraught with serene enjoyment and agreeable promise, and bequeathed to their descendants not only the example of their virtue, but the fruits of it, in a prosperity as eminent as any people was ever blessed with. Yet, so short-sighted and imperfect are the views of men, so strongly are they led by an instinctive and unquenchable propensity to figure and desire something better than they behold, and so apt to restrict to the present fleeting and disordered scene the suggestions of this secret longing after original and immortal perfection, that many of the fathers of the colony could not refrain from lamenting that they had been born too soon to see more than the first faint dawn of New England's glory. Others, with greater enlargement of wisdom and piety, considered that *the eye is not satisfied with seeing*, nor the conceptions of an immortal spirit capable of being adequately filled by any thing short of the vision of its divine Author, for whose contemplation it was created; and were contented to drop like leaves into the bosom of their adopted country, in the confidence of being gathered into nobler and more lasting habitations.

The state of prosperous repose which New England had enjoyed for several years, was interrupted by a formidable combination of the Indian tribes, that produced a war so general and bloody, as to threaten for some time the utter destruction of the plantations. This hostile combination was promoted by a young chief, whose character and history remind us of the enterprises of Opechancanough in Virginia. He was the second son of Masassoit, a prince who had ruled a powerful tribe inhabiting territories adjacent to the settlement of Plymouth, at the time when the English first settled in the country. The father had entered into an alliance with the colonists, and, after his death, his two sons demonstrated an earnest desire to retain and cultivate their friendship. They even repaired to the court of Plymouth, and requested, as a mark of identification with their allies, that English names might be given them; and, in compliance with their desire, the elder had received the name of Alexander, and the younger of Philip. But it very soon appeared that these demonstrations of good will were but the artifice that entered into their schemes of hostility; and they were both shortly after detected in an ineffectual attempt to involve the

Narragansets in hostilities with the colonists. The disappointment of that attempt overwhelmed the proud spirit of the elder brother with such intolerable rage and mortification, that, in spite of, and perhaps still more deeply wounded by, the conciliating demeanour of the colonists, he was unable long to survive the detection of his villany and discomfiture of his designs. Philip, after the death of his brother, renewed the alliance between his tribe and the English, but intended nothing less than the observance of his engagements. Daring, cruel, and perfidious, he meditated a universal conspiracy of the Indians for the extirpation of the colonists, and for several years carried on his designs as secretly and effectually as the numerous difficulties that surrounded him would permit. Next to the growing power of the colonial settlements, nothing seemed to excite his indignation more strongly than the progress of their missionary labours; and, in reality, it was to these labours, and some of the consequences they had produced, that the colonists were indebted for their preservation from the ruin that would have attended the success of Philip's machinations. Some of the tribes to whom he applied revealed his propositions to the missionaries; and some who had entered into his designs, were persuaded by their converted brethren to renounce them. From time to time, the court of Plymouth had remonstrated with him on the designs of which they obtained intelligence; and by renewed and more solemn engagements than before, he had endeavoured to disarm their vigilance and remove their suspicions. For two or three years before this period, he had pursued his treacherous hostility with so much success, that his proceedings appear to have been wholly unsuspected; and he had succeeded in uniting some of the fiercest and most warlike tribes in a confederacy to make war on the colonists to the point of extermination.



CONVERTED Indian, who was labouring as a missionary among the tribes of his countrymen, having at length discovered the plot, revealed it to the governor of Plymouth, and was soon after found dead in a field, with appearances that strongly indicated assassination. Suspicions having fallen on some neighbouring Indians, they were apprehended, and solemnly tried before a jury, consisting half of English and

half of Indians, who returned a verdict of guilty. At their execution one of them confessed the murder, and declared that they had been instigated by Philip to commit it. This crafty chief, incensed at the execution of his friends, and apprehending the vengeance of the colonists, now threw off the mask, and summoned his confederates to his aid. The states of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, proceeded to arm for their common

defence, having first employed every means to induce Philip to accommodate the quarrel by a friendly treaty. But a friendly issue was not what Philip desired; and being now fully assured that the season of secret conspiracy was over, he rejected all negotiation, and commenced a general war, which was carried on with great vigour and various success. Though Philip's own tribe supplied no more than five hundred warriors, he had so increased his force by alliances, that he was able to bring three thousand men into the field. This formidable body, conducted by a chief who believed that the war must terminate in the total ruin of one or other of the conflicting parties, made exertions of which the Indians had been hitherto supposed incapable.

On the 20th of June, 1675, Philip's Indians attacked Swanzey, one of the frontier towns of New Plymouth, and insulted the English, rifled their houses, and killed their cattle. Four days after they killed nine, and wounded seven of the inhabitants; but the troops of that colony marched immediately to the defence of the town, and in four days they were reinforced with several companies from Boston. On the 29th, the troops were drawn forth against the enemy, who instantly fled before them for a mile or two, and took refuge in a swamp; and the next day Major Savage arrived with more troops, and a general command from Boston. He marched the army into the Indian towns, to surprise their head-quarters, and give them battle upon their own grounds; but they found the enemy's towns, and even the seat of Philip, deserted, with marks of the utmost precipitation. As the Indians fled, they marked their route with the burning of buildings, the scalps, hands, and heads of the English, which they had taken off and fixed upon poles by the way-side. As the troops could not come up with the enemy, they returned to their head-quarters at Swanzey.

Notwithstanding every precaution and exertion of the colonies, the Indians continued plundering, burning, killing, and capturing the colonists, and kept the whole country in continual fear and alarm; especially the inhabitants of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island.

Besides other damages not so considerable, Captain Hutchinson, who had been sent with a party of horse to treat with the Nipmuck Indians, was drawn into an ambush near Brookfield, and mortally wounded; and sixteen of his company were killed. The enemy then rushed in upon the town, and burnt all the dwelling-houses except one, which was defended by the garrison until it was reinforced two days after by Major Willard, when they retired, having burned twenty dwelling-houses, with all the barns and out-houses, and killed all the cattle and horses which they could find. In September, Hadley, Deerfield, and Northfield, on Connecticut river, were attacked, and numbers of the inhabitants killed and wounded; and most of the buildings in Deerfield were burnt, and Northfield was soon after

abandoned to the enemy. There were a number of skirmishes about the same time in that part of the country, in which the English, on the whole, were losers. Captain Beers was surprised near Northfield, by a large body of the enemy, and he and twenty of his party were killed; and the officers who commanded in that quarter, finding that by sending out parties they sustained continual loss and disappointment, and effected nothing of importance, determined to collect a magazine at Hadley, and garrison the town. At Deerfield, there were about three thousand bushels of wheat in stack, which it was resolved to thresh out and bring down to Hadley; and while Captain Lothrop, with a chosen corps of young men, the flower of the county of Essex, was guarding the teams employed in this service, seven or eight hundred Indians suddenly attacked him; and though he fought with great bravery, yet he fell with nearly his whole party; ninety or a hundred men being killed on the spot. Captain Mosely, who was stationed at Deerfield, marched to reinforce Captain Lothrop, but arriving too late, was obliged to fight the whole body of the enemy for several hours, until Major Treat of Connecticut, with about a hundred and sixty Englishmen and Mohegan Indians, marched to his assistance, and put the enemy to flight. The fall of Captain Lothrop and such a fine body of men was a heavy loss to the country; especially to the county of Essex, filling it with great and universal lamentation.

The commissioners, about the middle of September, ordered one thousand men to be raised for the general defence, five hundred of which were to be dragoons with long arms. Connecticut was required to raise three hundred and fifteen men for her proportion; and a considerable part of this force was employed by Connecticut, under Major Treat, for the defence of the upper towns. Captain Watts had been sent with a company to Deerfield some time before.

During the term of about forty years the Indians in the vicinity of Springfield had lived in the greatest harmony with the English, and still made the strongest professions of friendship; yet about this time they conspired with Philip's warriors for the destruction of that town. At the distance of about a mile from it they had a fort, and the evening before they made their assault, they received into it about three hundred of Philip's warriors; but one Toto, a Windsor Indian, betrayed the plot, and despatches were immediately sent off from Windsor to Springfield, and to Major Treat, who lay at Westfield with the Connecticut troops, to apprize them of the danger. The people at Springfield were so strongly persuaded of the friendship of those Indians, that they would not credit the report; and one Lieutenant Cooper, who commanded there, was so infatuated, that as soon as the morning appeared, instead of collecting his men and preparing for the defence of the town, he, with another man, rode out with a design to go to the fort and discover the truth of the report. He soon met



ATTACK ON SPRINGFIELD.

the enemy, who killed his companion, and shot several balls through his body ; but as he was a man of great strength and courage, he kept his horse, though mortally wounded, until he reached the first garrison-house and gave the alarm. The enemy immediately commenced a furious attack upon the town, and began to set fire to the buildings ; and the inhabitants were in the utmost consternation, having no one to command them ; and must soon have all fallen a bloody sacrifice to a merciless foe, had not Major Treat appeared to their relief, who, upon receiving intelligence of the designs of the enemy, marched without loss of time ; but meeting with considerable hinderance in crossing the river for want of boats, his arrival was not in time to prevent the attack. He soon, however, drove off the enemy and saved the inhabitants, and a considerable part of the town. But great damage had been done ; no less than thirty dwelling-houses, besides barns and out-houses, having been burned. Major Pyncheon and Mr. Purchas sustained each the loss of a thousand pounds ; and Mr. Pelatiah Glover, minister of the town, lost his house, with a large and excellent library.

In this stage of the war, the General Assembly of Connecticut convened, October 14th ; and sensible of the good conduct of Major Treat in defending the colony and the towns on Long Island against the Dutch, and in relieving Captain Mosely and Springfield, returned him public thanks, appointed him to the command of all the troops to be raised in the colony to act against the enemy, and desired his acceptance of the service.

Upon intelligence from the Rev. Mr. Fitch, that a large body of the enemy were approaching the town of Norwich, Major Treat was directed to march thither for the defence of that part of the colony ; but soon after his orders were countermanded, and he proceeded to Northampton, where he arrived in time to render his country another piece of important service.

The enemy had been so elated with their various successes, that having collected about eight hundred of their warriors, they made a furious attack upon Hadley, and almost every part of the town was assaulted at the same instant; but it was defended by officers and men of vigilance and spirit, so that the enemy everywhere met with a warm reception. Several parties of the Massachusetts' troops, who were in the neighbouring garrisons, flew to their assistance; and Major Treat, advancing with his usual despatch from Northampton, soon attacked them with his whole force, and they were put to a total flight; and they sustained such loss, and were so disheartened, that from this time the main body of them left that part of the country, and held their general rendezvous in Narragansett. Some few, however, remained, doing damage as they had opportunity, and keeping the people in constant alarm.

From the intelligence communicated to the General Assembly of Connecticut during the October session, it appeared that the enemy had designs upon almost all the frontier towns in the colony; and each county was therefore required to raise sixty dragoons, complete in arms, horses, and ammunition, for the immediate defence of the colony, wherever their services might be necessary. Captain Avery was appointed to the command of forty Englishmen from the towns of New London, Stonington, and Lyme, with such a number of Pequots as he should judge expedient, for the defence of that part of the country, and the annoyance of the enemy, as occasion should present. Captain John Mason was appointed to command another party of twenty Englishmen and the Mohegan Indians; and these parties were ordered to post themselves in the best manner to guard the eastern towns, and to act conjointly or separately as emergencies should require. An army of one hundred and twenty dragoons was appointed to act against the enemy under the command of Major Treat; and it was ordered that all the towns should be fortified, and that every town should provide the best places of defence of which it was capable, for the security of the women and children, who were directed to repair to them upon the first intimations of danger. The inhabitants of the towns on the frontiers, who were few in number and most exposed, were advised to remove their best effects; and people unable to defend themselves, to retire into the more populous parts of the colony, where they would be in a more probable state of safety.

The proportion which Connecticut sent to the united army of the confederate states, was three hundred and fifteen Englishmen and one hundred and fifty Mohegan and Pequot Indians; which were divided into five companies, commanded by Captains Seely, Gallup, Mason, Watts, and Marshall; the corps being commanded by Major Treat; and the honourable Josiah Winslow, Esq., governor of New Plymouth, was appointed commander-in-chief. The orders of the commissioners to Connecticut were

issued at Boston, the 12th of November; by which it was required that the troops should rendezvous at New London, Norwich, and Stonington, by the 10th of December.

The Connecticut troops arrived at Pettyquamscot, on the 17th of December; where there had been a number of buildings in which the troops expected to have been covered and kindly entertained; but the enemy, a day or two before, had killed ten men and five women and children, and burned all the houses and barns. The next day they formed a junction with the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces. We shall not recapitulate the history of this war, except only in such particulars as relates to Connecticut.



F the three hundred Englishmen from Connecticut, eighty were killed and wounded; twenty in Captain Seely's, twenty in Captain Gallup's, seventeen in Captain Watts's, nine in Captain Mason's, and fourteen in Captain Marshall's company. Of these about forty were killed or died of their wounds. About half the loss in this bloody action fell upon Connecticut. The legislature of the colony, in a representation of the services they had performed in the war, say, "In that signal service, the fort fight in Narraganset, as we had our full number in proportion with the other confederates, so all say they did their full proportion of service. Three noble soldiers, Seely, courageous Marshall, and bold Gallup, died in the bed of honour; and valiant Mason, a fourth captain, had his death wound. There died many brave officers and sentinels, whose memory is blessed; and whose death redeemed our lives. The bitter cold, the tarled swamp, the tedious march, the strong fort, the numerous and stubborn enemy they contended with, for their God, king and country, be their trophies over death. He that commanded our forces then, and now us, made no less than seventeen fair shots at the enemy, and was thereby as oft a fair mark for them. Our mourners over all the colony witness for our men, that they were not unfaithful in that day." It is the tradition that Major, afterwards Governor Treat, received a ball through the brim of his hat, and that he was the last man who left the fort in the dusk of the evening, commanding the rear of the army. The burning the wigwams, the shrieks and cries of the women and children, and the yelling of the warriors, exhibited a most horrible and affecting scene, so that it greatly moved some of the soldiers; and many of them were visited with strong scruples of conscience, feeling it to be contrary to the gospel, to have waged the war with the Indians, to the burning them in their wigwams.

The Connecticut troops having sustained such a loss of officers, and being

so disabled, Major Treat judged it necessary to return to Connecticut where he might recruit them, and cover with more convenience than could possibly be done in that part of the country. The wounded men who were not able to travel, were put on board vessels and carried to Rhode Island. The Connecticut troops, in their march from Stonington to Pettyquamscot, killed six and captured seven of the enemy ; and on their journey home, killed and captured about thirty more.

The Massachusetts and Plymouth troops kept the field the greater part of the winter, and the Indians still continued their hostilities.

In February, 1676, a number of volunteers from Connecticut, belonging principally to New London, Norwich, and Stonington, formed themselves into companies under Major Palms, Captain George Denison, Captain James Avery, and Captain John Stanton, for the annoyance of the enemy. They engaged a number of Mohegans, Pequots, and Narragansets, to be associates with them for the sake of plunder, and other rewards. The Mohegans were commanded by Onecho, one of the sons of Uncas ; the Pequots by Cassasinamon, their chief ; and the Narragansets, consisting of about twenty men, by Catapazet. These latter were Ninigrate's men, who in time past had given the colonies so much trouble ; but at this time they remained quiet, and would not join the other Narraganset sachems.

The principal seat of Ninigrate was at Westerly, which formerly belonged to Stonington. He put himself under the English, and he and his Indians were the only ones who were not destroyed or driven from that part of the country.

These companies began to range the Narraganset country, and harass the enemy, the latter part of February, and continued to make their incursions from that time until the enemy were driven from those quarters. As soon as one company returned, another went out immediately, so as to keep the enemy in continual alarm. Their success was admirable.

Captain Denison, of Stonington, on the 27th of March, began a very successful incursion into the country.

Nanunttenoo, or Canonchet, the head sachem of all the Narragansets, son of Miantonimoh, inheritor of all his pride, and of his hatred towards the English, had ventured down from the northern wilderness to Seaconk, near the seat of Philip, to procure seed-corn, to plant the towns which the English had deserted upon Connecticut river. He lately had been aiding in the slaughter of a Captain Pierce and his men ; and after Captain Denison and his party had wearied themselves for several days in seeking them, they came upon their tracks near Blackston's river, and soon discovered, by a squaw whom they took, that Nanunttenoo was in a wigwam not far distant. The captain made dispositions immediately to surprise him ; and some of his party discovering them, ran off with great precipitation ; but one more faithful than the rest entered the wigwam and acquainted him

with his danger. He instantly fled with all his speed ; but Catapazet, the friendly Indian chief, suspecting, from the manner of his running, that it was Nanunttenoo, gave chase with as much eagerness as he fled ; and the other Indians joined in the pursuit. They pressed him so hard that he soon threw off his blanket, and then his silver laced coat, which had been given him at Boston : his pursuers, like bloodhounds, employed their utmost exertions to seize him ; and at length his foot slipped upon a smooth stone as he was plunging through a river, and he fell and wetted his gun : one Monopoide, a Pequot, outrunning the other Indians, leaped into the river after him, and soon laid hold upon him ; and although he was a powerful man, and of great courage, yet he made no resistance. One Robert Stanton, a young man, was the first Englishman who came up to him. He asked him several questions ; but this haughty sachem, looking with disdain upon his youthful countenance, replied, in broken English, " You too much child ; no understand matters of war—Let your captain come ; him I will answer." This party, in about sixteen days, killed and took nearly fifty of the enemy, without the loss of a single man ; among whom was this chief, and a number of counsellors and war captains.

Nanunttenoo would not accept of life when offered upon the condition that he should make peace with the English ; nor would he so much as send one of his counsellors to make a single proposal for that purpose ; and when he was told that it was determined to put him to death, he said, " He liked it well ; that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken any thing unworthy of himself." He was shot by the Mohegan sachem, and the principal Pequots, at Stonington.

These brave volunteers and their flying parties had, at this time, killed and captured forty-four of the enemy, and, before the end of April, seventy-six more ; among whom was another celebrated sachem. They made in the spring, summer, and autumn, ten or twelve expeditions, in which they killed and captured two hundred and thirty of the enemy, took fifty muskets, and brought in one hundred and sixty bushels of their corn. They drove all the Narraganset Indians out of their country, except those at Westerly, under Ninigrate ; and in all these expeditions they had not one man killed or wounded.

The Assembly of Connecticut voted three hundred and fifty men, who, with the friendly Indians, were to be a standing army. Major John Talcott was appointed to the chief command ; and the Rev. Gershom Bulkley, of Weathersfield, was appointed surgeon, and Mr. James Fitch, chaplain. Mr. Bulkley was esteemed as one of the greatest physicians and surgeons then in Connecticut. The Assembly ordered that the surgeon and chaplain should be of the council of war.

Major Talcott, on his appointment to the command of the army, resigned

the office of treasurer, and William Pitkin, Esq., was appointed to that office by the Assembly.



ORWICH was the place of the first general rendezvous of the army this year ; from whence Major Talcott marched, in the beginning of June, with about two hundred and fifty English soldiers, and two hundred Mohegan and Pequot Indians, towards the Wabaquasset country, scouring the woods through that long tract. They found the fort and wigwams at Wabaquasset and the country everywhere deserted. Nothing more, therefore, could be done than to demolish the Indian fortress, and destroy about fifty acres of corn which the enemy had planted. On the 5th of

June the army marched to Chanagongum, in the Nipmuck country ; where they killed nineteen Indians, and took thirty-three captives. They then proceeded to Quabaug, or Brookfield, and thence to Northampton. This was a long march, in which the troops suffered greatly for want of provisions ; and it has ever since, in Connecticut, been known by the name of the long and hungry march. Major Talcott expected to have met with the Massachusetts forces at Brookfield, or in that vicinity, but they did not arrive.

On the 12th of June, four days after the arrival of the Connecticut troops at Northampton, about seven hundred Indians made a furious attack upon Hadley ; but Major Talcott, with his party, soon appeared for the relief of the garrison, and drove off the enemy.

Some time after, the Massachusetts forces arrived, and, in conjunction with Major Talcott and his soldiers, scoured the woods on both sides the river, as far as the falls at Deerfield ; but the enemy, by this time, had made their escape from that part of the country. They, however, broke up their fisheries, destroyed their fish and other stores, recovered some stolen goods, and returned, without effecting any thing very important.

After Major Talcott had spent about three weeks in service upon the river, he left that quarter, and marched through the wilderness, towards Providence and the Narraganset country ; and on the 1st of July came near a large body of the enemy, of whom he captured four. Two days after, Major Talcott surprised the main body of them, by the side of a large cedar swamp ; where he made such a disposition of his men, and attacked them so suddenly, that a considerable number were killed and taken on the spot, and the remainder were driven into the swamp, which the troops encompassed ; and, after an action of two or three hours, killed and took one hundred and seventy-one more.

The troops then marched to Providence, and invested the neck there, and afterwards Warwick neck ; in which places they killed and captured

sixty-seven. About the 5th of July, the army returned to Connecticut; and, in their route, took sixty more of the enemy. From about the beginning of April to the 6th of July, the Connecticut volunteers, and the troops under Major Talcott, killed and captured about four hundred and twenty of the enemy.

The enemy, about this time, fell into a state of division and fear. They found that, by attempting to destroy their English neighbours, they had utterly ruined themselves; and a complication of evils conspired for their destruction. The destruction of their fort and principal stores in the dead of winter, the burning of their wigwams, and bringing off their corn and beans, in all parts of the country, put them to inexpressible hardships and distresses. They had been able to plant but little in the spring; and what they had planted, the English had destroyed; they had been driven from the sea and rivers, and cut off from almost every kind of subsistence; they had been obliged to lie in swamps and marshes; to feed on horse-flesh, and unwholesome food; all which engendered diseases: so that they became utterly reduced and disheartened. They could not keep together in any considerable bodies, for want of sustenance; and were pursued and hunted from swamp to swamp, and from one lurking-place to another; so that in July and August they began to come in to the English in large bodies, and surrender themselves to the mercy of their conquerors.

Major Talcott, after his return from Narraganset, having recruited his men a short time in Connecticut, took his station at Westfield; and while he lay there, a large body of the enemy was discovered fleeing to the westward. He pursued them, and on the third day, about half way between Westfield and Albany, discovered them lying on the west side of Housatonick river, entirely secure. It was judged too late in that day to attack them to any purpose: and the army, therefore, retreated and lay upon their arms in great silence during the night. Towards morning, the troops were formed in two divisions; one of which was ordered to pass the river below the enemy, and to advance and compass them in on that side; and the other party, creeping silently up to the east bank of the river, were to lie prepared instantly to fire, when they should receive the signal from the other division, who, when they had reached their ground, were to fire a single gun. But this well contrived plan was in some measure disconcerted. An Indian had left his companions asleep, and proceeded down the river to catch fish; and, as the division on the west side of the river was advancing to surround the enemy, he discovered them, and cried out, "Awannux, awannux." Upon this, one of the party fired, and killed him on the spot; and the other division, on the east bank of the river, supposing this to be the signal gun, discharged upon the enemy, as they were rising in surprise, or lay upon the ground, and killed and wounded a great number of them. Those who were not killed,

or disabled by wounds, instantly fled, leaving their camp, baggage, provisions and many of their arms; but as the division on the west side had not advanced to the ground designed, before the alarm was given, the enemy made their escape with much less damage than they could otherwise have done. The troops pursued them for some distance, but the woods were so extremely thick that they were compelled soon to return. The sachem of Quabaug or Brookfield was killed, and forty-four other Indians were killed and taken.

This dreadful and distressing war, in which so many of these miserable Indians perished, victims to their want of civilization, was put an end to by the death of Philip, the great sachem, in August, 1676. After this event the Indians in this part of the country generally submitted to the English, or fled and incorporated with distant nations.

Connecticut offered the same conditions to these Indians, upon their submission, which had been given to the Pequots. That they should have life, liberty, protection, and ground to plant; some principal incendiaries and murderers being excepted. They disdained, however, to accept the terms, and the Nipmucks, Nashawas, Poconitocks, and the Hadley and Springfield Indians, fled to the French and their Indians in Canada; and about two hundred of them, after their surprise at Housatonick river, fled to the Moheganders, upon Hudson's river.



When Philip began the war, he and his kinswoman, Wetamoe, had about five hundred warriors, and the Narragansets nearly two thousand; and the Nipmuck, Nashawa, Pocomtock, Hadley, and Springfield Indians were considerably more numerous. It is probable, therefore, that there were about three thousand warriors combined for the destruction of the New England colonies, exclusive of the eastern Indians: but

the war terminated in their entire conquest, and almost total extinction; and, at the same time, opened a wide door to extensive settlement and population.

This, however, in its connection with the war with the eastern Indians, which commenced about the same time, was the most impoverishing and distressing of any which New England has ever experienced, from its first settlement to the present time. The war with the eastern Indians continued until the spring of the year 1678. The enemy killed and captured great numbers of the people, and nearly twenty fishing vessels, with their crews, and most of the settlements in those parts were swept away, and the country was reduced to their domination.

About six hundred of the inhabitants of New England, the greatest

part of whom were the flower and strength of the country, either fell in battle, or were murdered by the enemy, and there were few families or individuals who had not lost some near relative or friend. Twelve or thirteen towns in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, were utterly destroyed, and others greatly damaged; and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling-houses, were consumed with fire; and an almost insuperable debt was contracted by the colonies, at a time when their numbers, dwellings, goods, cattle, and all their resources, were greatly diminished.

The foregoing statement is made from an accurate enumeration of the various numbers mentioned in the ancient histories of the lives lost, and of the towns and buildings burned. But as there were, doubtless, many persons killed, and others who died of their wounds, not mentioned in those accounts, they must have exceeded the number here stated. The histories of those times rarely mention the burning of barns, stores, and out-houses; and sometimes there is notice of the burning of part of a town, and of the buildings in such a tract, without any specification of the number. All the buildings in Narraganset, from Providence to Stonington, a tract of about fifty miles, were burned, or otherwise destroyed, by the enemy, but the number is not mentioned. The loss of buildings must therefore have been much greater than has been mentioned.

The militia of Connecticut, in 1675, amounted to two thousand two hundred and fifty men. Of these, the commissioners required three hundred and fifteen, as their proportion of the one thousand men then to be raised. If the proportion was just, there were about seven thousand one hundred and fifty of the militia of the United Colonies; and reckoning every fifth man a soldier, and five persons to every family, there were seven thousand one hundred and fifty families, and thirty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty inhabitants at that time in the United Colonies. According to this estimation, about one fencible man in eleven was killed, and every eleventh family was burnt out; or, an eleventh part of the whole militia, and of all the buildings of the United Colonies, were swept away by this predatory war. This greatly exceeded the loss in the war of Independence with Great Britain, in proportion to the numbers and wealth of the United States.

Connecticut, indeed, had suffered little, in comparison with her sister colonies. Her towns and inhabitants had been preserved from the ravages of the enemy; but about a seventh part of the whole militia was out upon constant service, besides the volunteers; and a great proportion was obliged to watch and guard the towns at home. Many towns were necessitated to fortify themselves with an enclosure of palisades, and to prepare and fortify particular dwellings for garrison-houses, to which the aged people, women, and children, might repair in case of attack. For three years after the war commenced, the inhabitants paid eleven-pence in the pound, upon the grand list, exclusive of all town and parish taxes; and

after the war was finished, they had a considerable debt to discharge. The colony, nevertheless, was comparatively fortunate. The numerous Indians within it were not only peaceable, but the Mohegans and Pequots were of great service in the war. It had not one party of men surprised and cut off during the war; nor did it sustain any considerable loss of men at any time, except in taking the fort in Narraganset. At the same time the legislature and people were happy, in giving seasonable and powerful assistance to their confederates, and in repeatedly rescuing whole towns and parties when in the most imminent danger.

A recent writer takes quite a different view of Philip's character, and his war, from that of the respectable authorities, Graham and Trumbull, from whom we have quoted the preceding account. He says:—Such was the war of King Philip,—sustained and managed, upon his side, by his own single-handed energy and talent alone. Not that the sixty Wampanoags of the sachem's own household, as it were, or even the various tribes of the Pokanoket country, were his sole supporters; but that all the other tribes which supported him did it in consequence of his influence, and were induced to unite and operate together, as they never had done before, under his control. Some writers have asserted that he engaged the various Atlantic tribes as far south as Virginia to assist him; but of this there is no proof, and it is rendered improbable by the great want of inter-communication among these tribes.

Nor is it true, as other writers have stated, that all the natives of New England itself were involved with Philip. On the other hand, it was the most trying circumstance of the great struggle of the sachem, that he had not only to rely upon bringing and keeping together scores of petty cantons, as jealous of each other from time immemorial as so many Highland clans; but he had to watch and resist, openly and secretly, all who would not join him, besides the multitudes who deserted, betrayed, and opposed him. The New Hampshire tribes mostly withdrew from the contest. The praying Indians, of whom there were then thousands, either remained neutral, or, like Sassamon, turned against their own race. One of Philip's own tribes forsook him in his misfortunes; and the Pequots and Mohegans of Connecticut kept the field against him, from the very first day of the war to the last. It may be supposed that some of these tribes were surprised, as Philip himself was, by the sudden breaking out of the war, a year before the time which had been fixed for it. This was occasioned by the proceedings in which Sassamon was concerned, and by the ungovernable fury of a few of the young warriors.

Philip is said to have wept at these tidings of the first outrage of the war. He relented, perhaps, savage as he was, at the idea of disturbing the long amity which his father had preserved; but he may well have regretted, certainly, that being once forced upon the measure, he should enter

the battle-field unprepared for what he well knew must be the last, as it was the first, great contest between the red men and the white. But the die was cast; and though Philip never smiled after that memorable hour just alluded to, his whole soul was bent upon the business before him. Day nor night, scarcely was there rest for his limbs or sleep for his eyes. His resources must have been feeble enough, had his plans, now embarrassed, succeeded to his utmost wish; but he girded himself, as it was, with a proud heart for the mortal struggle. The strength of his own dominions was about six hundred warriors, ready, and more than ready, long since, for the war-cry. The whole force of his old enemies, the Narragansets, was already engaged to him. He had negotiated, also, with the Nipmucks, and the tribes on the Connecticut and farther west, and one after another these were soon induced to join him. Nor was it six weeks from the first hostilities before all the Indians along the coast of Maine, for a distance of two hundred miles, were eagerly engaged in what Philip told them was the common cause of the race.

That no arts might be left untried, even while the court was condemning his three subjects, he was holding a grand war-dance at Sowams, and mustering his tawny warriors around him from all quarters. Several tribes afterwards confessed to the English that Philip had thus inveigled them into the war. And again, no sooner were his forces driven back upon the Connecticut river tribes, about the first of September, 1675, than he enlisted new allies among *them*. The Hadley Indians, who had joined the English,—very likely at his instigation,—were suspected, and fled to him. Their Springfield neighbours soon after joined three hundred of Philip's men in an attack upon that town; and thus the whole Nipmuck country was involved. In the course of the ensuing winter, the sachem is said to have visited the Mohawks in New York. Not succeeding in gaining their alliance by fair argument, he was desperate enough to kill some of their straggling young men in the woods, in such a manner that the blame would obviously be charged upon the English. But this stratagem was defeated, by the escape of one who had only been stunned by the sachem. The latter was obliged to take abrupt leave of his hosts, and from that time they were among his worst enemies.

His situation during the last few months of the war was so deplorable, and yet his exertions so well sustained, that we can only look upon him with pity and admiration. His successes for some time past had been tremendous; but the tide began to ebb. The whole power of the colonies was in the field, aided by guides and scouting-parties of his own race. The Saconets, the subjects of a near relation of his own, enlisted under Church. Other tribes complained and threatened. Their territory, as well as his, had been overrun, their settlements destroyed, and their planting and fishing-grounds all occupied by the English. Those of them who

were not yet hunted down, were day and night followed into swamps and forests, and reduced to live,—if they did not actually starve or freeze,—upon the least and worst food to be conceived of. Hundreds died of diseases incurred in this manner. “I have eaten horse,” said one of these miserable wretches, “but now horse is eating me.” Another informed Church, on one occasion, that about three hundred Indians had gone a long way to Swanzezy in the heat of the war, for the purpose of eating clams, and that Philip was soon to follow them. At another time, the valiant captain himself captured a large party. Finding it convenient to attack a second directly after, he bade the first to wait for him, and join him at a certain rendezvous. The day after the skirmish, “they came to him as they were ordered,” and he drove them all together, that very night, into Bridgewater *pound*, and set his Saconet soldiers to guard them. “Being well treated with victuals and drink,” he adds, with great simplicity, “they had a merry night, and the prisoners laughed as loud as the soldiers; not being so treated for a long time before.”



The mere physical sufferings of Philip, meanwhile, are almost incredible. It is by his hair-breadth escapes, indeed, that he is chiefly visible during the war. Occasionally the English come close upon him; he starts up, like the roused lion, plunges into the river or leaps the precipice; and nothing more is seen of him for months. Only a few weeks after the war commenced, he was surrounded in the great Pocasset swamp, and obliged to escape from his vigilant enemies by rafting himself, with his best men, over the great Taunton river, while their women and children were left to be captured. On his return to the same neighbourhood the next season, a captive guided the English to his encampment. Philip fled in such haste as to leave his kettle upon the fire; twenty of his comrades were overtaken and killed; and he himself escaped to the swamp, precisely as he had formerly escaped from it. Here his uncle was shot soon afterwards at his side. Upon the next day, Church, discovering an Indian seated on a fallen tree, made to answer the purpose of a bridge over the river, raised his musket and deliberately aimed at him. “It is one of our own party,” whispered a savage, who crept behind him. Church lowered his gun, and the stranger turned his head. It was Philip himself, musing, perhaps, upon the fate which awaited him. Church fired, but his royal enemy had already fled down the bank. He escaped from a close and bloody skirmish a few hours afterwards.

He was now a desolate and desperate man, the last prince of an ancient race, without subjects, without territory, accused by his allies, betrayed by

his comrades, hunted like a spent deer by blood-hounds, in daily hazard of famishing, and with no shelter day or night for his head. All his chief counsellors and best friends had been killed. His brother was slain in the Pocasset swamp; his uncle was shot down at his own side, and his wife and only son were captured when he himself so narrowly escaped from the fire of Church. And could he have fled for the last time from the soil of his own country, he would still have found no rest or refuge. He had betaken himself once to a place between York and Albany; but even here, as Church says, the *Moohags* made a descent upon him and killed many of his men. His next kenneling-place was at the fall of Connecticut river, above Deerfield, where, some time after, "Captain Turner found him, came upon him by night, killed a great many men, and frightened many more into the river, that were hunted down the falls and drowned." He lost three hundred men at this time. They were in their encampments, asleep and unguarded. The English rushed upon them, and they fled in every direction, half-awakened, and crying out, "Mohawks! Mohawks!"

We cannot better illustrate Philip's character than by observing, that within a few days of this affair, he was collecting the remnants of the Narragansets and Nipmucks among the Wachuset hills, on the east side of the river; that they then made a descent upon Sudbury; "met with and swallowed up the valiant Captain Wadsworth and his company, and many other doleful desolations in those parts." We also find, that Philip was setting parties to waylay Church, under his own worst circumstances; and that he came very near succeeding. He is thought to have been at the great swamp-fight in December, 1675; and to have led one thousand Indians against Lancaster, on the ensuing 8th of February. In August of the former season, he made his appearance among the Nipmucks, in a swamp ten or twelve miles from Brookfield. "They told him at his first coming," said one of them who was taken captive, "what they had done to the English at Brookfield [burning the town.] Then he presented and gave to three sagamores—namely, John, alias Apequinast, Quansansit, and Mawtamps—to each of them about a peck of unstrung wampum." Even so late as the month before the sachem's death, a negro, who had fought under him, informed the English of his design of attacking certain towns, being still able to muster something like a thousand men. In his last and worst days, he would not think of peace; and he killed with his own hand, upon the spot, the only Indian who ever dared to propose it. It was the brother of this man by whom he was himself soon after slain.

These are clear proofs, then, that Philip possessed a courage as noble as his intellect. Nor is there any doubt that history would have furnished a long list of his personal exploits, but that his situation compelled him to disguise as well as conceal himself. If any thing but his face had been

known, there was nothing to prevent Church from shooting him, as we have seen. And universally influential as he was,—the master-spirit everywhere guiding, encouraging, soothing, and rewarding,—it is a fact worthy of mention, that from the time of his first flight from Pocasset until a few weeks before his death, no Englishman could say that he had either seen his countenance or heard his voice. Hence Church describes him as being always foremost in the flight. The price put upon his head, the fearful power which pursued him, the circumstance that some of his own acquaintance were against him, and especially the vital importance of life to his cause, all made it indispensable for him to adopt every stratagem of the wary and cunning warfare of his race.



We have said something of Philip's ideas of his own sovereign dignity. Hence the fate of Sassamon, and of the savage who proposed peace. There is a well-settled tradition, that in 1665 he went over to the island of

Nantucket, with the view of killing an Indian called John Gibbs. He landed on the west end, intending to travel along the shore, undiscovered, under the bank, to that part of the island where Gibbs resided. By some lucky accident, the latter received a hint of his approach, made his escape to the English settlement, and induced one Mr. Macy to conceal him. His crime consisted in speaking the name of some deceased relative of Philip, (his brother, perhaps,) contrary to Indian etiquette in such cases provided. The English had a parley with the sachem, and all the money they were able to collect was barely sufficient to satisfy him for the life of the culprit. It was not a mere personal insult, but a violation of the reverence due from a subject to a king.

It appears that when he visited Boston, before the war, he succeeded in persuading the government,—as, no doubt, was the truth of the case,—that notwithstanding the old league of his father, renewed by himself, or rather by force of it, he was still independent of Plymouth. "These successive engagements were agreements of amity, and not of subjection any further, as he apprehended." He then desired to see a copy of the treaty, and requested that one might be procured for him. He knew, he added, that the praying Indians had submitted to the English; but the Pokanokets had done no such thing, and they were not subject. The letter of the Massachusetts to the Plymouth government, written just after this interview with the sachem, is well worthy of notice. "We do not understand," say the former, "how far he hath subjected himself to you; but the treatment you have given him does not render him such a subject, as that, if there be not present answering to summons, there should presently be a proceeding to hostilities."

Philip had himself the same notion of a Plymouth *summons*; and yet either policy or good feeling induced him to *visit* the Plymouth governor, in March, 1675, for the purpose of quieting the suspicions of the colony: nothing was discovered against him, and he returned home. He maintained privately the same frank but proud independence. He was opposed to Christianity as much as his father was, and would make no concessions upon that point. Possibly the remembrance of Sassamon might have rankled in his bosom, when, upon the venerable Elliot once undertaking to convert him, he took one of his buttons between his fingers, and told him he cared no more for the gospel than for that button. That he was generally more civil, however, may be inferred from Gookin's statement: "I have heard him speak very good words, arguing that his conscience is convicted," &c. The sachem evidently made himself agreeable in this case. *

In regard to his personal appearance, always a matter of curiosity in the case of great men, sketches purporting to be portraits of him are extant, but none of them are believed to have more verisimilitude than the grotesque caricature prefixed to the old narrative of Captain Church, (the model of the series;) and we must therefore content ourselves to remain ignorant in this matter. As to his costume, Josselyn, who saw him at Boston, says that he had a coat on, and buskins set thick with beads, "in pleasant wild works, and a broad belt of the same;" his accoutrements being valued at twenty pounds. A family in Swanzev, (Mass.,) is understood to be still in possession of some of the royalties which were given up by Anawon, at the time of his capture by Church. There were two horns of glazed powder, a red-cloth blanket, and three richly and beautifully wrought wampum belts. One was nine inches wide, and so long as to extend from the shoulder to the ancles. To the second, which was worn on the head, were attached two ornamented small flags. The third and smallest had a star figured in beads upon one end, which came over the bosom.

Philip was far from being a mere barbarian in his manners and feelings. There is not an instance to be met with, of his having maltreated a captive in any way, even while the English were selling his own people as slaves abroad, or torturing and hanging them at home. The famous Mrs. Rowlandson speaks of meeting with him during her *doleful* captivity. He invited her to call at his lodge; and when she did so, bade her sit down, and asked her if she would smoke. On meeting her again, he requested her to make some garment for his child, and for this he paid her a shilling. He afterwards took the trouble of visiting her for the purpose of assuring her, that "in a fortnight she should be her own mistress." Her last interview, it must be allowed, shows his shrewdness to rather more advantage than his fair dealing. It was Indian stratagem in war-time, however; and

the half-clad sachem was at this very time living upon ground-nuts, acorns, and lily-roots. "Philip, smelling the business, [her ransom,] called me to him, and asked me what I would give him to tell me some good news, and to speak a good word for me, that I might go home to-morrow. I told him I could not tell,—but any thing I had,—and asked him what he would have. He said, two coats, and twenty shillings in money, half a bushel of seed-corn, and some tobacco. *I thanked him for his love, but I knew that good news as well as that crafty fox.*" It is probable he was amusing himself with this good woman, much as he did with the worthy Mr. Gookin; but at all events, there are no traces of malevolent feeling in these simple anecdotes.

What is more striking, we find that when one James Brown, of Swanze, brought him a letter from Plymouth, just before hostilities commenced, and the young warriors were upon the point of killing him, Philip interfered and prevented it, saying, that "his father had charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown." Accordingly, it is recorded in Hubbard, that a little before his death, the old sachem had visited Mr. Brown, who lived not far from Montaup, and earnestly desired that the love and amity *he* had received, might be continued to the children. It was probably this circumstance, which induced Brown himself to engage in such a hazardous enterprise, after an interval, probably, of some twenty years.



Nor should we pass over the kindness of Philip to the Leonard family, who resided near Fowling Pond, in what is now Raynham. Philip, who wintered at Montaup,—for the convenience of fishing, perhaps,—was accustomed to spend the summer at a hunting-house, by this pond. There he became acquainted with the Leonards, traded with them, and had his arms repaired by them frequently. On

the breaking out of the war, he gave strict orders that these men should never be hurt, as they never were; and, indeed, the whole town of Taunton, as it then was, remained almost entirely unmolested throughout the war, and amid all the ravages and massacres which daily took place upon its very borders. How much of provocation and humiliation he was himself enduring meanwhile, we have already seen. All his relations were killed or captured, and a price set upon his own life.

It is a matter of melancholy interest to know that the sachem, wretched and hopeless as he had become in his last days, was still surrounded by a band of his faithful and affectionate followers. At the very moment of his fatal surprise by the English, he is said to have been telling them of his gloomy dreams, and advising them to desert him, and provide for their own

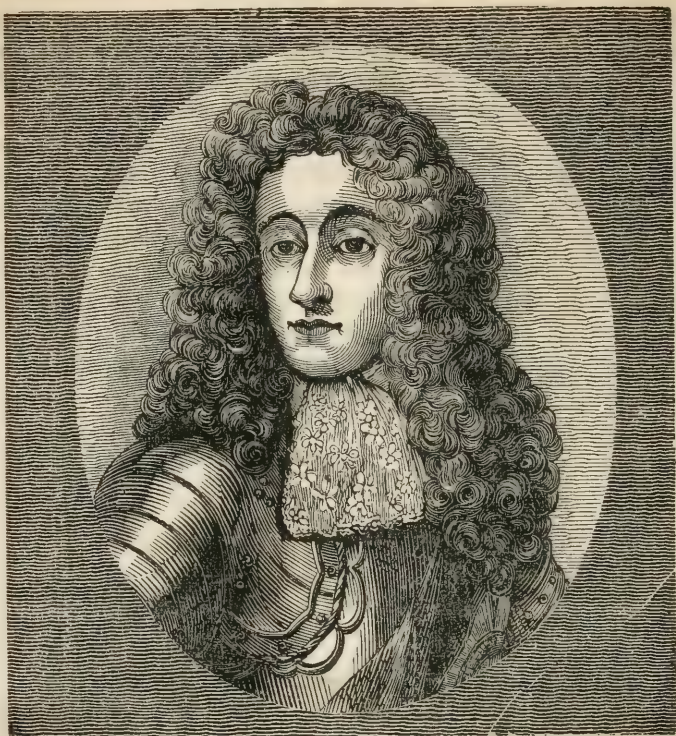
safety. A few minutes after this, he was shot in attempting to escape from the swamp. An Englishman,—one Cook,—aimed at him, but his gun missed fire; the Indian who was stationed to watch at the same place discharged his musket, and shot him through the heart. The news of this success was of course received with great satisfaction; Church says that “the whole army gave three loud huzzas.” It is to be regretted that the honest captain suffered his prejudices to carry him so far that he denied the rites of burial to his great enemy. He had him quartered, on the contrary, and his head carried to Plymouth, where, as Mather is careful to tell us, it arrived on the very day when the church there were keeping a solemn thanksgiving. The conqueror’s temper was soured by the illiberality of the government towards himself. For this march he received but four and sixpence a man, together with thirty shillings a head for the killed. He observes, that Philip’s head went at the same price, and he thought it a “scanty reward and poor encouragement.” The sachem’s head was carried about the colony in triumph; and the Indian who killed him was rewarded with one of his hands. To finish the wretched detail, several of his principal royalties were soon after given up by one of his chief captains; and the lock of the gun which was fatal to him, with a *samp*-dish found in his wigwam, are still to be seen among the antiquities of the Historical Society of Massachusetts. Montaup, which became the subject of a dispute between the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, was finally awarded to the latter by a special decision of King Charles.

Last and worst of all, his only son, a boy of nine years of age, whom we have already noticed as among the English captives, was sold as a slave, and shipped to Bermuda. It should be stated, however, that this unfortunate measure was not taken without some scruples. The Plymouth court was so much perplexed upon the occasion, as to conclude upon applying to the clergymen of the colony for advice. Mr. Cotton was of opinion, that “the children of notorious traitors, rebels, and murderers, especially such as have been principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, might be involved in the guilt of their parents, and might, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death.” Dr. Increase Mather compared the child to Hadad, whose father was killed by Joab; and he intimates, that if Hadad himself had not escaped, David would have taken measures to prevent his molesting the next generation. It is gratifying to know that the course he recommended was postponed, even to the ignominious and mortifying one we have mentioned.

Such was the impression which had been universally forced upon the colonists by the terrible spirit of Philip. And never was a civilized or uncivilized enemy more generally or more justly feared. How much greater his successes might have been, had circumstances favoured instead of opposing him, it is fortunately impossible for us to estimate. It is con

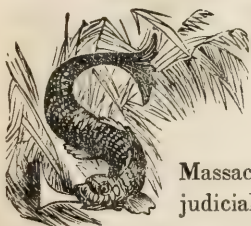
fessed, however, that had even the Narragansets joined him during the first summer of the war,—as nothing but the abrupt commencement of it prevented them from doing,—the whole country, from the Piscataqua to the Sound, must have been overswept and desolated. But as it was, Philip did and endured enough to immortalize him as a warrior, a statesman, and, we may add, as a high-minded and noble patriot. Whatever might be the prejudice against him in the days of terror produced by his prowess, there are both the magnanimity and the calmness in these times to do him the justice he deserves. He fought and fell, miserably indeed, but gloriously,—the avenger of his own household, the worshipper of his own gods, the guardian of his own honour, a martyr for the soil which was his birth-place, and for the proud liberty which was his birth-right.





JAMES II.

TYRANNY AND DEPOSITION OF ANDROS.



SOON after the accession of James II. to the throne a commission was issued for the temporary government of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth, by a president and council selected from among the inhabitants of Massachusetts, whose powers were entirely executive and judicial, and were to endure till the arrival of a permanent governor. They were directed to allow liberty of conscience to all, but to bestow peculiar encouragement on the church of England; to determine all suits originating within the colony, but to admit appeals from their sentences to the king in council; and to defray the expenses of their government by levying the taxes formerly imposed. This commission was laid before the general court at Boston, not as being any longer considered a body invested with political authority, but as being

composed of individuals of the highest respectability and influence in the province. In answer to the communication they had thus received, this assembly agreed unanimously to an address, in which they declared that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were deprived of the rights of freemen by the new system, and that it deeply concerned both those who introduced, and those who were subjected to a system of this nature, to consider how far it was safe to pursue it. They added that if the newly appointed officers meant to assume the government of the people, though they would never give assent to such proceedings, they would nevertheless demean themselves as loyal subjects, and humbly make their addresses to God, and in due time to their prince, for relief. The president named in the commission was Mr. Dudley, who had lately been one of the deputies of the province to England, and whose conduct had justified in some degree the jealousy with which the colonists ever regarded the men whom they were compelled to intrust with the performance of that arduous duty. His patriotic virtue, without being utterly dissolved, was relaxed by the beams of royal influence. Despairing of being able to serve his country, he applied himself with more success to cultivate his own interest at the English court: and in pursuing this crooked policy, he would seem to have been animated by the hope that the interest of his fellow-citizens might be more effectually promoted by his own advancement to office among them, than by the exclusion which he would incur, in common with them, by a stricter adherence to the line of integrity. Though he accepted the commission, and persuaded those who were associated with him to imitate his example, he continued to show himself friendly to the rights of the people, and to those institutions which they so highly regarded. Not only was any immediate alteration in the internal arrangements of the colony avoided, but the commissioners, in deference to the public feeling, transmitted a memorial to the English ministers stating that a well-regulated Assembly of the representatives of the people was extremely necessary, and ought in their opinion to be established without delay. This moderate conduct, however, gave little satisfaction to any of the parties whom they desired to please. The people were indignant to behold a system, which was erected on the ruins of their liberty, promoted by their own fellow-citizens, and above all by the man whom they had lately appointed to resist its introduction among them; and nothing but the apprehensions of seeing him replaced by Kirke, whose massacres in England excited the direst presage of the fate of America, prevented the strongest expressions of their displeasure. The conduct of the commissioners was no less unsatisfactory both to the abettors of arbitrary government in England, and to the creatures of Randolph within the province, who were anxious to pay court to the king by prostrating beneath his power every obstacle to the execution of his will. Complaints were soon transmitted by these

persons to the English ministers, charging the commissioners with conniving at former practices in opposition to the laws of trade, and countenancing ancient principles in religion and government.



IN addition to these causes of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the commissioners, the king was now compelled to resume the prosecution of his plans by the imperfection of the temporary arrangement he had made. It was found that the acts of taxation were about to expire, and the commissioners, being totally devoid of legislative authority, had no power to renew them. They had employed this consideration to enforce their suggestion of a representative Assembly: but it determined the king to enlarge the arbitrary authority of his colonial officers, and at the same time to establish a permanent administration for New England. He had consulted the crown lawyers respecting the extent of his powers; and they had given as their official opinion, "that notwithstanding the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts, its inhabitants continued English subjects, invested with English liberties:" a truth which, though it required little legal acuteness to discover, seems to imply more honesty than we might be prepared to expect from the persons selected by this monarch from a bar which, in that age, could supply such instruments as Jeffries and Scroggs. We must recollect, however, that lawyers, though professionally partial to the authority that actuates the system they administer, cherish also, in their strong predilection for those forms and precedents that constitute their own influence and the peculiar glory of their science, a principle that frequently protects liberty and befriends substantial justice. But James was too much enamoured of arbitrary power to be deterred from the indulgence of it by any obstacle inferior to invincible necessity; and accordingly, without paying the slightest regard to an opinion supported only by the pens of lawyers, he determined to establish a complete tyranny in New England, by combining the whole legislative and executive authority of government in the persons of a governor and council to be named by himself. Kirke had been found too useful as an instrument of terror in England, to be spared to America. But Sir Edmund Andros, who had signalized his devotion to arbitrary power in the government of New York, was now appointed captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth, and certain dependent territories, during the pleasure of the king. He was empowered, with consent of a council to be appointed by the crown, to make ordinances for the colonies, not inconsistent with the laws of England, and which were to be submitted to the king for his approbation or dissent, and to impose taxes for the support of government. He was directed to govern the people, according to the tenor of his com-

mission, of a separate letter of instructions with which he was at the same time furnished, and of the laws which were then in force or might be afterwards enacted. The governor and council were also constituted a court of record; and from their decisions an appeal lay to the king in council. The greater part of the instructions that were given to Andros are of a nature that would do honour to the patriotism of the king, if the praise of that virtue were due to a barren desire to promote the welfare of the people, accompanied with the most effectual exertions to strip them of every security by which their welfare might be guarded. Andros was instructed to promote no persons to offices of trust but those of the best estates and characters, and to displace none without sufficient cause; to continue the former laws of the country, so far as they were not inconsistent with his commission or instructions; to dispose of the crown lands at moderate quit-rents; "to take away or to harm no man's life, member, freehold, or goods, but by established laws of the country, not repugnant to those of the realm;" to discipline and arm the inhabitants for the defence of the country, but not to impede their necessary affairs; to encourage freedom of commerce by restraining engrossers; to hinder the excessive severity of masters to their servants, and to punish with death the slayers of Indians or negroes; *to allow no printing press to exist*; and to give universal toleration in religion, but special encouragement to the church of England. Except the restraint of printing, there is none of these instructions that breathes a spirit of despotism; and yet the whole system was silently pervaded by that spirit; for as there were no securities provided for the enforcement of the king's benevolent directions, so there were no checks established to restrain the abuse of the powers with which the governor was intrusted. The king was willing that his subjects should be happy, but not that they should be free or happy independently of himself; and this association of a desire to promote human welfare, with an enmity to the means most likely to secure it, suggests the explanation, perhaps the apology, of an error to which kings are inveterately liable. Trained in habits of indulgence of their will, and in sentiments of respect for its force and efficacy, they come to consider it as what not only ought to be, but must be irresistible; and feel no less secure of ability to make men happy without their own concurrence, than of a right to balk the natural desire of mankind to commit their happiness to the keeping of their own courage and wisdom. The possession of absolute power renders self-denial the highest effort of virtue; and the absolute monarch who should demonstrate a just regard to the rights of his fellow-creatures, would deserve to be honoured as one of the most magnanimous of human beings. Furnished with the instructions which we have seen for the mitigation of his arbitrary power, and attended with a few companies of soldiers for its enforcement, Andros arrived in Boston; and presenting himself as the

substitute for the dreaded and detested Kirke, and commencing his administration with many gracious expressions of good will, he was at first received more favourably than might have been expected. But his popularity was short-lived. Instead of conforming to the instructions, he copied and even exceeded the arbitrary rule of his master in England, and committed the most tyrannical violence and oppressive exactions.



It was the purpose of James to consolidate the strength of all the colonies in one united government; and Rhode Island and Connecticut were now to experience that their destiny was involved in the fate of Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Rhode Island, on learning the accession of the king, immediately transmitted an address congratulatory of that event, acknowledging themselves his loyal subjects, and begging his protection of their chartered rights. Yet the humility of their supplications could not protect them from the effects of the plans he had resolved to adopt in the government of New England. Articles of high misdemeanor were exhibited against them before the lords of the committee of colonies, charging them with breaches of their charter, and with opposition to the acts of navigation; and before the close of the year 1685, they received notice of the commencement of a process of *quo warranto* against their patent. Without hesitation they resolved that they would not stand suit with the king, and passed an act, in full Assembly, formally surrendering the charter and all the powers it contained. By a fresh address they "humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts." These servile expressions dishonoured, but did not avail them; and the king, judging all forms of law superfluous, proceeded, without ceremony, to impose the subjugation which the people sought to evade by deserving it. His eagerness, however, to accomplish his object with rapidity, though it probably inflicted a salutary disappointment on the people at the time, proved ultimately highly beneficial to their political interests, by preserving their charter from a legal dissolution; and we shall find that this benefit, which, with equal improvidence, was extended to the people of Connecticut, was sensibly experienced at the era of the British revolution. In consequence of the last address that had been transmitted by Rhode Island, Andros had been charged to extend his government to this province also; and in the same month that witnessed his arrival at Boston, he proceeded to Rhode Island, where he dissolved the government, broke its seal, and, admitting five of the inhabitants into his legislative council, assumed the administration of all the functions of government.

Connecticut had also transmitted an address to the king on his accession, and vainly solicited the preservation of her privileges. At the sam

time when the articles of misdemeanor were exhibited against Rhode Island, a similar proceeding was adopted against the governor and company of Connecticut, who were charged with making laws contrary to those of England; of extorting unreasonable fines; of enforcing an oath of fidelity to their own corporation, in opposition to the oath of allegiance; of intolerance in religion; and of denial of justice. These charges, which were supposed to infer a forfeiture of the charter, were remitted to Sawyer, the attorney-general, with directions to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against the colony. The writ was issued, and Randolph, the general enemy and accuser of the free, offered his services to carry it across the Atlantic. The governor and the Assembly of Connecticut had for some time beheld the storm approaching, and knowing that courage alone was vain, and resistance impracticable, they endeavoured, with considerable address, to elude what they were unable to repel. After delaying as long as possible to make any signification of their intentions, the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros at Boston, and his proceedings in Rhode Island, seem to have convinced them that the measures of the king were to be vigorously pursued, and that they could not hope to be allowed to deliberate any longer. They wrote, accordingly, to the secretary of state, expressing their strong desire to be permitted to retain their present constitution; but requesting, if it were the royal purpose to dispose otherwise of them, that they might be annexed to Massachusetts, and share the fortunes of a people who were their former correspondents and confederates, and whose principles and manners they understood and approved. This was construed by the British government into a surrender of the colonial privileges, and Andros was commanded to annex this province also to his jurisdiction. Randolph, who seems to have been qualified not less by genius than inclination to promote the execution of tyrannical designs, advised the English ministers to prosecute the *quo warranto* to a judicial issue; assuring them that the government of Connecticut would never consent to do, nor acknowledge that they had done, what was equivalent to an express surrender of the rights of the people. It was matter of regret to the ministers and crown lawyers of a later age, that this politic suggestion was not adopted. But the king was too eager to snatch the boon that seemed within his reach, to wait the tedious formalities of the law; and no further proceedings ensued on the *quo warranto*. In conformity with his orders, Andros marched at the head of a body of troops to Hartford, the seat of the provincial government, where he demanded that the charter should be delivered into his hands. The people had been extremely desirous to preserve at least the document of rights, which the return of better times might enable them to assert with effect. The charter was laid on the table of the Assembly, and the leading persons of the colony addressed Andros at considerable length, relating the exertions that had been made, and the hardships that had been



ANDROS AND HIS FOLLOWERS MISSING THE LOST CHARTER.

incurred, in order to found the institutions he had come to destroy : entreating him yet to spare them, or at least to leave the people in possession of the patent, as a testimonial of the favour and happiness they had formerly enjoyed. The debate was earnest, but orderly, and protracted to a late hour in the evening. As the day declined, lights were introduced into the hall, and it was gradually surrounded by a considerable body of the bravest and most determined men in the province, prepared to defend their representatives against the violence of Andros and his armed followers. At length, finding that their arguments were ineffectual, a measure that seems to have been previously concerted by the inhabitants, was coolly, resolutely, and successfully adopted. The lights were extinguished as if by accident; and Captain Wadsworth laying hold of the charter, disappeared with it before they could be rekindled. He conveyed it securely through the crowd, who opened to let him pass, and closed their ranks as he proceeded, and deposited it in the hollow of a venerable elm tree, which retained the precious deposit till the era of the English revolution, and was long regarded with veneration by the people, as the contemporary and associate of a transaction so interesting to their liberties. Andros finding all his efforts ineffectual to recover the charter, or ascertain the person by whom it had been secreted, contented himself with declaring the ancient government dissolved; and assuming the administration into his own hands, he created two of the principal inhabitants members of his general legislative council.

Having thus united the whole of New England under one administration, Andros proceeded, with the assistance of his grand legislative council, selected from the inhabitants of the several provinces, to enact laws and regulations calculated to fortify his government, and to effectuate the changes which he deemed necessary to its security. An act reviving the former taxation was obtained from the council; and yet, even this necessary proceeding was obstructed by the reluctance with which these per-

sons, though selected by himself, consented to become the instruments of riveting the shackles of their country. The only farther opposition which he experienced, proceeded from the inhabitants of the county of Essex, who, insisting that they were freemen, refused to appropriate the assessments of a taxation which they considered unlawfully imposed. But their opposition was easily suppressed, and many of them severely punished. Andros very quickly found that the revenues of the ancient government would be insufficient to support the expenses of his more costly administration ; and while he notified this defalcation to the king, he intimated, at the same time, with a degree of humanity that at least deserves to be noticed, that the country was so much impoverished by the effects of the Indian war and recent losses at sea, and scanty harvests, that an increase of taxation could with difficulty be borne. But the king had exhausted his humanity, in the letter of instructions, and returned peremptory orders to raise the taxes to a level with the charges of administration ; and Andros from this moment, either stifling his humanity, or discarding his superfluous respect to the moderation of the king, proceeded to exercise his power with a rigour and injustice that rendered his government universally odious. The weight of taxation was oppressively augmented, and all the fees of office screwed up to an enormous height. The ceremonial of marriage was altered, and the celebration of that rite, which had been hitherto exercised by the magistrates, was confined to the ministers of the church of England, of whom there was only one in the province of Massachusetts. The fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the congregational churches were arbitrarily suppressed by the governor, who gave notice that the regulation of such matters belonged entirely to the civil power. He declared repeatedly in council that the people would find themselves mistaken if they supposed that the privileges of Englishmen would follow them to the end of the world, and that the only difference between their condition and that of slaves, was that they were neither bought nor sold. It was declared unlawful for the colonists to assemble in public meetings, or for any one to quit the province without a passport from the governor ; and Randolph, now at the summit of his wishes, was not ashamed to boast in his letters, that the rulers of New England "were as arbitrary as the great Turk." While Andros mocked the people with the semblance of trial by jury, he easily contrived, by the well-known practice of *packing* juries, to convict and wreak his vengeance on every person who offended him, as well as to screen the enormities of his own dependents from the punishment they deserved. And, as if to complete the discontent that such proceedings excited, he took occasion to question the validity of individual titles to land, declaring that the rights acquired under the sanction of the ancient government were tainted with its vices and must share its fate. New grants or patents from the governor were declared to be requisite to

mend the defective titles to land; and writs of intrusion were issued against those who refused to apply for such patents and to pay the enormous fees that were charged for them. The king, indeed, had now encouraged Andros to consider the people whom he governed as a society of felons or rebels; for he transmitted to him express directions to grant his majesty's most gracious pardon to as many of the people as should apply for it. But none had the meanness to ask for a grace that suited only the guilty. The only act of the king that was favourably regarded by the inhabitants of the colony, was his *declaration of indulgence*, which excited so much dissatisfaction in Britain, even among the Protestant dissenters who shared its benefit. Notwithstanding the intolerance that has been imputed to New England, this declaration produced general satisfaction there, though there were not wanting some who had discernment enough to perceive that the sole object of the king was the gradual re-introduction of Popery.



FTER many ineffectual remonstrances against his oppressive proceedings had been made by the colonists to Andros himself, two deputies, one of whom was Increase Mather, the most eminent divine and most popular minister in Massachusetts, were sent over to England, to submit the grievances of the colony to the humane consideration of the king. Randolph, who was revelling in the profits of the office of post-master-general of New England, with which his servility had been rewarded, laboured to defeat the success of the deputation by writing to the English ministry that Mather was a seditious and profligate incendiary, and that his object was to pave the way to the overthrow of regal government. Yet the requests of the colonists were extremely moderate. Whatever they might desire, all that they demanded was that their freeholds might be respected, and that a colonial Assembly might be established, for the purpose at least of adjusting their taxation. The first of these points was conceded by the king; but as to the other, he was inexorable. When Sir William Phipps, who had gained his esteem by his spirit and gallantry, pressed him to grant the colonists an Assembly, he replied, "Any thing but that, Sir William;" and even the opinion of Powis, the attorney-general, to whom the application of the deputies had been submitted, and who reported in favour of it, produced no change in his determination. James had now matured and extended his system of colonial policy. He had determined to reduce all the American governments, as well those which were denominated *proprietary* as others, to an immediate dependence on the crown, for the double purpose of effacing the examples that might diminish the resignation of the people of New England, and of combining the force of all the colonies from the banks of the Delaware to the shores of Nova Scotia, into a compact body that might be capable of presenting a barrier to the formida-

ble encroachments of France. A general aversion to liberal institutions, no doubt, concurred with these purposes; and the panegyrics that resounded from his oppressed subjects in Britain on the happiness that was reported to be enjoyed in America, contributed, at this period, in no slight degree, to whet his dislike to American institutions. With a view to the accomplishment of this design, he had in the preceding year commanded writs of *quo warranto* to be issued for the purpose of cancelling all the patents that still remained in force; and, shortly before the arrival of the deputation from Massachusetts, a new commission had been directed to Andros, annexing New York and New Jersey to his government, and appointing Francis Nicholson his lieutenant. Andros effectuated this annexation with his usual promptitude; and having appointed Nicholson deputy-governor at New York, he administered the whole of his vast dominion with a vigour that rendered him formidable to the French, but, unhappily, still more formidable and odious to the people whom he governed.



IR WILLIAM PHIPPS, who had employed his influence with the king in behalf of the deputation from Massachusetts, was himself a native of the province, and notwithstanding a mean education and a depression of the humblest circumstances, had raised himself by the mere vigour of his mind to a conspicuous rank, and gained a high reputation for spirit, skill, and success. He kept

sheep in his native province till he was eighteen years of age, and was afterwards apprenticed to a ship carpenter. When he was freed from his indentures, he pursued a seafaring life, and attained the station of captain of a merchant vessel. Having met with an account of the wreck of a Spanish ship, loaded with great treasures, near the Bahama islands, about fifty years before, he conceived a plan of extricating the buried treasure from the bowels of the deep; and, transporting himself to England, he stated his scheme so plausibly that the king was struck with it, and in 1683 sent him out with a vessel to make the attempt. It proved unsuccessful; and all his urgency could not induce the king to engage in a repetition of it. But the Duke of Albemarle, resuming the design, equipped a vessel for the purpose, and gave the command of it to Phipps, who now realizing the expectations he had formed, succeeded in raising specie to the value of at least £300,000, from the bottom of the ocean. Of this treasure, he obtained a portion sufficient to make his fortune, with a still larger meed of general consideration and applause. The king was exhorted by some of his courtiers to confiscate the whole of the specie thus recovered, on pretence that a fair representation of the project had not been made to him; but he declared that the representation had been perfectly fair, and that nothing but his own misgivings, and the evil advice and mean suspicions of these courtiers themselves, had deprived him of the treasure that this honest man had

laboured to procure him. He conceived a high regard for Phipps, and conferred the rank of knighthood upon him. Sir William employed his influence at court for the benefit of his country; and his patriotism seems not to have harmed him in the opinion of the king. Finding that he could not prevail to obtain the restoration of the charter privileges, he solicited and received the appointment of high sheriff of New England; in the hope that by remedying the abuses that were committed in the impanelling of juries, he might create a barrier against the tyranny of Andros. But the governor and his creatures, incensed at this interference, made an attempt to have him assassinated, and soon compelled him to quit the province and take shelter in England. James, shortly before his own abdication, among the other attempts he made to conciliate his subjects, offered Phipps the government of New England; but, happily for his pretensions to an office he so well deserved, he refused to accept it from a falling tyrant, and under a system which, instead of seeking any longer to mitigate, he hoped speedily to see dissolved.

The dissatisfactions of the people of New England continued meanwhile to increase to such a height, that every act of the government was viewed through the medium of a strong dislike. In order to discredit the ancient administration, Andros and Randolph had laboured to propagate the opinion that the Indians had hitherto been treated with a cruelty and injustice, to which all the hostilities with these savages ought reasonably to be imputed; and had vaunted their own ability to rule them by gentleness and equity. But this year their theory and their policy were alike disgraced by the furious hostilities of the Indians on the eastern frontiers of New England. The movements of these savages were excited on this, as on former occasions, by the insidious artifices of the French, whose unprincipled suppleness of character and demeanour has always been much more acceptable to the Indians in their native condition, than the grave, unbending spirit of the English, and has found it easier to cultivate and employ than to check or eradicate the treachery and ferocity of their Indian neighbours. The English settlers offered to the Indians terms of accommodation, which at first they seemed willing to accept; but the encouragements of their French allies soon prevailed with them to reject all friendly overtures, and their native ferocity prompted them to signalize this declaration by a series of unprovoked and unexpected massacres. Andros published a proclamation requiring that the murderers should be delivered up to him; but the Indians treated him and his proclamation with contempt. In the depth of winter he found himself obliged to march against them; and though he succeeded in occupying and fortifying positions which enabled him to curb their insolence, he made little or no impression on their numerical strength, and lost a great many of his own men in vain attempts to follow them into their fastnesses, in the most rigorous season of the year. So strong and so undis-

criminating was the dislike he had excited among the people of New England, that this expedition was unjustly ascribed to a wish to destroy the troops, whom he conducted, by cold and famine.

At length the smothered rage of the people burst forth. In the following spring some vague intelligence was received, by way of Virginia, of the proceedings of the Prince of Orange in England. The old magistrates and leading men of the colony ardently wished and secretly prayed that success might attend him; but they determined in so great a cause to commit nothing unnecessarily to hazard, and quietly to await an event which they supposed that no movement of theirs could either accelerate or retard. But New England was destined to effect, by her own efforts, her own liberation; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts were now to exercise the brave privilege which, nearly a century after, and in a conflict still more arduous, their children again were ready to assert, of being the first to resist oppression, and showing their countrymen the way to independence. The cautious policy and prudential dissuasions from violence that were employed by the older inhabitants of the province, were utterly disregarded by the great body of the people. Stung with the recollection of past injuries, their impatience, on the first prospect of relief, could not be restrained. All at once, and apparently without any preconcerted plan, an insurrection broke forth in the town of Boston; the drums beat to arms, the people flocked together, and in a few hours the revolt became so universal, and the energy of the people so overpowering, that all thoughts of resisting their purpose were abandoned by the government. The scruples of the more wealthy and cautious inhabitants were completely overcome by the obvious necessity of interfering to calm and regulate the fervour of the populace. Andros and about fifty of the most obnoxious characters were seized and imprisoned. On the first intelligence of the tumult, Andros had sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Mr. Bradstreet; a measure that served only to suggest to the people who their leader ought to be, and to anticipate the unanimous choice by which this venerable man was reinstated in the office he had held when his country was deprived of her liberties. Though now bending under the weight of ninety years, his intellectual powers seemed to have undergone but little abatement: he retained (says Cotton Mather) a vigour and wisdom that would have recommended a younger man to the government of a greater colony. As the tidings of the revolt spread through the province, the people eagerly flew to arms, and hurried to Boston, to co-operate with their countrymen in the cause which they found already crowned with complete success. To the assembled crowds a declaration was read from the balcony of the Court House, enumerating the grievances of the colony, and tracing the whole to the tyrannical abrogation of the charter. A committee of safety was appointed by general consent; and an assembly

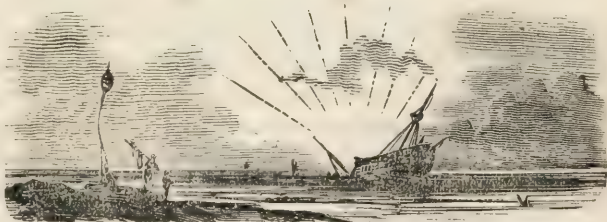
of representatives being convened soon after, this body, by a unanimous vote, and with the hearty concurrence of the whole province, declared their ancient charter and its constitutions to be resumed; reappointed Bradstreet and all the other magistrates who had been in office in the year 1686; and directed these persons in all things to conform to the provisions of the charter, "that this method of government may be found among us when order shall come from the higher powers in England." They declared that Andros and the counsellors who had been imprisoned along with him were detained in custody to abide the directions that might be received concerning them, from his highness the Prince of Orange and the English parliament. What would be the extent of the revolution that was in progress in the parent state, and to what settlement of affairs it would finally conduct, was yet wholly unknown in the colonies.



THE example of Massachusetts was immediately followed by the other provinces of New England. When the tidings of the revolution at Boston reached Connecticut, the inhabitants determined no longer to acknowledge a governor, who, from the command of one half of the colonies, was now reduced to the situation of a delinquent in jail. Their charter reappeared from its concealment; and the chartered government, which had never been either expressly surrendered or legally dissolved, was instantly resumed with universal satisfaction. The people of Rhode Island had never been required to give up the charter whose privileges they had so solemnly and formally surrendered; and they now scrupled not to declare that it was still in force, and to remove as well as they could the only obstruction to this plea, by repealing the act of surrender. New Plymouth, in like manner, resumed instantaneously its ancient form of government. In New Hampshire, a general convention of the inhabitants was called, and the resolution adopted of reannexing the province to Massachusetts. In conformity with this resolution, deputies were elected to represent them in the General Court at Boston. but King William refused to comply with the wishes of the people, and some time after appointed a separate governor for New Hampshire.

Although the people of Massachusetts had at first intimated very plainly their purpose to revive, by their own act, their ancient charter, the cool consideration that succeeded the ferment during which this purpose had been entertained, convinced them that it was necessary to forego it, and that the restoration of a charter so formally vacated by the existing authorities of the parent state could proceed only from the crown or legislature of England. Hearing of the convention of estates that had been convoked by the Prince of Orange, in England, the provincial government of Massachusetts called together a similar convention of the counties and towns

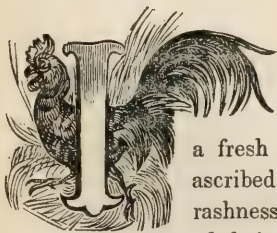
of the province; and it was the opinion of the majority of this assembly that the charter could not be resumed. Intelligence having arrived of the settlement of England, and the investiture of William and Mary with the crown, they were proclaimed in the colony with extraordinary solemnity and universal satisfaction. A letter was soon after addressed, by the new sovereigns, *To the Colony of Massachusetts*, expressing the royal allowance and approbation of the late proceedings of the people, and authorizing the present magistrates to continue the administration of the public affairs, till their majesties, with the advice of the privy council, should settle them on a basis that would be satisfactory to all their subjects in the colony. An order was transmitted, at the same time, to send Andros and the other prisoners to England, that they might answer the charges preferred against them. Additional deputies were chosen by the colony to join Mr. Mather, who still continued in England, and, in concurrence with him, to substantiate the charges against Andros, and, above all, to endeavour to procure the restoration of the charter.





WILLIAM III.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR.



T was the misfortune of this country to have enemies of different kinds to contend with at the same time. While the changes above related were taking place in their government, a fresh war broke out on their frontiers, which, though ascribed to divers causes, was really kindled by the rashness of the same persons who were making havoc of their liberties.

The lands from Penobscot to Nova Scotia had been ceded to the French by the treaty of Breda, in exchange for the island of St. Christopher. On these lands the Baron de St. Castine had for many years resided, and carried on a large trade with the Indians, with whom he was intimately connected; having several of their women, besides a daughter of the sachem Madokawando, for his wives. The lands which had been granted by the crown of England to the Duke of York, (at that time King James the Second,) interfered with Castine's plantation, as the duke claimed to the river St. Croix. A fort had been built by his order at Pemaquid, and a garrison stationed there to prevent



INDIAN TRADERS.

any intrusion on his property. In 1686, a ship belonging to Piscataqua landed some wines at Penobscot, supposing it to be within the French territory. Palmer and West, the duke's agents at Pemaquid, went and seized the wines; but by the influence of the French ambassador in England, an order was obtained for the restoration of them. Hereupon a new line was run, which took Castine's plantation into the duke's territory. In the spring of 1688, Andros went in the *Rose* frigate and plundered Castine's house and fort, leaving only the ornaments of his chapel to console him for the loss of his arms and goods. This base action provoked Castine to excite the Indians to a new war, pretences for which were not wanting on their part. They complained that the tribute of corn which



MARCH OF ANDROS'S ARMY.

had been promised by the treaty of 1678, had been withheld; that the fishery of the river Saco had been obstructed by seines; that their standing corn had been devoured by cattle belonging to the English; that their lands at Pemaquid had been patented without their consent; and that they had been fraudulently dealt with in trade. Some of these complaints were doubtless well grounded; but none of them were ever inquired into or redressed.

They began to make reprisals at North Yarmouth by killing cattle. Justice Blackman ordered sixteen of them to be seized and kept under guard at Falmouth; but others continued to rob and capture the inhabitants. Andros, who pretended to treat the Indians with mildness, commanded those whom Blackman had seized to be set at liberty. But this mildness had not the desired effect; the Indians kept their prisoners, and murdered some of them in their barbarous sports. Andros then changed his measures, and thought to frighten them with an army of seven hundred men, which he led into their country in the month of November. The rigour of the season proved fatal to some of his men; but he never saw an Indian in his whole march. The enemy were quiet during the winter.

After the revolution, the gentlemen who assumed the government took some precautions to prevent the renewal of hostilities. They sent messengers and presents to several tribes of Indians, who answered them with fair promises; but their prejudice against the English was too inveterate to be allayed by such means as these.

Thirteen years had almost elapsed since the seizure of the four hun-

dred Indians at Cochecho, by Major Waldron; during all which time an inextinguishable thirst of revenge had been cherished among them, which never till now found opportunity for gratification. Wonolanset, one of the sachems of Penacook, who was dismissed with his people at the time of the seizure, always observed his father's dying charge, not to quarrel with the English; but Hagkins, another sachem, who had been treated with neglect by Cranfield, was more ready to listen to the seducing invitations of Castine's emissaries. Some of those Indians who were then seized and sold into slavery abroad, had found their way home, and could not rest till they had their revenge. Accordingly, a confederacy being formed between the tribes of Penacook and Pigwacket, and the strange Indians (as they were called) who were incorporated with them, it was determined to surprise the major and his neighbours, among whom they had all this time been peaceably conversant.

In that part of the town of Dover which lies about the first falls in the river Cochecho, were five garrisoned houses; three on the north side, called respectively Waldron, Otis, and Heard; and two on the south side, Peter Coffin and his son's. These houses were surrounded with timber walls, the gates of which, as well as the house doors, were secured with bolts and bars. The neighbouring families retired to these houses by night; but by an unaccountable negligence, no watch was kept. The Indians who were daily passing through the town, visiting and trading with the inhabitants, as usual in time of peace, viewed their situation with an attentive eye. Some hints of a mischievous design had been given out by their squaws; but in such dark and ambiguous terms that no one could comprehend their meaning. Some of the people were uneasy; but Waldron, who, from a long course of experience, was intimately acquainted with the Indians, and on other occasions had been ready enough to suspect them was now so thoroughly secure, that when some of the people hinted their fears to him, he merrily bade them to go and plant their pumpkins, saying that he would tell them when the Indians would break out. The very evening before the mischief was done, being told by a young man that the town was full of Indians, and the people were much concerned, he answered that he knew the Indians very well, and there was no danger.

The plan which the Indians had preconcerted was, that two squaws should go to each of the garrisoned houses in the evening, and ask leave to lodge by the fire; that in the night, when the people were asleep, they should open the doors and gates, and give the signal by a whistle, upon which the strange Indians, who were to be within hearing, should rush in, and take their long-meditated revenge. This plan being ripe for execution, on the evening of Thursday, the 27th of June, two squaws applied to each of the garrisons for lodging, as they frequently did in time of peace. They were admitted into all but the younger Coffin's; and the people, at

their request, showed them how to open the doors, in case they should have occasion to go out in the night. Mesandowit, one of their chiefs, went to Waldron's garrison, and was kindly entertained, as he had often been before. The squaws told the major that a number of Indians were coming to trade with him the next day; and Mesandowit, while at supper, with his usual familiarity said, "Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" The major carelessly answered, that he could assemble a hundred men by lifting up his finger. In this unsuspecting confidence the family retired to rest.

When all was quiet, the gates were opened and the signal given. The Indians entered, set a guard at the door, and rushed into the major's apartment, which was an inner room. Awakened by the noise, he jumped out of bed, and though now advanced in life, to the age of eighty years, he retained so much vigour as to drive them with his sword through two or three doors; but as he was returning for his other arms, they came behind him, stunned him with a hatchet, drew him into his hall, and seating him in an elbow chair on a long table, insultingly asked him, "Who shall judge Indians now?" They then obliged the people in the house to get them some victuals; and when they had done eating, they cut the major across the breast and belly with knives, each one with a stroke saying, "I cross out my account." They then cut off his nose and ears, forcing them into his mouth; and when, spent with the loss of blood, he was falling down from the table, one of them held his own sword under him, which put an end to his misery. They also killed his son-in-law, Abraham Lee; but took his daughter Lee, with several others, and having pillaged the house, left it on fire. Otis's garrison, which was next to the major's, met with the same fate; he was killed, with several others, and his wife and child were captured. Heard's was saved by the barking of a dog, just as the Indians were entering; Elder Wentworth, who was awakened by the noise, pushed them out, and falling on his back, set his feet against the gate, and held it till he had alarmed the people; two balls were fired through it, but both missed him. Coffin's house was surprised; but as the Indians had no particular enmity to him, they spared his life and the lives of his family, and contented themselves with pillaging the house. Finding a bag of money, they made him throw it by handfuls on the floor, while they amused themselves in scrambling for it. They then went to the house of his son, who would not admit the squaws in the evening, and summoned him to surrender, promising him quarter; he declined their offer, and determined to defend his house, till they brought out his father and threatened to kill him before his eyes; filial affection then overcame his resolution, and he surrendered. They put both families together into a deserted house, intending to reserve them for prisoners; but while the Indians were busy in plundering, they all escaped.



Twenty-three people were killed in this surprise, and twenty-nine were captured; five or six houses with the mills were burned; and so expeditious were the Indians in the execution of their plot, that before the people could be collected from the other parts of the town to oppose them, they fled with their prisoners and booty. As they passed by Heard's garrison in their retreat, they fired upon it, but the people being prepared and resolved to defend it, and the enemy being in haste, it was preserved. The preservation of its owner was more remarkable.

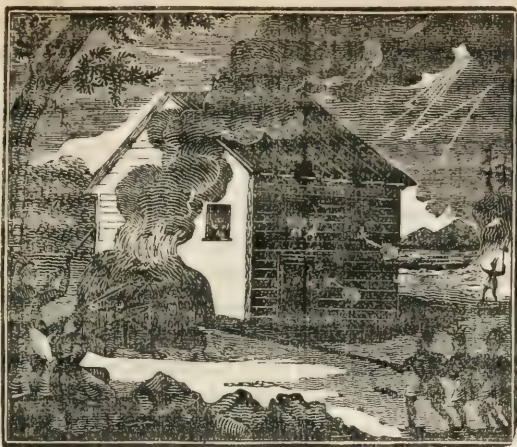
Elizabeth Heard, with her three sons and a daughter, and some others, were returning in the night from Portsmouth; they passed up the river in their boat, unperceived by the Indians, who were then in possession of the houses; but suspecting danger by the noise which they heard, after they had landed they betook themselves to Waldron's garrison, where they saw lights, which they imagined were set up for direction to those who might be seeking a refuge. They knocked, and begged earnestly for admission, but no answer being given, a young man of the company climbed up the wall, and saw, to his inexpressible surprise, an Indian standing in the door of the house with his gun. The woman was so overcome with fright that she was unable to fly, but begged her children to shift for themselves, and they with heavy hearts left her. When she had a little recovered, she crawled into some bushes, and lay there till daylight; she then perceived an Indian coming toward her with a pistol in his hand; he looked at her, and went away; returning, he looked at her again, and she asked him what he would have. He made no answer, but ran yelling to the house, and she saw him no more. She kept her place till the house was burned and the Indians were gone, and then returning home found her own house safe. Her preservation in these dangerous circumstances was more remarkable, if (as it is supposed) it was an instance of justice and gratitude in the Indians: for at the time when the four hundred were seized in 1676, a young Indian escaped and took refuge in her house, where she concealed him; in return for which kindness he promised her that he would never kill her, nor any of her family in any future war, and that he would use his influence with the other Indians to the same purpose. This Indian was one of the party who surprised the place, and she was well known to the most of them.

The same day, after the mischief was done, a letter from Secretary Adington, written by order of the government, directed to Major Waldron, giving him notice of the intention of the Indians to surprise him under pretence of trade, fell into the hands of his son. This design was communi-

cated to Governor Bradstreet by Major Henchman of Chelmsford, who had learned it of the Indians. The letter was despatched from Boston, the day before, by Mr. Weare; but some delay, which he met with at Newbury ferry, prevented its arrival in season.

The prisoners taken at this time were mostly carried to Canada, and sold to the French; and these, so far as can be learned, were the first that ever were carried thither. One of these prisoners was Sarah Gerrish, a remarkably fine child, of seven years old, and grand-daughter of Major Waldron, in whose house she lodged that fatal night. Some circumstances attending her captivity are truly affecting. When she was awakened by the noise of the Indians in the house, she crept into another bed, and hid herself under the clothes to escape their search. She remained in their hands till the next winter, and was sold from one to another, several times. An Indian girl once pushed her into a river; but, catching by the bushes, she escaped drowning, yet durst not tell how she came to be wet. Once she was so weary with travelling, that she did not awake in the morning till the Indians were gone, and then found herself alone in the woods, covered with snow and without any food; having found their tracks, she went crying after them till they heard her and took her with them. At another time they kindled a great fire, and the young Indians told her she was to be roasted. She burst into tears, threw her arms round her master's neck, and begged him to save her, which he promised to do if she would behave well. Being arrived in Canada, she was bought by the intendant's lady, who treated her courteously, and sent her to a nunnery for education. When Sir William Phipps was at Quebec she was exchanged, and returned to her friends, with whom she lived till she was sixteen years old.

The wife of Richard Otis was taken at the same time, with an infant daughter of three months old. The French priests took this child under their care, baptized her by the name of Christina, and educated her in the Romish religion. She passed some time in a nunnery, but declined taking the veil, and was married to a Frenchman, by whom she had two children. But her desire to see New England was so strong, that, upon an exchange of prisoners in 1714, being then a widow, she left both her children, who were not permitted to come with her, and returned home, where she abjured the Romish faith. M. Siguenot, her former confessor, wrote her a flattering letter, warning her of her danger, inviting her to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and repeating many gross calumnies which had formerly been vented against Luther and the other reformers. This letter being shown to Governor Burnet, he wrote her a sensible and masterly answer, refuting the arguments and detecting the falsehoods it contained: both these letters were printed. She was married afterwards to Captain Thomas Baker, who had been taken at Deerfield in 1704, and lived in Doyer, where she was born, till the year 1733. The Indians had been seduced



ATTACK ON MR. HUCKING'S HOUSE.

to the French interest by popish emissaries, who had begun to fascinate them with their religious and national prejudices. They now learned to call the English heretics, and that to extirpate them, as such, was meritorious in the sight of Heaven. When their minds were filled with religious frenzy, they became more bitter and implacable enemies than before; and finding the sale of scalps and prisoners turn to good account in Canada, they had still farther incitement to continue their depredations, and prosecute their vengeance.

The necessity of vigorous measures was now so pressing, that parties were immediately despatched, one under Captain Noyes to Penacook, where they destroyed the corn, but the Indians escaped; another from Pascataqua, under Captain Wincal, to Winnipiseogee, whither the Indians had retired, as John Church, who had been taken at Cochecho, and escaped from them, reported; one or two Indians were killed there, and their corn cut down. But these excursions proved of small service, as the Indians had little to lose, and could find a home wherever they could find game and fish.

In the month of August, Major Swaine, with seven or eight companies raised by the Massachusetts government, marched to the eastward; and Major Church, with another party, consisting of English and Indians, from the colony of Plymouth, soon followed them. While these forces were on their march, the Indians, who lay in the woods about Oyster river, observed how many men belonged to Hucking's garrison; and seeing them all go out one morning to work, nimbly ran between them and the house, and killed them all, being in number eighteen, except one who had passed the brook. They then attacked the house, in which were only two boys, one of whom was lame, with some women and children. The boys kept then

off for some time, and wounded several of them. At length the Indians set the house on fire, and even then the boys would not surrender till they had promised them to spare their lives. They perfidiously murdered three or four of the children; one of them was set on a sharp stake in the view of its distressed mother, who, with the other women and the boys, were carried captive. One of the boys escaped the next day. Captain Garner, with his company, pursued the enemy, but did not come up with them.

The Massachusetts and Plymouth Companies proceeded to the eastward, settled garrisons in convenient places, and had some skirmishes with the enemy at Casco and Blue Point. On their return, Major Swaine sent a party of the Indian auxiliaries under Lieutenant Flagg toward Winnipiseogee to make discoveries. These Indians held a consultation in their own language, and having persuaded their lieutenant, with two men, to return, nineteen of them tarried out eleven days longer; in which time they found the enemy, stayed with them two nights, and informed them of every thing which they desired to know; upon which the enemy retired to their inaccessible deserts, and the forces returned without finding them, and in November were disbanded.

Nothing was more welcome to the distressed inhabitants of the frontiers than the approach of winter, as they then expected a respite from their sufferings. The deep snows and cold weather were commonly a good security against an attack from the Indians; but when resolutely set on mischief, and instigated by popish enthusiasm, no obstacles could prevent the execution of their purposes.

The Count de Frontenac, now governor of Canada, (1690,) was fond of distinguishing himself by enterprises against the American subjects of King William, with whom his master was at war in Europe. For this purpose he detached three parties of French and Indians from Canada in the winter, who were to take three different routes into the English territories. One of these parties marched from Montreal, and destroyed Schenectady, a Dutch village on the Mohawk river, in the province of New York. This action, which happened at an unusual time of the year, in the month of February, alarmed the whole country; and the eastern settlements were ordered to be on their guard. On the 18th day of March, another party, which came from Trois Rivières, under the command of the Sieur Hertel, an officer of great repute in Canada, found their way to Salmon Falls, a settlement on the river which divides New Hampshire from the province of Maine. This party consisted of fifty-two men, of whom twenty-five were Indians under Hoophood, a noted warrior. They began the attack at day-break, in three different places. The people were surprised; but flew to arms, and defended themselves in the garrisoned houses, with a bravery which the enemy themselves applauded. But as in all such onsets the assailants have the greatest advantage, so they here proved too strong for the

defendants ; about thirty of the bravest were killed, and the rest surrendered at discretion, to the number of fifty-four, of whom the greater part were women and children. After plundering, the enemy burned the houses, mills, and barns, with the cattle, which were within doors, and then retreated into the woods, whither they were pursued by about one hundred and forty men, suddenly collected from the neighbouring towns, who came up with them in the afternoon, at a narrow bridge on Wooster's river. Hertel, expecting a pursuit, had posted his men advantageously on the opposite bank. The pursuers advanced with great intrepidity, and a warm engagement ensued, which lasted till night, when they retired with the loss of four or five killed ; the enemy, by their own account, lost two, one of whom was Hertel's nephew ; his son was wounded in the knee ; another Frenchman was taken prisoner, who was so tenderly treated that he embraced the Protestant faith, and remained in the country. Hertel, on his way homeward, met with a third party who had marched from Quebec, and joining his company to them, attacked and destroyed the fort and settlement at Casco, the next May. Thus the three expeditions planned by Count Frontenac proved successful ; but the glory of them was much tarnished by acts of cruelty, which Christians should be ashamed to countenance, though perpetrated by savages.

The following instances of cruelty, exercised towards the prisoners taken at Salmon Falls, are mentioned by Dr. Mather. Robert Rogers, a corpulent man, being unable to carry the burden which the Indians imposed upon him, threw it in the path and went aside in the woods to conceal himself. They found him by his track, stripped, beat, and pricked him with their swords : then tied him to a tree and danced round him till they had kindled a fire. They gave him time to pray, and take leave of his fellow prisoners, who were placed round the fire to see his death. They pushed the fire toward him, and when he was almost stifled, took it away to give him time to breathe, and thus prolong his misery ; they drowned his dying groans with their hideous singing and yelling, all the while dancing round the fire, cutting off pieces of his flesh and throwing them in his face. When he was dead they left his body broiling on the coals, in which state it was found by his friends and buried. Mehetabel Goodwin was taken with a child of five months old ; when it cried, they threatened to kill it, which made the mother go aside and sit for hours together in the snow to lull it to sleep ; her master, seeing that this hindered her from travelling, took the child, struck its head against a tree, and hung it on one of the branches ; she would have buried it, but he would not let her, telling her that if she came again that way she might have the pleasure of seeing it. She was carried to Canada, and after five years returned home. Mary Plaisted was taken out of her bed, having lain in but three weeks : they made her travel with them through the snow, and "to ease her of her burden," as they

said, struck the child's head against a tree, and threw it into a river. An anecdote of another kind may relieve the reader after these tragical accounts. Thomas Toogood was pursued by three Indians, and overtaken by one of them, who having inquired his name, was preparing strings to bind him, holding his gun under his arm, which Toogood seized and went backward, keeping the gun presented at him, and protesting that he would shoot him if he alarmed the others who had stopped on the opposite side of the hill. By this dexterity he escaped and got safe into Cochecho; while his adversary had no recompense in his power, but to call after him by the name of Nogood.

After the destruction of Casco, the eastern settlements were all deserted, and the people retired to the fort at Wells. The Indians then came up westward, and a party of them under Hoophood, some time in May, made an assault on Fox Point, in Newington, where they burned several houses, killed about fourteen people, and carried away six. They were pursued by the Captains Floyd and Greenleaf, who came up with them and recovered some of the captives and spoil, after a skirmish in which Hoophood was wounded, and lost his gun. This fellow was soon after killed by a party of Canada Indians, who mistook him for one of the Iroquois, with whom they were at war. On the 4th day of July, eight persons were killed, as they were mowing in a field, near Lamprey river, and a lad was captured. The next day they attacked Captain Hilton's garrison at Exeter, which was relieved by Lieutenant Bancroft, with the loss of a few of his men; one of them, Simon Stone, received nine wounds with shot, and two strokes of a hatchet; when his friends came to bury him, they perceived life in him, and by the application of cordials he revived, to the amazement of all.

Two companies under the Captains Floyd and Wiswal were now scouting, and on the 6th day of July discovered an Indian track, which they pursued till they came up with the enemy at Wheelwright's Pond, [in Lee,] where a bloody engagement ensued for some hours, in which Wiswal, his lieutenant, Flagg, and Serjeant Walker, with twelve more, were killed, and several wounded. It was not known how many of the enemy fell, as they always carried off their dead. Floyd maintained the fight after Wiswal's death, till his men, fatigued and wounded, drew off, which obliged him to follow. The enemy retreated at the same time; for when Captain Convers went to look after the wounded, he found seven alive, whom he brought in by sunrise the next morning, and then returned to bury the dead. The enemy then went westward, and in the course of one week killed, between Lamprey river and Almsbury, not less than forty people.

The cruelties exercised upon the captives in this war exceeded, both in number and degree, any in former times. The most healthy and vigorous

of them were sold in Canada, the weaker were sacrificed and scalped; and for every scalp they had a premium. Two instances only are remembered of their releasing any without a ransom; and one was a woman taken from Fox Point, who obtained her liberty by procuring them some of the necessities of life: the other was at York, where, after they had taken many of the people, they restored two aged women and five children, in return for a generous action of Major Church, who had spared the lives of as many women and children, when they fell into his hands at Amaris-cogin.



The people of New England now looked on Canada as the source of their troubles, and formed a design to reduce it to subjection to the crown of England. The enterprise was bold and hazardous; but had their ability been equal to the ardour of their patriotism, it might probably have been accomplished. Straining every nerve, they equipped an armament in some degree equal to the service. What was wanting in military and naval discipline, was made up in

resolution; and the command was given to Sir William Phipps, an honest man, and a friend to his country, and by no means qualified for such an enterprise. Unavoidable accidents retarded the expedition, so that the fleet did not arrive before Quebec till October, when it was more than time to return. It being impossible to continue there to any purpose, and the troops growing sickly and discouraged, after some ineffectual parade, they abandoned the enterprise.

This disappointment was severely felt. The equipment of the fleet and army required a supply of money which could not readily be collected, and occasioned a paper currency, which has often been drawn into precedent on like occasions, and has proved a fatal source of the most complicated and extensive mischief. The people were almost dispirited with the prospect of poverty and ruin. In this melancholy state of the country, it was a happy circumstance that the Indians voluntarily came in with a flag of truce, and desired a cessation of hostilities. (1691.) A conference being held at Sagadahock, they brought in ten captives, and settled a truce till the 1st day of May, which they observed till the 9th of June, when they attacked Storer's garrison at Wells, but were bravely repulsed. About the same time they killed two men at Exeter, and on the 29th of September, a party of them came from the eastward in canoes to Sandy Beach, Rye, where they killed and captured twenty-one persons. Captain Sherburne, of Portsmouth, a worthy officer, was this year killed at Macquoit.

The next winter, 1692, the country being alarmed with the destruc-

tion of York, some new regulations were made for the general defence. Major Elisha Hutchinson was appointed commander-in-chief of the militia, by whose prudent conduct the frontiers were well guarded, and so constant a communication was kept up, by ranging parties, from one post to another, that it became impossible for the enemy to attack in their usual way by surprise. The good effect of this regulation was presently seen. A young man being in the woods, near Cochecho, was fired at by some Indians. Lieutenant Wilson immediately went out with eighteen men; and finding the Indians, killed or wounded the whole party, excepting one. This struck them with terror, and kept them quiet the remainder of the winter and spring. But on the 10th day of June, an army of French and Indians made a furious attack on Storer's garrison at Wells, where Captain Convers commanded; who, after a brave and resolute defence, was so happy as to drive them off with great loss.

Sir William Phipps, being now governor of Massachusetts, continued the same method of defence, keeping out continual scouts under brave and experienced officers. This kept the Indians so quiet, that except one poor family which they took at Oyster river, and some small mischief at Quaboag, there is no mention of any destruction made by them during the year 1693. Their animosity against New England was not quelled; but they needed time to recruit; some of their principal men were in captivity, and they could not hope to redeem them without a peace. To obtain it, they came into the fort at Pemaquid, and there entered into a solemn covenant, wherein they acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; engaged to abandon the French interest: promised perpetual peace; to forbear private revenge; to restore all captives, and even went so far as to deliver hostages for the due performance of their engagements. This peace, or rather truce, gave both sides a respite, which both earnestly desired.

The people of New Hampshire were much reduced, their lumber trade and husbandry being greatly impeded by the war. Frequent complaints were made of the burden of the war, the scarcity of provisions, and the dispiritedness of the people. Once, it is said, in the council minutes, that they were even ready to quit the province. The governor was obliged to impress men to guard the outposts: they were sometimes dismissed for want of provisions, and then the garrison officers called to account and severely punished: yet, all this time, the public debt did not exceed four hundred pounds. In this situation, they were obliged to apply to their neighbours for assistance; but this was granted with a sparing hand. The people of Massachusetts were much divided, and at variance among themselves, both on account of the new charter which they had received from King William, and the pretended witchcrafts which have made so loud a noise in the world.

The engagements made by the Indians in the treaty of Pemaquid, 1694,



MISSIONARY PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.

might have been performed, if they had been left to their own choice. But the French missionaries had been for some years very assiduous in propagating their tenets among them, one of which was, "that to break faith with heretics was no sin." The *Sieur de Villieu*, who had distinguished himself in the defence of Quebec, when Phipps was before it, and had contracted a strong antipathy to the New Englanders, being now in command at Penobscot, he, with *M. Thury*, the missionary, diverted *Madokawando* and the other sachems from complying with their engagements; so that pretences were found for detaining the English captives, who were more in number, and of more consequence, than the hostages whom the Indians had given. Influenced by the same pernicious councils, they kept a watchful eye on the frontier towns, to see what place was most secure, and might be attacked to the greatest advantage. The settlement at Oyster river, within the town of Dover, was pitched upon as the most likely place; and it is said, that the design of surprising it was publicly talked of at Quebec, two months before it was put in execution. Rumours of Indians lurking in the woods thereabout, made some of the people apprehend danger: but no mischief being attempted, they imagined them to be hunting parties, and returned to their security. At length, the necessary preparations being made, *Villieu*, with a body of two hundred and fifty Indians, collected from the tribes of *St. John*, *Penobscot*, and *Norridgewog*, attended by a French priest, marched for the devoted place.

Oyster river is a stream which runs into the western branch of Pascataqua: the settlements were on both sides of it, and the houses chiefly near the water. Here were twelve garrisoned houses, sufficient for the defence of the inhabitants; but apprehending no danger, some families remained at their own unfortified houses, and those who were in the garrisons were but indifferently provided for defence, some being even destitute of powder. The enemy approached the place undiscovered, and halted near the falls, on Tuesday evening, the 17th of July. Here they formed into two divisions, one of which was to go on each side of the river, and plant themselves in ambush, in small parties, near every house, so as to be ready for the attack at the rising of the sun, the first gun to be the signal. John Dean, whose house stood by the saw-mill at the falls, intending to go from home very early, arose before the dawn of day, and was shot as he came out of his door. This disconcerted their plan: several parties who had some distance to go, had not then arrived at their stations: the people in general were immediately alarmed: some of them had time to make their escape, and others to prepare for their defence. The signal being given, the attack began in all parts where the enemy was ready.

Of the twelve garrisoned houses, five were destroyed, viz., Adams's, Drews', Edgerly's, Medar's, and Beard's. They entered Adams's, without resistance, where they killed fourteen persons; one of them, being a woman with child, they ripped open. The grave is still to be seen in which they were all buried. Drew surrendered his garrison on the promise of security, but was murdered when he fell into their hands; one of his children, a boy of nine years old, was made to run through a lane of Indians, as a mark for them to throw their hatchets at, till they had despatched him. Edgerly's was evacuated; the people took to their boat, and one of them was mortally wounded, before they got out of reach of the enemy's shot. Beard's and Medar's were also evacuated, and the people escaped. The defenceless houses were nearly all set on fire, the inhabitants being either killed or taken in them, or else in endeavouring to fly to the garrisons. Some escaped by hiding in the bushes and other secret places.

Thomas Edgerly, by concealing himself in his cellar, preserved his house, though twice set on fire. The house of John Buss, the minister, was destroyed, with a valuable library. He was absent, his wife and family fled to the woods and escaped. The wife of John Dean, at whom the first gun was fired, was taken with her daughter, and carried about two miles up the river, where they were left under the care of an old Indian, while the others returned to their bloody work. The Indian complained of a pain in his head, and asked the woman what would be a proper remedy. She answered, Occapee, which is the Indian word for rum, of which she knew he had taken a bottle from her house. The remedy being agreeable, he took a large dose and fell asleep; and she took that opportunity to make

her escape, with her child, into the woods, and kept concealed till they were gone.



The other seven garrisons, viz., Burnham's, Bickford's, Smith's, Bunker's, Davis's, Jones' and Woodman's, were resolutely and successfully defended. At Burnham's the gate was left open: the Indians, ten in number, who were appointed to surprise it, were asleep under the bank of the river, at the time that the alarm was given. A man within, who had been kept awake by the toothache, hearing the first gun, roused the

people and secured the gate, just as the Indians who were awakened by the same noise were entering. Finding themselves disappointed, they ran to Pitman's defenceless house, and forced the door at the moment that he had burst a way through that end of the house which was next to the garrison, to which he with his family, taking advantage of the shade of some trees, it being moonlight, happily escaped. Still defeated, they attacked the house of John Davis, which, after some resistance, he surrendered on terms; but the terms were violated, and the whole family either killed or made captives. Thomas Bickford preserved his house in a singular manner. It was situated near the river, and surrounded with a palisade. Being alarmed before the enemy had reached the house, he sent off his family in a boat, and then shutting his gate, betook himself alone to the defence of his fortress. Despising alike the promises and threats by which the Indians would have persuaded him to surrender, he kept up a constant fire at them, changing his dress as often as he could, showing himself with a different cap, hat, or coat, and sometimes without either, and giving directions aloud, as if he had a number of men with him. Finding their attempt vain, the enemy withdrew and left him sole master of the house which he had defended with such admirable address. Smith's, Bunker's, and Davis's garrisons, being seasonably apprized of the danger, were resolutely defended,—one Indian was supposed to be killed and another wounded by a shot from Davis's. Jones's garrison was beset before day; Captain Jones hearing his dog's bark, and imagining wolves might be near, went out to secure some swine and returned unmolested. He then went up into the flankart and sat on the wall. Discerning the flash of a gun, he dropped backward; the ball entered the place from whence he had withdrawn his legs. The enemy, from behind a rock, kept firing on the house for some time and then quitted it. During these transactions the French priest took possession of the meeting-house, and employed himself in writing on the pulpit with chalk, but the house received no damage.

Those parties of the enemy who were on the south side of the river, having completed their destructive work, collected in a field adjoining Burnham's garrison, where they insultingly showed their prisoners, and derided the people, thinking themselves out of reach of their shot. A young man from the sentry-box fired at one who was making some indecent signs of defiance, and wounded him in the heel. Both divisions then met at the falls, where they had parted the evening before, and proceeded together to Captain Woodman's garrison. The ground being uneven, they approached without danger, and, from behind a hill, kept up a long and severe fire at the hats and caps which the people within held up on sticks above the walls, without any other damage than galling the roof of the house. At length, apprehending it was time for the people in the neighbouring settlements to be collected in pursuit of them, they finally withdrew; having killed and captured between ninety and a hundred persons, and burned about twenty houses, of which five were garrisons. The main body of them retreated over Winnipiseogee lake, where they divided their prisoners, separating those in particular who were most intimately connected, in which they often took a pleasure suited to their savage nature.

Among these prisoners were Thomas Drew and his wife, who were newly married: he was carried to Canada, where he continued two years and was redeemed; she to Norridgewog, and was gone four years, in which she endured every thing but death. She was delivered of a child in the winter, in the open air, and in a violent snow-storm; being unable to suckle her child, or provide it any food, the Indians killed it. She lived fourteen days on a decoction of the bark of trees. Once they set her to draw a sled up a river, against a piercing north-west wind, and left her. She was so overcome with the cold that she grew sleepy, laid down, and was nearly dead when they returned: they carried her senseless into a wigwam, and poured warm water down her throat, which recovered her. After her return to her husband, she had fourteen children, they lived together till he was ninety-three and she eighty-nine years of age; they died within two days of each other, and were buried in one grave.

About forty of the enemy, under *Toxus*, a Norridgewog chief, resolving on farther mischief, went westward and did execution as far as Groton. A smaller party, having crossed the river Pascataqua, came to a farm where Ursula Cutts, widow of the deceased president, resided, who, imagining the enemy had done what mischief they intended for that time, could not be persuaded to remove into town till her hay-making should be finished. As she was in the field with her labourers, the enemy fired from an ambush and killed her, with three others. Colonel Richard Waldron and his wife, with her infant son, (afterwards secretary,) had almost shared the same fate; they were taking boat to go and dine with this lady, when



TOXUS.

they were stopped by the arrival of some friends at their house; while at dinner they were informed of her death. She lived about two miles above the town of Portsmouth, and had laid out her farm with much elegance. The scalps taken in this whole expedition were carried to Canada by Madokawando, and presented to Count Frontenac, from whom he received the reward of his treacherous adventure.

There is no mention of any more mischief by the Indians within this province till the next year, 1695, when, in the month of July, two men were killed at Exeter. The following year, 1696, on the 7th of May, John Church, who had been taken and escaped from them seven years before, was killed and scalped at Cochecho, near his own house. On the 26th of June, an attack was made at Portsmouth Plain, about two miles from the town. The enemy came from York-nubble to Sandy-beach in canoes, which they hid there among the bushes near the shore. Some suspicion was formed the day before, by reason of the cattle running out of the woods at Little-harbour; but false alarms were frequent, and this was not much regarded. Early in the morning, the attack was made on five houses at once; fourteen persons were killed on the spot, one was scalped and left for dead, but recovered, and four were taken. The enemy having plundered the houses of what they could carry, set them on fire, and made a precipitate retreat through the great swamp. A company of militia under Captain Shackford and Lieutenant Libbey pursued, and discovered them cooking their breakfast, at a place ever since called Breakfast-hill. The Indians were on the farther side, having placed their captives between themselves and the top of the hill, that in case of an attack they might first receive the fire. The lieutenant urged to go round the hill, and come upon them below to cut off their retreat; but the captain fearing in that case that they would, according to their custom, kill the prisoners, rushed upon them from the top of the hill, by which means they retook the captives and plunder, but the Indians, rolling down the hill, escaped into the swamp and got to their canoes. Another party, under another commander, was then sent out in shallops to intercept them as they should cross over to the eastward by night. The captain ranged his boats in a line, and ordered his men to reserve their fire till he gave the watch word. It being a calm night, the Indians were heard as they advanced; but the captain unhappily giving the word before they had come within gun-shot, they tacked about to the southward, and going round the Isles of Shoals, by the favour of their light canoes escaped. The watch-word was Crambo, which the captain ever after bore as an appendage to his title.

On the 26th day of July, the people of Dover were waylaid as they were returning from the public worship, when three were killed, three wounded, and three carried to Penobscot, from whence they soon found their way home.

The next year, on the 10th of June, 1697, the town of Exeter was remarkably preserved from destruction. A body of the enemy had placed themselves near the town, intending to make an assault in the morning of the next day. A number of women and children, contrary to the advice of their friends, went into the fields, without a guard, to gather strawberries. When they were gone, some persons, to frighten them, fired an alarm ; which quickly spread through the town, and brought the people together in arms. The Indians, supposing that they were discovered, and quickened by fear, after killing one, wounding another, and taking a child, made a hasty retreat, and were seen no more there. But on the 4th day of July, they waylaid and killed the worthy Major Frost, at Kittery, to whom they had owed revenge ever since the seizure of the four hundred at Cochecho, in which he was concerned.

In the same year an invasion of the country was projected by the French. A fleet was to sail from France to Newfoundland, and thence to Penobscot, where, being joined by an army from Canada, an attempt was to be made on Boston, and the sea-coast ravaged from thence to Pascatagua. The plan was too extensive and complicated to be executed in one summer. The fleet came no further than Newfoundland ; when the advanced season and scantiness of provisions obliged them to give over the design. The people of New England were apprized of the danger, and made the best preparations in their power. They strengthened their fortifications on the coast, and raised a body of men to defend the frontiers against the Indians, who were expected to co-operate with the French. Some mischief was done by lurking-parties at the eastward ; but New Hampshire was unmolested by them during the remainder of this and the whole of the following year.

After the peace of Ryswick, (1698,) Count Frontenac informed the Indians that he could not any longer support them in a war with the English, with whom his nation was now at peace. He, therefore, advised them to bury the hatchet, and restore their captives. Having suffered much by famine, and being divided in their opinions about prosecuting the war, after a long time they were brought to a treaty, (1699,) at Casco, where they ratified their former engagements ; acknowledged subjection to the crown of England ; lamented their former perfidy, and promised future peace and good behaviour in such terms as the commissioners dictated, and with as much sincerity as could be expected. At the same time they restored those captives who were able to travel from the places of their detention to Casco in that unfavourable season of the year ; giving

assurance for the return of the others in the spring ; but many of the younger sort, both males and females, were detained ; who, mingling with the Indians, contributed to a succession of enemies in future wars against their own country.

A general view of an Indian war will give a just idea of those distressing times, and be a proper close to this narration.



The Indians were seldom or never seen before they did execution. They appeared not in the open field, nor gave proofs of a truly masculine courage ; but did their exploits by surprise, chiefly in the morning, keeping themselves hid behind logs and bushes, near the paths in the woods, or the fences contiguous to the doors of houses ; and their lurking-holes could be known only by the report of their guns, which was, indeed, but feeble, as they were sparing of ammunition, and as near as possible to their object before they fired. They rarely assaulted a house unless they knew there would be but little resistance, and it

has been afterwards known that they have lain in ambush for days together, watching the motions of the people at their work, without daring to discover themselves. One of their chiefs, who had got a woman's riding-hood among his plunder, would put it on, in an evening, and walk into the streets of Portsmouth, looking into the windows of houses, and listening to the conversation of the people.

Their cruelty was chiefly exercised upon children, and such aged, infirm, or corpulent persons as could not bear the hardships of a journey through the wilderness. If they took a woman far advanced in pregnancy, their knives were plunged into her bowels. An infant, when it became troublesome, had its brains dashed out against the next tree or stone. Sometimes, to torment the wretched mother, they would whip and beat the child till almost dead, or hold it under water till its breath was just gone, and then throw it to her to comfort and quiet it. If the mother could not readily still its weeping, the hatchet was buried in its skull. A captive, wearied with the burden laid on his shoulders, was often sent to rest in the same way. If any one proved refractory, or was known to be instrumental to the death of an Indian, or related to one who had been so, he was tortured with a lingering punishment, generally at the stake, while the other captives were insulted with the sight of his miseries. Sometimes a fire would be kindled and a threatening given out against one or more, though there was no intention of sacrificing them, only to make sport of their terrors. The young Indians often signalized their cruelty in treating captives inhumanely out of sight of the elder, and when inquiry

was made into the matter, the insulted captive must either be silent, or put the best face on it, to prevent worse treatment for the future. If a captive appear sad and dejected, he was sure to meet with insult; but if he could sing and dance, and laugh with his masters, he was caressed as a brother. They had a strong aversion to negroes, and generally killed them when they fell into their hands.

Famine was a common attendant on these captivities; the Indians, when they caught any game, devoured it all at one sitting, and then girding themselves round the waist, travelled without sustenance till chance threw more in their way. The captives, unused to such canine repasts and abstinences, could not support the surfeit of the one nor the cravings of the other. A change of masters, though it sometimes proved a relief from misery, yet rendered the prospect of a return to their home more distant. If an Indian had lost a relative, a prisoner, bought for a gun, a hatchet, or a few skins, must supply the place of the deceased, and be the father, brother, or son of the purchaser; and those who could accommodate themselves to such barbarous adoption, were treated with the same kindness as the persons in whose place they were substituted. A sale among the French in Canada was the most happy event to a captive, especially if he became a servant in a family; though sometimes even there a prison was their lot, till an opportunity was presented for their redemption; while the priests employed every seducing art to pervert them to the popish religion, and induce them to abandon their country. These circumstances, joined with the more obvious hardships of travelling half naked and barefoot through pathless deserts, over craggy mountains and deep swamps, through frost, rain, and snow, exposed by day and night to the inclemency of the weather, and in summer to the venomous stings of those numberless insects with which the woods abound; the restless anxiety of mind, the retrospect of past scenes of pleasure, the remembrance of distant friends, the bereavements experienced at the beginning or during the progress of the captivity, and the daily apprehension of death, either by famine or the savage enemy; these were the horrors of an Indian captivity.

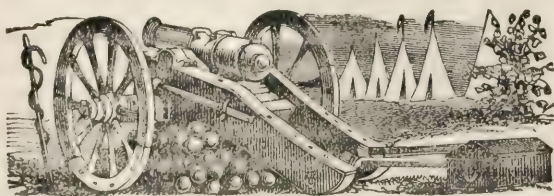
On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that there have been instances of justice, generosity, and tenderness, during these wars, which would have done honour to a civilized people. A kindness shown to an Indian was remembered as long as an injury, and persons have had their lives spared for acts of humanity done to the ancestors of those Indians into whose hands they had fallen. They would sometimes "carry children on their arms and shoulders, feed their prisoners with the best of their provision, and pinch themselves rather than their captives should want food." When sick or wounded they would afford them proper means for their recovery, which they were very well able to do by their

knowledge of simples. In thus preserving the lives and health of their prisoners, they, doubtless, had a view of gain. But the most remarkably favourable circumstance in an Indian captivity, was their decent behaviour to women. It has never been found that any woman who fell into their hands was treated with the least immodesty; but testimonies to the contrary are very frequent. Mary Rowlandson, who was captured at Lancaster, in 1675, has this passage in her narrative: "I have been in the midst of these roaring lions and savage bears, that feared neither God nor man, nor the devil, by day and night, alone and in company, sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered me the least abuse of unchastity in word or action."

Elizabeth Hanson, who was taken from Dover, in 1724, testifies in her narrative, that "the Indians are very civil toward their captive women, not offering any incivility by any indecent carriage."

William Fleming, who was taken in Pennsylvania, in 1755, says, the Indians told him, "he need not be afraid of their abusing his wife, for they would not do it, for fear of offending their god (pointing their hands toward heaven); for the man that affronts his god will surely be killed when he goes to war." He farther says, that "one of them gave his wife a shift and petticoat which he had among his plunder, and though he was alone with her, yet he turned his back, and went to some distance while she put them on."

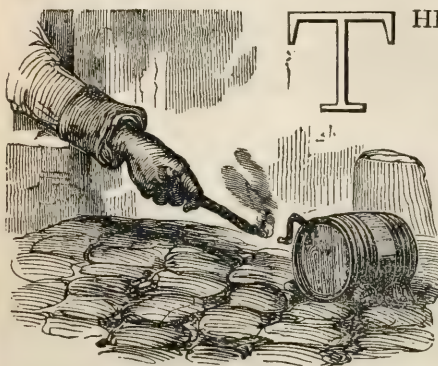
Charlevoix, in his account of the Indians of Canada, says, "There is no example that any have ever taken the least liberty with the French women, even when they were their prisoners." Whether this negative virtue is to be ascribed to a natural frigidity of constitution, let philosophers inquire: the fact is certain; and it was a most happy circumstance for the female captives, that in the midst of all their distresses, they had no reason to fear, from a savage foe, the perpetration of a crime, which has too frequently disgraced not only the personal but the national character of those who make large pretences to civilization and humanity.





QUEEN ANNE.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.



THE war with the French and Indians, which immediately followed the accession of Queen Anne, is called Queen Anne's War. It was attended with great suffering in the colonies.

The peace which followed the treaty of Ryswick was but of short duration, for the seeds of war were ready sown both in Europe and America. Louis had proclaimed the Pretender

king of England, and his governor, Villebon, had orders to extend his province of Acadia to the river Kennebec, though the English court understood St. Croix to be the boundary between their territories and those of

the French. The fishery was interrupted by French men of war, and by the orders of Villebon, who suffered no English vessels to fish on the banks of Nova Scotia. A French mission was established, and a chapel erected at Norridgewog, on the upper part of Kennebec, which served to extend the influence of the French among the Indians. The governor of Canada, assuming the character of their father and protector, instigated them to prevent the settlement of the English to the east of Kennebec, and found some among them ready to listen to his advice. The people in those parts were apprehensive of danger and meditating a removal, and those who had entertained thoughts of settling there were restrained.

Things were in this posture when Dudley entered on his government. He had particular orders from England to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid ; but could not prevail on the Massachusetts Assembly to bear the expense of it. However he determined on a visit to the eastern country, and having notified his intention to the Indians, took with him a number of gentlemen of both provinces, (1703,) and held a conference at Casco with delegates from the tribes of Norridgewog, Penobscot, Pigwacket, Penacook, and Amaris-coggin, who assured him that "as high as the sun was above the earth, so far distant was their design of making the least breach of the peace." They presented him a belt of wampum in token of their sincerity, and both parties went to two heaps of stones which had formerly been pitched, and called the "two brothers," where the friendship was further ratified by the addition of other stones. They also declared, that although the French emissaries among them had been endeavouring to break the union, yet it was "firm as a mountain, and should continue as long as the sun and moon." Notwithstanding these fair appearances, it was observed that when the Indians fired a salute, their guns were charged with shot ; and it was suspected that they had then formed a design to seize the governor and his attendants, if a party which they expected from Canada, and which arrived two or three days after, had come in proper season to their assistance. However this might be, it is certain that in the space of six weeks, a body of French and Indians, five hundred in number, having divided themselves into several parties, attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed and took one hundred and thirty people, burning and destroying all before them.

The next week, (August 17th,) a party of thirty Indians under Captain Tom killed five people at Hampton village, in New Hampshire ; among whom was a widow Mussy, a noted speaker among the Friends, and much lamented by them ; they also plundered two houses, but the people being alarmed, and pursuing them, they fled.

The country was now in terror and confusion. The women and children retired to the garrisons. The men went armed to their work, and posted sentinels in the fields. Troops of horse were quartered at Portsmouth, in

New Hampshire, and in the province of Maine. A scout of three hundred and sixty men marched toward Pigwacket, and another to Ossapy Pond, but made no discoveries. Alarms were frequent, and the whole frontier country, from Deerfield on the west to Casco on the east, was kept in continual terror by small parties of the enemy.

In the fall, Colonel March, of Casco, made a visit to Pigwacket, where he killed six of the enemy, and took six more; this encouraged the government to offer a bounty of forty pounds for scalps.

As the winter came on, the frontier towns were ordered to provide a large number of snow-shoes; and an expedition was planned in New Hampshire, against the head-quarters of the Indians. Major Winthrop Hilton, and Captain John Gilman, of Exeter, Captain Chesley, and Captain Davis, of Oyster river, marched with their companies on snow-shoes, into the woods, but returned without success. This is called, in the council books, "an honourable service." Hilton received a gratuity of twelve pounds, and each of the captains five pounds.

With the return of spring, 1704, there was a return of hostilities, for notwithstanding the posting a few southern Indians in the garrison at Berwick, the enemy appeared at Oyster river, and shot Nathaniel Medar, near his own field, and the next day killed Edward Taylor, near Lamprey river, and captured his wife and son. These instances of mischief gave colour to a false alarm at Cochecho, where it was said they lay in wait for Colonel Waldron, a whole day, but missing him by reason of his absence from home, took his servant-maid, as she went to a spring for water; and having examined her as to the state of the garrison, stunned her with a hatchet, but did not scalp her.



In May, Colonel Church, by Governor Dudley's order, having planned an expedition to the eastern shore, sailed from Boston, with a number of transports, furnished with whale boats for going up rivers. In this way he stopped at Pascataqua, where he was joined by a body of men under Major Hilton, who was of eminent service to him in this expedition, which lasted the whole summer, and in which they destroyed the towns of Minas and Chiegnecto, and did considerable damage to the French and Indians, at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, and even insulted Port Royal. While they were at Mount Desart, Church learned from nine of his prisoners, that a body of six hundred Indians were preparing for an attack on Casco, and the head of Pascataqua river, and sent an express to Portsmouth, which obliged the people to be vigilant. No such great force as this appeared, but small parties kept hovering on the outskirts. At Oyster river, they wounde

William Tasker; and at Dover, they lay in ambush for the people, on their return from public worship, but happily missed their aim. They afterwards mortally wounded Mark Gyles, at that place, and soon after killed several people in a field at Oyster river, whose names are not mentioned.

In the former wars, New Hampshire had received much assistance from their brethren of Massachusetts; but these now remonstrated to the governor, that his other province did not bear their proportion of the charge for the common defence. The representatives of New Hampshire urged, in reply, the different circumstances of the two provinces, "most of the towns in Massachusetts being out of the reach of the enemy, and no otherwise affected by the war, than in the payment of their part of the expense, while this province was wholly a frontier by sea and land, and in equal danger with the county of York, in which four companies were stationed, and the inhabitants were abated their proportion of the public charges." They begged that twenty of the friendly Indians might be sent to scout on their borders, which request the governor complied with.

In the winter of 1705, Colonel Hinton, with two hundred and seventy men, including the twenty Indians, were sent to Norridgewog, on snow-shoes. They had a favourable season for their march, the snow being four feet deep. When they arrived there, finding no enemy to contend with, they burnt the deserted wigwams, and the chapel. The officers who went on this expedition, complained that they had only the pay of private soldiers.

The late repairs of Fort William and Mary, at Newcastle, were always complained of, as burdensome to the people, and a representation thereof had been made to the queen, who instructed Dudley to press the Assembly of Massachusetts to contribute to the expense; as the river belonged equally to both provinces. They urged in excuse, that the fort was built at first, at the sole charge of New Hampshire, to whom it properly belonged; that the whole expense of the repairs did not amount to what several of their towns singly paid, towards the support of the war for one year; that all the trade and navigation of the river, on both sides, paid a duty toward maintaining that fortress; and that they had been at a great expense in protecting the frontiers of New Hampshire, and the parties who were employed in getting timber and masts for her majesty's service; while New Hampshire had never contributed any thing to the support of the garrisons, forces, and guards by sea, which were of equal benefit to them as to Massachusetts. One thing, which made New Hampshire more in favour with the queen was, that they had settled a salary on her governor, which the others never could be persuaded to do. The repairs of the fort, however, went on without their assistance, under the direction of Colonel Romer; and when they were completed, a petition was sent home for a supply of cannon, ammunition, and stores.



FORT WILLIAM AND MARY.

The next summer was chiefly spent in negotiating an exchange of prisoners; and Dudley had the address to protract the negotiation, under pretence of consulting with the other governments about a neutrality proposed by the governor of Canada, by which means the frontiers in general were kept tolerably quiet, although the enemy appeared once or twice in the town of Kittery. The line of pickets, which enclosed the town of Portsmouth, was repaired, and a nightly patrol established on the sea-shore, from Rendezvous Point, to the bounds of Hampton, to prevent any surprise by sea; the coast being at this time infested by the enemy's privateers.

During this truce, the inhabitants of Kingston, who had left the place, were encouraged to petition for leave to return to their lands; which the court granted, on condition that they should build a fort in the centre of the town, lay out a parsonage, and settle a minister within three years. This last condition was rendered impracticable by the renewal of hostilities.

The governor of Canada had encouraged the Indians who inhabited the borders of New England, to remove to Canada, where, being incorporated with the tribe of St. Francis, they have ever since remained. By this policy, they became more firmly attached to the interests of the French, and were more easily despatched on their bloody business to the frontiers of New England, with which they were well acquainted. Dudley, who was generally apprized of their movements, and kept a vigilant eye upon them, apprehended a rupture in the winter; and gave orders, 1706, for a circular scouting march, once a month, round the head of the towns from Kingston to Salmon Falls; but the enemy did not appear till April; when a small party of them attacked the house of John Drew, at Oyster river, where they killed eight, and wounded two. The garrison was near, but not a man in it: the women, however, seeing but death before them, fired an alarm, and then putting on hats, and loosening their hair, that they might appear like men, they fired so briskly, that the enemy, apprehend-

ing the people were alarmed, fled without burning, or even plundering the house which they had attacked. John Wheeler, meeting this party, and mistaking them for friendly Indians, unhappily fell into their hands, and was killed, with his wife and two children. Four of his sons took refuge in a cave by the bank of the Little Bay, and though pursued by the Indians, escaped unhurt.

In July, Colonel Schuyler, from Albany, gave notice to Dudley, that two hundred and seventy of the enemy were on their march toward Pascataqua, of which he immediately informed the people, and ordered them to close garrison, and one-half of the militia to be ready at a minute's warning. The first appearance of this body of the enemy was at Dunstable; from whence they proceeded to Amesbury and Kingston, where they killed some cattle. Hilton, with sixty-four men, marched from Exeter; but was obliged to return without meeting the enemy. The reason he gave to the council for returning so soon, was the want of provision, there being none in readiness at the garrisons, notwithstanding a law lately enacted, enjoining every town to have stores ready, and deposited in the hands of their captains. For the same reason he had been obliged to discontinue a small scout, which he had for some time kept up. Hilton was so brave and active an officer, that the enemy had marked him for destruction; and for this purpose, a party of them kept lurking about his house, where they observed ten men to go out one morning with their scythes, and lay aside their arms to mow; they then crept between the men and their guns, and suddenly rushing on them, killed four, wounded one, and took three; two only of the whole number escaped. They missed the major for this time, and two of the prisoners escaped; but suffered much in their return, having nothing to subsist on for three weeks but lily roots and rinds of trees. After this, they killed William Pearl, and took Nathaniel Tibbets at Dover. It was observed during this war, that the enemy did more damage in small bodies than in larger, and by scattering along the frontiers, kept the people in continual apprehension and alarm; and so very few of them were taken prisoners, that in computing the expense of the war, it was judged that every Indian killed or taken, cost the country a thousand pounds.

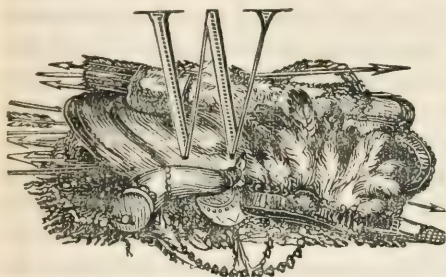
In the following winter, 1707, Hilton made another excursion to the eastward, and a shallop was sent to Casco, with stores and provisions for his party, consisting of two hundred and twenty men. The winter being mild, and the weather unsettled, prevented their marching so far as they intended: cold dry weather, and deep snow, being most favourable to winter expeditions. However, they came on an Indian track, near Black Point, and pursuing it, killed four, and took a squaw, who conducted them a party of eighteen, whom they surprised as they lay asleep on a neck of land, at break of day, and of whom they killed seventeen, and took the

other. This was matter of triumph, considering the difficulty of finding their haunts. It is asserted, that on the very morning this affair happened, it was reported, with but little variation from the truth, at Portsmouth, though at the distance of sixty miles.

When Church went to Nova Scotia, he very earnestly solicited leave to make an attempt on Port Royal; but Dudley would not consent, and the reason he gave was, that he had written to the ministry in England, and expected orders and naval help to reduce the place. His enemies, however, assigned another reason for his refusal; which was, that a clandestine trade was carried on by his connivance, and to his emolument, with the French there. This report gained credit, and occasioned a loud call for justice. Those who were directly concerned in the illegal traffic, were prosecuted and fined; and the governor suffered much in his reputation. To wipe off these aspersions, he now determined to make an attack in earnest on Port Royal, even though no assistance should come from England. It was intended that an armament should be sent to America, and the commander was appointed; but the state of affairs in Europe prevented their coming.

Early in the spring, the governor applied to the assemblies of both his provinces, and to the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, requesting them to raise one thousand men for the expedition. Connecticut declined; but the other three raised the whole number, who were disposed into two regiments, of which Colonel Wainwright commanded the one, and Colonel Hilton the other. They embarked at Nantasket, in twenty-three transports, furnished with whale boats, under convoy of the Deptford man-of-war, Captain Stuckley, and the province galley, Captain Southack. The chief command was given to Colonel March, who had behaved well in several scouts and rencounters with the Indians, but had never been tried in such service as this. They arrived before Port Royal in a few days, and after burning some houses, killing some cattle round the fort, and making some ineffectual attempts to bombard it, a jealousy and disagreement among the officers, and a misapprehension of the state of the fort and garrison, caused the army to break up, and reembark in a disorderly manner. Some of the officers went to Boston for orders, some of the transports put in at Casco; a sloop, with Captain Chesley's company of sixty men, arrived at Portsmouth: Chesley suffered his men to disperse, but ordered them to return at the beat of the drum: being called to account for this conduct, he alleged that "general orders were given at Port Royal for every man to make the best of his way home." The governor, highly chagrined, and very angry, sent orders from Boston, that if any more vessels arrived, the men should not be permitted to come on shore "on pain of death." After a while, he ordered Chesley's company to be collected and reembarked, offering a pardon to those who voluntarily returned, the

rest to be severely punished. By the latter end of July, they got on board, and with the rest of the army returned to the place of action. At the landing, an ambuscade of Indians from among the sedge on the top of a sea-wall, greatly annoyed the troops. Major Walton, and Captain Chesley, being then on shore with the New Hampshire companies, pushed their men up the beach, flanked the enemy, and, after an obstinate struggle, put them to flight. The command was now given to Wainwright, and the army put under the direction of three supervisors; but no means could inspire that union, firmness, and skill which were necessary. By the last of August, the whole affair was at an end, and the army returned, sickly, fatigued, disheartened, and ashamed; but with no greater loss than sixteen killed, and as many wounded.



HILE this unfortunate expedition was in hand, the frontiers were kept in continual alarm. Two men were taken from Oyster river, and two more killed as they were driving a team between that place and Dover. Captain Sumerby pursued with his troop, and re-

covered the contents of the cart. Stephen and Jacob Gilman, brothers, were ambushed between Exeter and Kingston; their horses were killed, but both of them escaped to the garrison. Kingston, being a new plantation, was much exposed, and was this summer weakened by the desertion of eight men. The remaining inhabitants complained to government, who ordered the captains of Exeter and Hampton to take them up as deserters, and oblige them to return to the defence of their settlements, or do duty at the fort during the governor's pleasure. They were afterwards bound over to the sessions for contempt of orders. The state of the country at this time was truly distressing; a large quota of their best men were abroad, the rest harassed by the enemy at home, obliged to continual duty in garrisons and in scouts, and subject to severe discipline for neglects. They earned their bread at the continual hazard of their lives, never daring to stir abroad unarmed; they could till no lands but what were within call of the garrisoned houses into which their families were crowded; their husbandry, lumber-trade, and fishery, were declining, their taxes increasing, their apprehensions both from the force of the enemy and the failure of the Port Royal expedition were exceedingly dismal, and there was no prospect of an end to the war, in which they were now advanced to the fifth summer. Yet under all these distresses and discouragements, they resolutely kept their ground and maintained their garrisons—not one of which was cut off during the whole of this war, within the limits of New Hampshire.

In September, one man was killed at Exeter, and two days after Henry Elkins at Kingston. But the severest blow on the frontiers happened at Oyster river, a place which suffered more than all the rest. A party of French Mohawks, painted red, attacked with a hideous yell a company who were in the woods, some hewing timber and others driving a team, under the direction of Captain Chesley, who was just returned the second time from Port Royal. At the first fire they killed seven, and mortally wounded another. Chesley, with the few who were left, fired on the enemy with great vigour, and for some time checked their ardour; but being overpowered, he at length fell. He was much lamented, being a brave officer. Three of the scalps taken at this time were soon after recovered at Berwick.

The next year, 1708, a large army from Canada was destined against the frontiers of New England. Dudley received information of it in the usual route from Albany, and immediately ordered guards in the most exposed places of both his provinces. A troop under Captain Robert Coffin patrolled from Kingston to Cochecho, and scouts were kept out continually. Spy-boats were also kept out at sea between Pascataqua and Winter harbours. Four hundred Massachusetts soldiers were posted in this province. The towns were ordered to provide ammunition, and all things were in as good a state of preparation as could be expected. At length the storm fell on Haverhill; but the enemy's force having been diminished by various accidents, they proceeded no farther, and every part of New Hampshire was quiet. Hilton made another winter march to Pig-wacket with one hundred and seventy men, but made no discovery.

The next spring, 1709, William Moody, Samuel Stevens, and two sons of Jeremy Gilman, were taken at Pickpocket-mill in Exeter, and soon after Bartholomew Stevenson was killed at Oyster river. Colonel Hilton and Captain Davis performed their usual tour of duty in scouting, and the people this summer kept close in garrison, on a report that two hundred Indians had marched against them from Montreal. But the principal object now in view was a desire of wiping off the disgrace of a former year, by an attempt, not on Port Royal, but on Canada itself. For this purpose solicitations had been made in England by Francis Nicholson, Esq., who had been lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and Captain Samuel Vetch, a trader to Nova Scotia, who was well acquainted with the French settlements there, and made a full representation of the state of things in America to the British ministry. An expedition being determined upon, they came over early in the spring with the queen's command to the governors of the several provinces to raise men for the service. Vetch was appointed a colonel, and Nicholson, by nomination of the governor of New York, and consent of the other governments, was made commander-in-chief. The people of New Hampshire were so much exhausted, and their men had

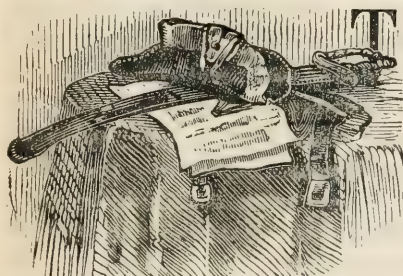
been so ill paid before, that it was with great difficulty, and not without the dissolution of one Assembly and the calling of another, that they could raise money to levy one hundred men, and procure two transports for conveying them. After the utmost exertions had been made by the several governments, and Nicholson with part of the troops had marched to Wood creek, and the rest with the transports had lain at Nantasket three months, waiting for a fleet, news arrived that the armament promised from England was diverted to another quarter. Upon which the commander of the frigates on the Boston station refused to convoy the troops, the whole army was disbanded, and the expense the colonies had been at was fruitless. A congress of governors and delegates from the Assemblies met late in the year at Rhode Island, who recommended the sending home agents to assist Colonel Nicholson in representing the state of the country, and soliciting an expedition against Canada the next spring. The ministry at first seemed to listen to this proposal, but afterwards (1710) changed their minds, and resolved only on the reduction of Port Royal. For this purpose Nicholson came over in July, with five frigates and a bomb ketch; the colonies then had to raise their quotas; the New Hampshire Assembly ordered one hundred men, who were got ready as soon as possible, and put under the command of Colonel Shadrach Walton. The whole armament sailed from Boston, the 18th of September, and on the 24th arrived at the place. The force now being equal to its reduction, Subcrease, the governor, waited only the compliment of a few shot and shells as a decent pretence for a surrender; which was completed on the 5th of October, and Vetch was appointed governor of the place, which in honour of the queen was called Annapolis.

While this expedition was in hand, and before the appointment of the commanders, New Hampshire sustained a heavy loss in the death of Colonel Winthrop Hilton. This worthy officer being concerned in the masting business, and having several large trees felled about fourteen miles from home, went out with a party to peel the bark, that the wood might not be injured by worms. While engaged in this business they were ambushed by a party of Indians, who at the first fire killed Hilton, with two more, and took two; the rest being terrified, and their guns being wet, made no opposition, but escaped. The next day one hundred men marched in pursuit, but discovered only the mangled bodies of the dead. The enemy, in their barbarous triumph, had struck their hatchets into the colonel's brains, and left a lance in his heart. He was a gentleman "of good temper, courage, and conduct, respected and lamented by all that knew him," and was buried with the honours due to his rank and character.

Flushed with this success, they insolently appeared in the open road at Exeter, and took four children who were at their play. They also took John Wedgwood, and killed John Magoon near his brother's barn, a place

which for three days he had visited with a melancholy apprehension arising from a dream that he should there be murdered.

The same day that Hilton was killed, a company of Indians who had pretended friendship, and the year before had been peaceably conversant with the inhabitants of Kingston, and seemed to be thirsting after the blood of the enemy, came into the town, and, ambushing the road, killed Samuel Winslow and Samuel Huntoon; they also took Philip Huntoon and Jacob Gilman, and carried them to Canada, where, after some time, they purchased their own redemption by building a saw-mill for the governor after the English mode.



THE last that fell this summer was Jacob Garland, who was killed at Cochecho on his return from the public worship. As the winter approached, Colonel Walton with a hundred and seventy men traversed the eastern shores, which the Indians usually visited at this season for the purpose of gathering clams. On an island where the party was encamped, several Indians, decoyed by their smoke, and mistaking them for some of their own tribe, came among them and were made prisoners. One of them was a sachem of Norridgewog, active, bold, and sullen; when he found himself in the hands of enemies, he would answer none of their questions, and laughed with scorn at their threatening him with death. His wife, being an eye-witness of the execution of the threatening, was so intimidated as to make the discoveries which the captors had in vain desired of the sachem; in consequence of which, three were taken at the place of which she informed, and two more at Saco river, where also five were killed. This success, inconsiderable as it may appear, kept up the spirits of the people, and added to the loss of the enemy, who were daily diminishing by sickness and famine.

In the spring of 1711, they renewed their ravages on the frontiers in small parties. Thomas Downs, John Church, and three more were killed at Cochecho; and on a Sabbath-day several of the people there fell into an ambush, as they were returning from public worship. John Horn was wounded, and Humphrey Foss was taken; but by the determined bravery of Lieutenant Heard, he was recovered out of the hands of the enemy. Walton, with two companies, marched to the ponds about the fishing season, but the Indians had withdrawn, and nothing was to be seen but their deserted wigwams.

After the reduction of Port Royal, Nicholson went to England to solicit an expedition against Canada. The tory minister of Queen Anne, to the

surprise of all the Whigs in England and America, fell in with the proposal; and on the 8th of June, Nicholson came to Boston with orders for the northern colonies to get ready their quotas of men and provision, by the arrival of the fleet and army from Europe, which happened within sixteen days, and while the several governors were holding a consultation on the subject of their orders. A compliance with them in so short a time was impossible, yet every thing that could be done was done; the nature of the service conspiring with the wishes of the people, made the governments exert themselves to the utmost. New Hampshire raised one hundred men, which was more than they could well spare; one-half of the militia being continually employed in guarding the frontiers. They also voted them subsistence for a hundred and twenty-six days, besides providing for them on shore before their embarkation. Two transports were taken up at eight shillings per month per ton, and artillery stores were issued from the fort. The colony forces formed two regiments, under the command of Vetch and Walton. The army which came from England were seven veteran regiments of the Duke of Marlborough's army, and a battalion of marines under the command of Brigadier-general Hill, which, joined with the New England troops, made a body of about six thousand five hundred men, provided with a fine train of artillery. The fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war, from eighty to thirty-six guns, with forty transports and six storeships under the command of Admiral Walker: a force fully equal to the reduction of Quebec.

The fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July; and a fast was ordered by Dudley to be kept on the last Thursday of that, and each succeeding month, till the enterprise should be finished. This was an imitation of the conduct of the Long Parliament, during the civil wars in the previous century. But the sanguine hopes of success which had been entertained by the nation and the colonies were all blasted in one fatal night: for the fleet having advanced ten leagues into the river St. Lawrence, in the night of the 23d of August, the weather being thick and dark, eight transports were wrecked on Egg Island near the north shore, and a thousand people perished; of whom there was but one man who belonged to New England. The next day the fleet put back, and were eight days beating down the river against an easterly wind, which would in two days have carried them to Quebec. After collecting together at Spanish river in the island of Cape Breton, and holding a fruitless consultation about annoying the French at Placentia, the expedition was broken up; the fleet returned to England, and the New England troops to their homes. Loud complaints and heavy charges were made on this occasion; the ignorance of the pilots—the obstinacy of the admiral—the detention of the fleet at Boston—its late arrival there—the want of seasonable orders—and the secret intentions of the ministry were all subjects of bitter altercation; but the miscarriage



LOSS OF THE FLEET.

was never regularly inquired into, and the disasters of the voyage were finally completed by the blowing up of the admiral's ship, with most of his papers, and four hundred seamen, at Spithead.

The failure of this expedition encouraged the Indians to harass the frontiers as soon as the season would permit. In April, 1712, one Cunningham was killed at Exeter, Ensign Tuttle at Dover, and Jeremy Crommet at Oyster river. On one of the upper branches of this stream the enemy burned a saw-mill with a large quantity of boards. A scouting party who went up the river Merrimac had the good fortune to surprise and kill eight Indians, and recover a considerable quantity of plunder, without the loss of a man. The frontiers were well guarded; one-half of the militia did duty at the garrisons and were ready to march at a minute's warning; a scout of forty men kept ranging on the heads of the towns, and the like care was taken by sea: spy-boats being employed in coasting from Cape Neddock to the Great Boar's-head. Notwithstanding this vigilance, small parties of the enemy were frequently seen. Stephen Gilman and Ebenezer Stevens were wounded at Kingston; the former was taken and put to death. In July, an ambush was discovered at Dover, but the enemy escaped; and while a party was gone in pursuit of them, two children of John Waldron were taken, and for want of time to scalp them, their heads were cut off. There being no man at that time in Heard's garrison, a woman, named Esther Jones, mounted guard, and with a commanding

voice called so loudly and resolutely as made the enemy think there was help at hand, and prevented farther mischief.

In autumn, the news of the peace of Utrecht arrived in America; and on the 29th of October, the suspension of arms was proclaimed at Portsmouth. The Indians, being informed of this event, came in with a flag of truce to Captain Moody, at Casco, and desired a treaty; which the governor, with the council of each province, (1713,) held at Portsmouth, where the chiefs and deputies of the several belligerent tribes, by a formal writing, under hand and seal, acknowledged their perfidy, promised fidelity, renewed their allegiance, submitted to the laws, and begged the queen's pardon for their former miscarriages. The frequent repetition of such engagements, and as frequent violations of them, had by this time much abated the sense of obligation on the one part, and of confidence on the other. But it being for the interest of both parties to be at peace, the event was peculiarly welcome.

To preserve the dependence of the Indians, and to prevent all occasions of complaint, private traffic with them was forbidden, and truck houses established at the public expense; and the next summer, (1714,) a ship was fitted out by both provinces, and sent to Quebec, where an exchange of prisoners was effected.

During the whole of this long war, Usher behaved as a faithful servant of the crown; frequently coming into the province by Dudley's direction, and sometimes residing in it several months, inquiring into the state of the frontiers and garrisons, visiting them in person, consulting with the officers of militia about the proper methods of defence and protection, and offering his services on all occasions: yet his austere and ungracious manners, and the interest he had in Allen's claim, effectually prevented him from acquiring that popularity which he seems to have deserved. He was solicitous to support the dignity of his commission; but could never prevail with the Assembly to settle a salary upon him. The council generally paid his travelling expenses by a draught on the treasury, which never amounted to more than five pounds for each journey, until he came from Boston to proclaim the accession of King George; when in a fit of loyalty and good humour, they gave him ten pounds, which served as a precedent for two or three other grants. He often complained, and sometimes in harsh and reproachful terms, of their neglect; and once told them that his "Negro servants were much better accommodated in his house than the queen's governor was in the queen's fort."

Dudley had the good fortune to be more popular. Besides his attention to the general interest of the province and his care for its defence, he had the particular merit of favouring the views of those who were most strongly opposed to Allen's claim; and they made him amends by promoting in the Assembly addresses to the queen, defending his character

when it was attacked, and praying for his continuance in office when petitions were presented for his removal. One of these addresses was in 1706, and another in 1707, in both which they represent him as a "prudent, careful, and faithful governor," and say, they "are perfectly satisfied with his disposal of the people, and their arms, and the public money." Addresses to the crown were very frequent during this female reign. Scarce a year passed without one or two; they either congratulated her majesty on her victories in Europe, or petitioned for arms and military stores for their defence, or for ships and troops to go against Canada, or represented their own poverty, or Dudley's merits, or thanked her majesty for her care and protection, and for interposing in the affair of Allen's suit and not suffering it to be decided against them. A good harmony subsisted between the governor and people, and between the two branches of the legislature, during the whole of this administration.

On the accession of King George, 1715, a change was expected in the government, and the Assembly did what they could to prevent it, by petitioning the king for Dudley's continuance. But it being now a time of peace, and a number of valuable officers who had served with reputation in the late wars being out of employ, interest was made for their obtaining places of profit under the crown. Colonel Eliseus Burges, who had served under General Stanhope, was, by his recommendation, commissioned governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and by the same interest George Vaughan, Esq., then in London, was made lieutenant-governor of the latter province; he arrived and published his commission on the 13th of October. Usher had some scruples about the validity of it, as he had formerly had of Partridge's, and wrote on the subject to the Assembly, who had assured him that, on inspection, they had found Vaughan's commission "strong and authentic;" and that his own was "null and void." Upon his dismissal from office he retired to his elegant seat at Medford, where he spent the rest of his days, and died on the 5th of September, 1726, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

Burges wrote a letter to the Assembly, in July, in which he informed them of his appointment, and of his intention to sail for America, in the following month. But Sir William Ashurst, with Jeremy Dummer, the Massachusetts agent, and Jonathan Belcher, then in London, apprehending that he would not be an acceptable person to the people of New England, prevailed with him, for the consideration of one thousand pounds sterling, which Dummer and Belcher generously advanced, to resign his commission; and Colonel Samuel Shut was appointed in his stead to the command of both provinces. He arrived in New Hampshire, and his commission was published the 17th of October, 1716. Dudley being thus superseded, retired to his family seat, at Roxbury, where he died in 1720, in the seventy-third year of his age.



HARVARD BEQUEATHING HIS PROPERTY TO THE COLLEGE.

CONDITION OF NEW ENGLAND IN 1700.



THE virtue that had so signally distinguished the original settlers of New England, was now seen to shine forth among their descendants with a lustre less dazzling, but with an influence in some respects more amiable, refined, and humane, than had attended its original display. One of the causes that undoubtedly contributed to the restoration of harmony and the revival of piety among

the people, was the publication, about this period, of various histories of the New England commonwealth, written with a spirit and fidelity well calculated to commend to the minds of the colonists the just results of their national experience. The subject was deeply interesting, and, happily, the treatment of it was undertaken by writers whose principal object was to render this interest subservient to the promotion of piety and virtue. Though the colony might be considered as yet in its infancy, it had passed through a great variety of fortune. It had been the adopted country of many of the most excellent men of the age in which it arose, and the native land of others who had inherited the character of their ancestors, and transmitted it to their successors in unimpaired vigour, and with added

renown. The history of man never exhibited an effort of more vigorous and enterprising virtue than the original migration of the Puritans to this distant and desolate region; nor did the annals of colonization as yet supply more than one other instance of the foundation of a commonwealth, and its advancement through a period of weakness and danger, to strength and security; in which the principal actors had left behind them a reputation at once so illustrious and unsullied, with fewer memorials calculated to pervert the moral sense or awaken the regret of mankind. The relation of their achievements had a powerful tendency to excite hope, and animate perseverance; to impart courage to the virtuous, and to fortify the virtue of the brave. They could not, indeed, boast, like the founders of the settlement of Pennsylvania, that by a resolute profession of non-resistance of injuries and a faithful adherence to that profession, they had so realized the Divine protection by an exclusive reliance on it, as to disarm the ferocity of barbarians, and conduct the establishment of their commonwealth without violence and bloodshed. But if they were involved in numerous wars, it was the singular and honourable characteristic of them all, that they were invariably the offspring of self-defence against the unprovoked malignity of their adversaries, and that not one of them was undertaken from motives of conquest or plunder. Though they considered these wars as necessary and justifiable, they deeply deplored them; and, more than once, the most distressing doubts were expressed, at the close of their hostilities, if it were lawful for Christians to carry even the rights of self-defence to such fatal extremity. They behaved to the Indian tribes with as much good faith and justice as they could have shown to a powerful and civilized people, and were incited, by their inferiority, to no other acts than a series of the most magnanimous and laudable endeavours to instruct their ignorance, and elevate their condition. If they fell short of the colonists of Pennsylvania in the exhibition of Christian meekness, they unquestionably excelled them in the extent and activity of Christian labour. The Quakers succeeded in disarming the Indians; the Puritans laboured to convert them. The chief, if not the only fault, with which impartial history must ever reproach the conduct of these people, is the religious intolerance that they cherished, and the persecution which in more than one instance it prompted them to inflict. Happily for their own character, the provocation they received from the objects of their persecution, tended strongly to extenuate the blame; and happily, no less, for the legitimate influence of their character on the minds of their posterity, the fault itself, notwithstanding every extenuation, stood so manifestly contrasted and inconsistent with the very principles with which their own fame was for ever associated, that it was impossible for a writer of common integrity, not involved in the immediate heat of controversy, to render a just tribute to their excellence, without finding himself obliged to reprobate

this signal departure from it. The histories that were now published were the composition of the friends, associates, and successors of the original colonists, and written with an energy of just encomium that elevated every man's ideas of his ancestors and his country, and of the duties which arose from these natural or patriotic relations, and excited universally a generous sympathy with the characters and sentiments of the fathers of New England. These writers, nevertheless, were too conscientious, and too enlightened, to confound the virtues with the defects of the character they described; and while they dwelt apologetically on the causes by which persecution had been provoked, they lamented the infirmity that (under any degree of provocation) had betrayed good men into so unchristian an extremity. Even Cotton Mather, the most encomiastic of the historians of New England, and who cherished very strong prejudices against the Quakers and other persecuted sectaries, has expressed still stronger disapprobation of the severities they encountered from the objects of his encomium. These representations could not fail to produce a beneficial effect on the people of New England. They saw that the glory of their country was associated with principles that could never coalesce with or sanction intolerance; and that every instance of persecution with which their annals were stained, was a dereliction of these principles, and an impeachment of their country's cause. Inspired with the warmest attachment to the memory, and the highest respect for the virtue of their ancestors, they were powerfully reminded, by the errors into which they had fallen, to suspect and repress in themselves those infirmities from which even virtue of so high an order had been found to afford no exemption. From this time the religious zeal of the people of New England was no longer perverted by intolerance, or disgraced by persecution; and the influence of Christianity in mitigating enmity, and promoting kindness and indulgence, derived a freer scope from the growing conviction, that the principles of the gospel were utterly irreconcilable with violence and severity; that, revealing to every man his own corruption much more clearly than that of any other human being, they were equally adverse to confidence in himself and to suspicion of others; and that a deep sense of entire dependence on Divine aid must ever be the surest indication of the acceptance of human purpose, and the efficacy of human endeavour to subserve the Divine cause. Cotton Mather, who has recorded the errors of the first colonists, lived to witness the success of his representations in the charity and liberality of their descendants.

New England, having been colonized by men not less eminent for learning than piety, was distinguished at a very early period by the labours of her scholars, and the dedication of her literature to the interests of religion. The theological works of Cotton, Hooker, the Mathers, and other New England divines, have always enjoyed a very high degree of

esteem and popularity, not only in New England, but in every Protestant country of Europe. The annals of the colony, and the biography of its founders and their immediate successors, were written by contemporary historians with a minuteness which was very agreeable and interesting to the first generation of their readers, and to which they were prompted, in some measure at least, by the conviction they entertained that their country had been honoured with the signal favour and more especial guidance and direction of Providence. This conviction, while it naturally betrayed the writers into the fault of prolixity, enforced by the strongest sanctions the accuracy and fidelity of their narrations. Recording what they considered the peculiar dealings of God with a people peculiarly his own, they presumed not to disguise the infirmities of their countrymen; nor did they desire to magnify the Divine grace in the infusion of human virtue, above the Divine patience in enduring human frailty and imperfection. The errors and failings of the illustrious men whose lives they related, gave additional weight to the impression which above all they desired to convey, that the colonization of New England was an extraordinary work of Heaven, that the counsel and the virtue by which it had been carried on were not of human origin, and that the glory of God had been displayed no less in imparting the strength and wisdom than in overruling the weakness and perversity of the instruments which he deigned to employ. The most considerable of these historical works, and the most interesting performance that the literature of New England has ever produced, is the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, or History of New England, by Cotton Mather. The arrangement of this work is exceedingly faulty, and its vast bulk will ever continue to render its exterior increasingly repulsive to modern readers. The continuity of the narrative is frequently broken by the introduction of long discourses, epistles, and theological reflections and dissertations; biography is intermixed with history, and events of too trifling or merely local interest related with intolerable prolixity. It is not so properly a single or continuous historical narration, as a collection of separate works illustrative of the various portions of New England history, under the heads of *Remarkable Providences*, *Remarkable Trials*, and numberless other subdivisions. A plentiful intermixture of puns, anagrams, and other barbarous conceits, exemplifies a peculiarity (the offspring, partly of bad taste, and partly of superstition) that was very prevalent among the prose writers, and especially the theologians of that age. Notwithstanding these defects, the work will amply repay the labour of every reader. The biographical portions in particular possess the highest excellence, and are superior in dignity and interest to the compositions of Plutarch. Cotton Mather was the author of a great many other works, many of which have been highly popular and eminently useful. One of them bears the title of *Essays to do Good*, and contains a lively and forcible representation (conveyed with more than the

author's usual brevity) of the opportunities which every rank and every relation of life will present to a devout mind, of promoting the glory of God and the good of mankind. The celebrated Dr. Franklin, in the latter years of his active and useful life, declared that all the good he had ever done to his country or his fellow-creatures, must be ascribed to the impression that had been produced on his mind by perusing that little work in his youth.

A traveller who visited Boston in the year 1686, mentions a number of booksellers there, who had already made fortunes by their trade. The learned and ingenious author of the *History of Printing in America* has given a catalogue of the works published by the first New England printers in the seventeenth century. Considering the circumstances and numbers of the people, the catalogue is amazingly copious. One of the printers of that age was an Indian, the son of one of the first Indian converts.

The education and habits of the people of New England prepared them to receive the full force of those impressions which their national literature was calculated to produce. In no country have the benefits of knowledge been ever more highly prized or more generally diffused. Institutions for the education of youth were coeval with the foundation of the first colonial community, and were propagated with every accession to the population and every extension of the settlements. Education was facilitated in this province by the peculiar manner in which its colonization was conducted. In many other parts of America, the planters dispersed themselves over the face of the country; each residing on his own farm, and placing his house in the situation most conducive to his own convenience as a planter. The advantages resulting from this mode of inhabitation were gained at the expense of such dispersion of dwellings as obstructed the erection of churches, and schools, and the enjoyment of social intercourse. But the colonization of New England was conducted in a manner much more favourable to the improvement of human character and the refinement of human manners. All the original townships were settled in what is termed the village manner; the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in small communities, from regard to the ordinances of religion and the convenience of education. Every town containing fifty householders was obliged by law to provide a schoolmaster qualified to teach reading and writing: and every town containing a hundred householders, to maintain a grammar school. But the generous ardour of the people continually outstripped the provisions of this law. Harvard College was established in Massachusetts but a few years after the foundation of the colony was laid.* The other states, for some time after, were destitute of the wealth and population necessary to

* This celebrated institution was founded in 1636, and endowed by John Harvard, who in 1638 bequeathed, in his will, all his library and half his fortune to the college.

support similar establishments within their own territories; but they frequently assessed themselves in the most liberal contributions for the maintenance and enlargement of Harvard College. The contributions, even at a very early period, of Connecticut, New Haven, and New Hampshire, have been particularly and deservedly noted for their liberality. The close of the same century was illustrated by the establishment of Yale College in Connecticut. So high was the repute that the province long continued to enjoy for the excellency and efficiency of its seminaries of education, that many respectable persons, not only in the other American states, but even in Great Britain, sent their children to be educated in New England.



GENERAL appetite for knowledge, and a universal familiarity with letters, was thus maintained from the beginning among the people of this province. The general discouragement of frivolous amusements, and of every recreation that bordered upon vice, tended to devote their leisure hours to reading; and the sentiments and opinions derived through this avenue of knowledge, sunk deeply into vigorous and undissipated minds. The historical retrospections of this people were peculiarly calculated to exercise a favourable influence on their character and turn of thinking, by awakening a generous emulation and connecting them with a uniform and progressive course of manly, patient, and successful virtue.

Notwithstanding the general diffusion of knowledge among the people of New England, the lower classes were not entirely exempt from some of the prevalent delusions of the age. In particular, the notion, then generally received in the parent state, of the efficacy of the royal touch for the cure of the disorder called the king's evil, appears to have been imported into New England, to the great inconvenience of those who were so unhappy as to receive it. Belknap has transcribed from the records of the town of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the petition of an inhabitant to the court of this province, in the year 1687, for assistance to undertake a journey to England, that he might be cured of his disease by coming in contact with a king; a circumstance which Heaven (it may be hoped) has decreed should never be possible within the confines of North America.

The amount of the population of New England at this period has been very differently estimated by different writers. According to Sir William Petty, the number of inhabitants amounted, in the year 1691, to one hundred and fifty thousand. A much lower computation is adopted by Neal; and a much higher by a later historian. The population, it is certain, had been considerably augmented, both by the emigrations of dissenters from various of the European states, and by native propagation in circumstances so favourable to increase. Yet no quarter of North America has seen its own population so extensively drained by emigration as New England,

which, from a very early period of its history, has never ceased to send swarms of hardy, industrious, and educated men, to recruit and improve every successive settlement that has offered its resources to energy and virtue. The total restraint of licentious intercourse; the facility of acquiring property and maintaining a family; the discouragement of idleness and luxury; and the prevalence of industrious and frugal habits among all classes of people, concurred with powerful efficacy to render marriages both frequent and prolific in New England. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and the largest city in North America, appears to have contained a population of about ten thousand persons at the close of this century. In the year 1720, its inhabitants amounted to twenty thousand. Every inhabitant of the province was required by law to keep a stock of arms and ammunition in his house; and all males above sixteen years of age were enrolled in the militia, which was assembled for exercise four times every year.

The whole territory of New England was comprehended at this period in four jurisdictions, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. To Massachusetts there had been annexed the settlements of New Plymouth and Maine, and to Connecticut the settlement of New Haven. The territories of these governments were divided into constituted districts called townships, each of which was represented by one or two deputies (according to the number of the freeholders) in the Assembly of the state. Besides this elective franchise, the freeholders of each township enjoyed the right of appointing the municipal officers denominated selectmen, by whom the local administration of the township was exercised. The qualification of a freeholder in Massachusetts was declared by its charter to be an estate of the value of forty shillings per annum, or the possession of personal property to the amount of fifty pounds; communion with the congregational churches having ceased for many years to be requisite to the enjoyment of political privileges. In the other states of New England, the qualification was at this period nearly the same as in Massachusetts. The expenses of government had been defrayed originally by temporary assessments, to which every man was rated according to the value of his whole property; but since the year 1645, excises, imposts, and poll-taxes had been in use. The judicial proceedings in all the provincial courts were conducted with great expedition, cheapness, and simplicity of procedure.

Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the one enjoying a chartered, the other an unchartered jurisdiction, were the only two states of New England in which the superior officers of government were appointed by the crown, and from the tribunals of which an appeal was admitted to the king in council. As New Hampshire was too inconsiderable to support the substance as well as the title of a separate establishment, it was the

practice at this period, and for some time after, to appoint the same person to be governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the officers of government (excepting the members of the court of admiralty) were elected by the inhabitants; and so resolutely was this highly-valued privilege asserted, that when King William appointed Fletcher, the governor of New York, to command the Connecticut forces, the province refused to obey him. The laws of these states were not subject to the negative, nor the judgments of their tribunals to the review, of the king. But the validity of their laws was declared to depend on a very uncertain criterion; a conformity, as close as circumstances would admit, to the jurisprudence of England. So perfectly democratic were the constitutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the Assembly. The spirit of liberty was not suppressed in Massachusetts by the encroachments of royal prerogative on the ancient privileges of the people, but was vigorously exerted through the remaining and important organ of the Provincial Assembly. All the patronage that was vested in the royal governor was never able to create a royalist party in this state. The functionaries whom he appointed, depended on the popular assembly for the emoluments of their offices; and it was not till after many unsuccessful efforts, that the British government were able to free the governor himself from the same dependence, and to prevail with the Assembly to annex a fixed salary to his office. The people and the popular authorities of Massachusetts were always ready to set an example to the other colonies of a determined resistance to the encroachments of royal prerogative.



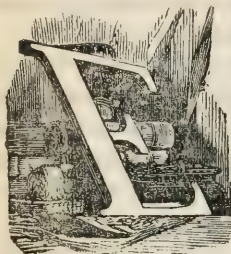
N all the colonies, and especially in the New England states, there existed, at this period, and for a long time afterwards, a mixture of very opposite sentiments towards Great Britain. As the posterity of Englishmen, the colonists cherished a strong attachment to a land which they habitually termed the *Mother Country*, or *Home*, and to a people whom, though contemporaries with themselves, they regarded as occupying an ancestral relation to them. As Americans, their liberty and happiness, and even their national existence, were associated with escape from royal persecution in Britain; and the jealous and unfriendly sentiments engendered by this consideration were preserved more particularly in Massachusetts by the privation of the privileges which had originally belonged to it, and which Connecticut and Rhode Island were still permitted to enjoy, and maintained in every one of the states by the oppressive commercial policy which Great Britain pursued towards them, and of which their increasing resources rendered them increasingly sensible and proportion-

ally impatient. The loyalty of Connecticut and Rhode Island was no way promoted by the preservation of their ancient charters—an advantage which they well knew had been conceded to them by the British government with the utmost reluctance, and of which numerous attempts to divest them by act of parliament were made by King William and his immediate successors. Even the new charter of Massachusetts was not exempted from such attacks; and the defensive spirit that was thus excited and kept alive by the aggressive policy of Britain, contributed, no doubt, to influence, in a material degree, the future destinies of America.

In return for the articles which they required from Europe, and of which the English merchants monopolized the supply, the inhabitants of New England had no staple commodity which might not be obtained cheaper in Europe by their customers. They possessed, indeed, good mines of iron and copper, which might have been wrought with advantage; but they were restrained by the English legislature from manufacturing these metals either for home consumption or foreign exportation. The principal commodities exported from New England were the produce and refuse of their forests, or, as it was commonly termed, lumber, and the produce of their cod-fishery. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the annual imports into the provinces from England were estimated, by Neal, at a hundred thousand pounds. The exports by the English merchants consisted of a hundred thousand quintals (the quintal weighing a hundred and twelve pounds) of dried cod-fish, which were sold in Europe for eighty thousand pounds, and of three thousand tons of naval stores. To the other American plantations, New England sent lumber, fish, and other provisions, to the amount of fifty thousand pounds annually. An extensive manufacture of linen cloth was established about this time in the province: this was an advantage for which New England was indebted to the migration of many thousands of Irish Presbyterians to her shores, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ship-building was from an early period carried on to a considerable extent at Boston and other seaport towns. It was the practice of some merchants to freight their vessels as they built them, with cargoes of colonial produce, and to sell the vessels in the same ports in which the cargoes were disposed of. A great part of the trade of the other colonies was conducted by the shipping of New England. At this period, and for many years afterwards, specie was so scarce in the province, that paper money formed almost exclusively the circulating medium in use among the inhabitants. Bills, or notes, were circulated for sums as low as half a crown.

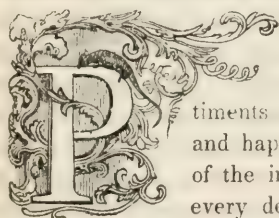
The soil of a great part of the district of Maine was erroneously supposed, by its first European colonists, to be unfavourable to agriculture, and incapable of yielding a sufficient supply of bread to its inhabitants. This notion produced the deficiency which it presupposed; and, injurious as it

was to the increase and prosperity of the inhabitants, it prevailed even till the period of the American revolution. Prior to that event, the inhabitants traded almost exclusively in lumber, and the greater part of the bread they consumed was imported from the middle colonies. All the states of New England were long infested with wolves; and, at the close of the seventeenth century, laws were still enacted by the New England assemblies offering bounties for the destruction of these animals.



EXCEPT in Rhode Island, the doctrine and form of the congregational church that was established by the first colonists prevailed generally in the New England states. Every township was required by law to choose a minister, and to fix his salary by mutual agreement of the parties; in default of which a salary proportioned to the ability of the township was decreed to him by the justices of the peace. In case of the neglect of any township to appoint a minister within the period prescribed by the law, the right of appointment for the occasion devolved to the court of quarter sessions. By a special custom of the town of Boston, the salaries of its ministers were derived from the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, collected every Sunday on their assembling for divine service; and it was remarked, that none of the ministers of New England were so liberally provided for as those whose emoluments, unaided by legal provision, thus represented the success of their labours and the attachment or conscientiousness of their people. In Rhode Island there was no legal provision for the observance of divine worship, or the maintenance of religious institutions. This colony was peopled by a mixed multitude of sectarians, who, having separated themselves from Christian societies in other places, had continued in a broken and disunited state in their present habitation. In their political capacity, they admitted unbounded liberty of conscience, and disavowed all connection between church and state. In their Christian relations, they made no account of the virtue of mutual forbearance, and absolutely disowned the duty of submitting to one another on any point, whether essential or circumstantial. Few of them held regular assemblies for public worship; still fewer appear to have had stated places for such assemblage; and an aversion to every thing that savoured of *restraint* or *formality* prevailed among them all. Notwithstanding the unlimited toleration that was professedly established in this settlement, it appears that the government, in the year 1665, passed an ordinance to outlaw Quakers, and confiscate their estates, because they would not bear arms. But the people, in general, resisted this regulation, and would not suffer it to be carried into effect. Cotton Mather declares, that, in 1655, "Rhode Island colony was a colluvies of Antinomians, Fa-

malists, Anabaptists, Antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, and every thing but Roman Catholics, and true Christians; *bona terra, mala gens.*" In the town of Providence, which was included in this colony, and was inhabited by the descendants of those schismatics who had accompanied Roger Williams and Mrs Hutchinson, in their exile from Massachusetts, the aversion to all establishments, and every sort of subordination, was carried to such an extreme that, at this period, the inhabitants had neither magistrates nor ministers among them. They entertained an invincible aversion to all rates and taxes, as the inventions of men to support *hirelings*, by which opprobrious term they designated all magistrates and ministers who refused to serve them for nothing. Yet they lived in great amity with their neighbours, and, though every man did whatever seemed right in his own eyes, it was rarely that any crime was committed among them; "which may be attributed," says the historian from whom this testimony is derived, "to their great veneration for the Holy Scriptures, which they all read, from the least to the greatest." Massachusetts and Connecticut, as they were the most considerable of the New England states, in respect of wealth and population, so were they the most distinguished for piety, morality, and the cultivation and diffusion of knowledge. At the close of the seventeenth century, there were a hundred religious assemblies in Massachusetts, exclusive of the numerous congregations of Christian Indians. The censorial discipline exercised by those societies over their members, was eminently conducive to the preservation of good morals; and the efficacy of this and of every other incitement to virtue was enhanced by the thinly peopled state of the country, where none could screen his character or pursuits from the observation of the public eye.



PERHAPS no country in the world was ever more distinguished than New England was at this time for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits that render communities respectable and happy. Sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every description were remarkably strict, and not less strictly executed; and, being cordially supported by public opinion, they were able to render every vicious and profligate excess equally dangerous and infamous to the perpetrator. We are assured by a respectable writer, that at this period there was not a single beggar in the whole province. Labour was so valuable, land so cheap, and the elective franchise so extensive, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of his country. The general diffusion of education caused the national advantages which were thus vigorously improved, to be justly appreciated; and an ardent and enlightened patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other, and to their country.

The state of society in New England, the circumstances and habits of the people, tended to form, among their leading men, a character more useful than brilliant;—not (as some have imagined) to discourage talent, but to repress its vain display, and train it to its legitimate and respectable end, of giving efficacy to wisdom and virtue. Yet this state of society was by no means inconsistent either with refinement of manners or with innocent hilarity. Lord Bellamont was agreeably surprised with the graceful and courteous demeanour of the gentlemen and clergy of Connecticut, and confessed that he found the aspect and address that were thought peculiar to nobility, in a land where this aristocratical distinction was unknown. From Dunton's account of his residence in Boston, in 1686, it appears that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were, at that time, distinguished in a very high degree, by the cheerfulness of their manners, their hospitality, and a courtesy the more estimable that it was indicative of real benevolence.

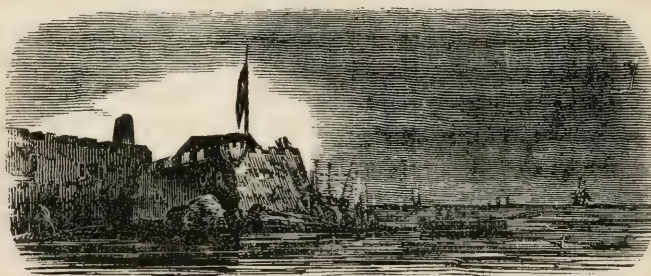
In the historical and statistical accounts of the various states, we continually meet with instances of the beneficial influence exercised by superior minds, on the virtue, industry, and happiness of particular districts and communities. In no country has the ascendancy of talent been greater, or more advantageously exerted. The dangers of Indian invasion were encountered and repelled; the dejection and timidity produced by them, overcome; the feuds and contentions arising among settlers of various countries, habits, and opinions, composed; the temptations to slothful and degenerate modes of living, resisted; the self-denial requisite to the endowment of institutions for preaching the gospel, and the education of youth, resolutely practised. In founding and conducting to maturity the settlements that, from time to time, extended themselves over the surface of the province, men of talent and virtue enjoyed a noble and arduous sphere of employment. They taught by action and example. They distinguished themselves from the rest of mankind by excelling them in their ordinary pursuits, and thinking better than they on the ordinary subjects of reflection and consideration. The impression they produced, if circumscribed in its limits, was intense in its efficacy: the fame they achieved, if neither noisy nor glaring, was lasting and refined. They propagated their own moral likeness around them, and rendered their wisdom and spirit immortal, by engrafting their own character on the minds of their fellow-citizens. Mankind are more apt to copy characters than to practise precepts; and virtue is much more effectually recommended to their imitation and esteem by the life of zeal than by the weight of argument. Let the votaries of Fame remember, that if a life thus spent circumscribe the diffusion of the patriot's name, it seems to enlarge his very being, and extend it to distant generations; and that if posthumous fame be any thing more than a splendid

illusion, it is such a distinction as this, from which the surest and most lasting satisfaction will be derived.

The esteem of the community was considered so valuable a part of the emoluments of office, that the salaries of all public officers, except those who were appointed by the crown, were, if not scanty, yet exceedingly moderate. In Connecticut, it was remarked, that the whole annual expenses of its public institutions (about eight hundred pounds) did not amount to the salary of a royal governor. The slender emoluments of public offices, and the tenure of popular pleasure by which they were held, tended very much to exempt the offices from the pretensions of unworthy candidates, and the officers from calumny and envy. Virtue and ability were fairly appreciated; and we frequently find the same men re-elected for a long series of years to the same offices, and on some occasions succeeded by their sons, where inheritance of merit recommended inheritance of place. In more than one of the settlements, the first codes of law were the compositions of single persons; the people desiring an eminent leader to compose for them a body of law, and then legislating unanimously in conformity with his suggestions.

The most lasting, if not the most serious evil with which New England has been afflicted, was the institution of slavery, which continued for some time to pollute all its provinces. The practice, as we have seen, originated in the supposed necessity created by the Indian hostilities; but, once introduced, it was fatally calculated to perpetuate itself, and to derive accessions from various other sources. For some time, indeed, this was successfully resisted; and instances have been recorded of judicial interposition to restrain the evil within its original limits. In the year 1645, a negro fraudulently brought from Africa, and enslaved within the New England territory, was liberated and sent home by the general court. There was never any law expressly authorizing slavery; and such was the influence of religious and moral feeling in New England, that, even while there was no law prohibiting its continuance, it was never able to prevail to any considerable extent. In the year 1704, the Assembly of Massachusetts imposed a duty of four pounds on every negro imported into the province; and eight years after, passed an act prohibiting the importation of any more Indian servants or slaves. In Massachusetts, the slaves never exceeded the fiftieth part of the whole population; in Connecticut and Rhode Island, when slaves were most numerous, (in the middle of the eighteenth century,) the proportion was nearly the same; and in the territory that afterwards received the name of Vermont, when the number of inhabitants amounted to nearly nine thousand, there were only sixteen persons in a state of slavery. The cruelties and vices that slavery tends to engender, were repressed at once by this great preponderance of the sound over the unhealthy part of the body politic, and by the

circumstances to which this preponderance was owing. The majority of the inhabitants were decidedly hostile to slavery; and numerous remonstrances were addressed to the British government against the encouragement she afforded to it by maintaining the slave trade. When America effected her independence, the New England states (with the single exception of New Hampshire) adopted measures which, in the course of a few years, abolished every trace of this vile institution. In New Hampshire, it seems to have been rather a preposterous regard for liberty, and the sacredness of existing possessions, than a predilection for slavery, that prevented this practice from being formally abolished by the principles by which it has been essentially modified and substantially condemned.





GOVERNOR STUYVESANT.

NEW YORK UNDER THE DUTCH.

HENRY HUDSON, an Englishman, in the year 1608, under a commission from James I., discovered Long Island, New York, and the river which still bears his name; and afterwards sold the country, or rather his right, to the Dutch, whose writers contend that Hudson was sent out by the East India Company in 1609, to discover a north-west passage to China; and that having first discovered Delaware bay, he came hither, and penetrated up Hudson's river, as far north as the latitude of forty-three degrees. It is said, however, that there was a sale, and that the English objected to it, though they for some time neglected to oppose the Dutch settlement of the country.

In 1610, Hudson sailed again from Holland to that country, called by the Dutch New Netherland; and four years after, the states-general

granted a patent to sundry merchants, for an exclusive trade on the North River, who, in 1614, built a fort on the west side, near Albany, which was first commanded by Henry Christiaens. Captain Argal was sent out by Sir Thomas Dale, Governor of Virginia, in the same year, to dispossess the French of the two towns of Port Royal and St. Croix, lying on each side of the Bay of Fundy in Acadia, then claimed as part of Virginia. In his return he visited the Dutch on Hudson's river, who, being unable to resist him, prudently submitted for the present to the king of England and under him to the governor of Virginia. The very next year, they erected a fort on the south-west point of the island Manhattans, and two others in 1623; one called Good Hope, on Connecticut river, and the other Nassau, on the east side of Delaware bay. The author of the account of New Netherland asserts, that the Dutch purchased the lands on both sides of that river in 1632, before the English were settled in those parts; and that they discovered a little fresh river, farther to the east, called Varsche Riviertie, to distinguish it from Connecticut river, known among them by the name of Varsche Rivier, which Vanderdonk also claims for the Dutch.

Determined upon the settlement of a colony, the states-general made a grant of the country, in 1621, to the West India Company. Wouter Van Twiller arrived at Fort Amsterdam, now New York, and took upon himself the government in June, 1629. His style, in the patents granted by him, was thus:—"We, director and council, residing in New Netherland on the island Manhattans, under the government of their high mightinesses, the lords States-General of the United Netherlands, and the privileged West India Company, &c." In his time the New England planters extended their possessions westward as far as Connecticut river. Jacob Van Curlet, the commissary there, protested against it; and in the second year of the succeeding administration, under William Kieft, who appears first in 1638, a prohibition was issued, forbidding the English trade at Fort Good Hope; and shortly after, on complaint of the insolence of the English, an order of council was made for sending more forces there, to maintain the Dutch territories. Dr. Mather confesses that the New England men first formed their design of settling Connecticut river in 1635, before which time they esteemed that river at least one hundred miles from any English settlement; and that they first seated themselves there in 1636, at Hartford, near Fort Good Hope, at Weathersfield, Windsor, and Springfield. Four years after, they seized the Dutch garrison, and drove them from the banks of the river, having first settled New Haven in 1638, regardless of Kieft's protest against it.

The extent of New Netherland was to Delaware, then called South River, and beyond it; for in the Dutch records there is a copy of a letter from William Kieft, May 6, 1638, directed to Peter Minuit, who seems,

by the tenor of it, to be the Swedish governor of New Sweden; asserting, "that the whole south river of New Netherland had been in the Dutch possession many years above and below, beset with forts, and sealed with their blood." Which Kieft adds, "has happened even during your administration in New Netherland, and is so well known to you."

The Dutch writers are not agreed in the extent of Nova Belgia, or New Netherland; some describe it to be from Virginia to Canada; and others inform us, that the arms of the states-general were erected at Cape Cod, Connecticut, and Hudson's river, and on the west side of the entrance into Delaware bay. The author of an anonymous pamphlet gives Canada river for a boundary on the north, and calls the country, north-west from Albany, Terra Incognita.

In 1640, the English, who had overspread the eastern part of Long Island, advanced to Oyster Bay. Kieft broke up their settlement in 1642, and fitted out two sloops to drive the English out of Schuylkill, of which the Marylanders had lately possessed themselves. The instructions, dated May 22d, to Jan Jansen Alpendam, who commanded in that enterprise, are upon record, and strongly assert the right of the Dutch both to the soil and trade there. The English from the eastward shortly after sent deputies to New Amsterdam, for the accommodation of their disputes about limits, to whom the Dutch offered certain conditions, which it appears were not acceded to.

The English daily extended their possessions, and in 1643 the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, entered into a league both against the Dutch and Indians, and grew so powerful as to meet shortly after, upon a design of extirpating the former. Massachusetts Bay declined this enterprise, which occasioned a letter to Oliver Cromwell from William Hooke, dated at New Haven, November 3d, 1653, in which he complains of the Dutch for supplying the natives with arms and ammunition, begs his assistance with two or three frigates, and that letters might be sent to the eastern colonies, commanding them to join in an expedition against the Dutch colony. Cromwell's affairs would not admit of so distant an attempt, but Richard Cromwell afterwards drew up instructions to his commanders for subduing the Dutch there, and wrote letters to the English American governments for their aid; copies of which are preserved in Thurloe's collection.

Peter Stuyvesant was the last Dutch governor, and though he had a commission in 1646, he did not begin his administration till May 27th, 1647. The inroads and claims upon his government kept him constantly employed. New England on the east and Maryland on the west, alarmed his fears by their daily increase; and about the same time Captain Forrester, a Scotchman, claimed Long Island for the dowager of Sterling. The Swedes, too, were perpetually encroaching upon Delaware. Through the

unskilfulness of the mate of a vessel, one Deswyk, a Swedish captain and supercargo, arrived in Raritan river. The ship was seized, and himself made prisoner at New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant's reasons were that, in 1651, the Dutch built Fort Casimir, now called Newcastle on Delaware. The Swedes, indeed, claimed the country, and Printz, their governor, formally protested against the works. Risingh, his successor, under the disguise of friendship, came before the fortress, fired two salutes, and landed thirty men, who were entertained by the commandant as friends; but he had no sooner discovered the weakness of the garrison than he made himself master of it, seizing also upon all the ammunition, houses, and other effects of the West India Company, and compelling several of the people to swear allegiance to Christina queen of Sweden. The Dutch, in 1655, prepared to retake Fort Casimir. Stuyvesant commanded the forces in person, and arrived with them in Delaware the 9th of September. A few days after, he anchored before the garrison and landed his troops. The fortress was immediately demanded as Dutch property; Suen Scutz, the commandant, desired leave to consult Risingh, which being refused, he surrendered the 16th of September on articles of capitulation. The whole strength of the place consisted of four fourteen-pounders, five swivels, and a parcel of small arms, which were all delivered to the conqueror. Fort Christina was commanded by Risingh. Stuyvesant came before it, and Risingh surrendered it upon terms, the 25th of September. The country being thus subdued, the Dutch governor issued a proclamation, in favour of such of the inhabitants as would submit to the new government, and about thirty Swedes swore "fidelity and obedience to the states-general, the lords directors of the West India company, their subalterns of the province of New Netherland, and the director-general then, or thereafter established." Risingh and one Elswych, a trader of note, were ordered to France, or England, and the rest of the Swedish inhabitants to Holland, and from thence to Gottenberg. The Swedes being thus extirpated, the Dutch became possessed of the west side of Delaware bay, afterwards called "The three lower countries."

This country was subsequently under the command of lieutenant-governors, subject to the control of, and commissioned by the director-general at New Amsterdam. Johan Paul Jaquet was the first vice-director, or lieutenant-governor, of South River. His successors were Alricks, Hinojossa, and William Beekman. These lieutenants had power to grant lands, and their patents make a part of the ancient titles of the present possessors. Alrick's commission of the 12th of April, 1657, shows the extent of the Dutch claim on the west side of Delaware at that time. He was appointed "Director-general of the colony of the South River of New Netherland, and the fortress of Casimir, now called Niewer Amstel, with all the lands depending thereon, according to the first purchase and the deed of release

of the natives, dated July 19, 1651, beginning at the west side of the Minqua, or Christina Kill, in the Indian language named Suspecough, to the mouth of the bay, or river, called Bomp Hook, in the Indian language Cannaresse; and so far inland as the bounds and limits of the Minquaas land, with all the streams, &c., appurtenances and dependencies." Of the country northward of the Kell, no mention is made. Orders in 1658 were given to William Beekman to purchase Cape Hinlopen from the natives, and to settle and fortify it, which, for want of goods, was not done till the succeeding year.

In the year 1659, fresh troubles arose from the Maryland claim to the lands on South River; and in September, Colonel Nathaniel Utie, as commissioner from Fendal, Lord Baltimore's governor, arrived at Nieuw Amstel from Maryland. The country was ordered to be evacuated, Lord Baltimore claiming all the land between thirty-eight and forty degrees of latitude from sea to sea. Beekman and his council demanded evidence of his lordship's right, and offered to prove the states-general's grant to the West India Company, and the grant of the company to them; and proposed to refer the controversy to the republics of England and Holland, praying at the same time three weeks to consult Stuyvesant, the general. The commissioner notwithstanding a few days after warned him to draw off, beyond the latitude of 40 degrees; but Beekman disregarded the threat. Colonel Utie thereupon returned to Maryland, and an immediate invasion was expected.

Early in the spring of the year 1660, Nicholas Valeth and Brian Newton were despatched from Fort Amsterdam to Virginia, in quality of ambassadors, with full power to open a trade and conclude a league, offensive and defensive, against the barbarians. Sir William Berkeley, the governor, gave them a kind reception, and approved their proposal of peace and commerce, which Sir Henry Moody was sent to agree upon and perfect. Four articles to that purpose were drawn up, and sent to the governor for confirmation. Stuyvesant artfully endeavoured, at this treaty, to procure an acknowledgment of the Dutch title to the country, which Berkeley as carefully avoided. This was his answer:

"Sir,—I have received the letter you were pleased to send me by Mr Mill's vessel, and shall be ever ready to comply with you, in all acts of neighbourly friendship and amity. But truly, sir, you desire me to do that concerning your titles and claims to land in this northern part of America, which I am in no capacity to do; for I am but a servant of the Assembly's: neither do they arrogate any power to themselves, farther than the miserable distractions of England desire them to. For when God shall be pleased in his mercy to take away and dissipate the unnatural divisions of their native country, they will immediately return to their own professed obedience. What then they should do in matters of contract, donation, or confession of right, would have little strength or signification; much more

presumptive and impertinent would it be in me to do it, without their knowledge or assent. We shall very shortly meet again, and then, if to them you signify your desires, I shall labour all I can to get you a satisfactory answer.

“I am, sir, your humble servant,

“WILLIAM BERKELEY.”

Virginia, August 20, 1660.

Governor Stuyvesant was a faithful servant of the West India Company: this is abundantly proved by his letters to them, exciting their care of the colony. In one, dated April 20, 1660, which is very long and pathetic, representing the desperate situation of affairs on both sides of the New Netherlands, he writes, “Your honours imagine, that the troubles in England will prevent any attempt on these parts: alas! they are ten to one in number to us, and are able, without any assistance, to deprive us of the country when they please.” On the 25th of June, the same year, he informs them, that the demands, encroachments, and usurpations of the English, give the people here great concern. “The right to both rivers,” he says, “by purchase and possession, is our own, without dispute. We apprehend that they, our more powerful neighbours, lay their claims under a royal patent, which we are unable hitherto to do in your name.” Colonel Utie being unsuccessful the last year, in his embassy for the evacuation of the Dutch possessions on the Delaware, Lord Baltimore, in autumn, 1660, applied by Captain Neal, his agent, to the West India Company, in Holland, for an order on the inhabitants of South River to submit to his authority, which they absolutely refused, asserting their right to that part of the colony

The English, from New England, were every day encroaching upon the Dutch. The following letter from Stuyvesant to the West India Company, dated July 21, 1661, shows the state of the colony at that time on both sides. “We have not yet begun the fort on Long Island, near Oyster Bay, because our neighbours lay the boundaries a mile and a half more westerly than we do, and the more as your honours, by your advice of December 24th, are not inclined to stand by the treaty of Hartford, and propose to sue for redress on Long Island and the Fresh Water river, by means of the states’ ambassador. Lord Sterling is said to solicit a confirmation of his right to all Long Island, and importunes the present king to confirm the grant made by his royal father, which is affirmed to be already obtained. But more probable, and material, is the advice from Maryland, that Lord Baltimore’s patent, which contains the fourth part of South River, is confirmed by the king, and published in print: that Lord Baltimore’s natural brother, who is a rigid papist, being made governor there, has received Lord Baltimore’s claim and protest to your honours in council, (wherewith he seems but little satisfied,) and has now more hopes of success. We

have advice from England, that there is an invasion intended against these parts, and the country solicited of the king, the duke, and the parliament, is to be annexed to their dominions ; and for that purpose, they desire three or four frigates, persuading the king that the company possessed and held this country under an unlawful title, having only obtained of King James leave for a watering-place on Staten Island, in 1623."

In August, 1663, a ship arrived from Holland at South River, with new planters, ammunition, and implements of husbandry. Lord Baltimore's son landed a little after, and was entertained by Beekman at Niewer Amstel. This was Charles, the son of Cecil, who, in 1661, had procured a grant and confirmation of the patent passed in favour of his father in 1632. The papistical principles of the Baltimore family, the charge of colonizing, the parliamentary war with Charles I., and Cromwell's usurpation, all conspired to impede the settlement of Maryland till the year 1661. And these considerations account for the extension of the Dutch limits, on the west side of Delaware bay.

While the Dutch were contending with their European neighbours, they had the art always to maintain a friendship with the natives, until the war which broke out this year with the Indians at Esopus, now Ulster county. It continued, however, but a short season. The Five Nations never gave them any disturbance, which was owing to their continual wars with the French, who settled at Canada in 1603. It has been before observed, that Oliver Cromwell was applied to for his aid in the reduction of this country, and that his son Richard took some steps towards accomplishing the scheme ; the work was however reserved for the reign of Charles II., an indolent prince, and entirely given up to pleasure, who was driven to it more perhaps by the differences then subsisting between England and Holland, than by any motive that might reflect honour upon his prudence, activity, and public spirit. Before this expedition, the king granted a patent on the 12th of March, 1664, to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, for sundry tracts of land in America, the boundaries of which, because they have given rise to much controversy, it may not be improper to transcribe.

"All that part of the main land of New England, beginning at a certain place, called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland in America, and from thence extending along the sea-coast, unto a certain place called Pemaquie or Pemequid, and so up the river thereof, to the furthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward ; and extending from thence to the river of Kimbequin, and so upwards by the shortest course, to the river Canada northward : and also all that island, or islands, commonly called by the several name or names of Meitowacks, or Long Island, situate and being towards the west of Cape Cod, and the narrow Higanssetts, abutting upon the main land, between the two rivers, there called or known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudson's river,

together also with the said river, called Hudson's river, and all the land from the west side of Connecticut river, to the east side of Delaware bay, and also, all those several islands, called or known by the names of Martin's Vineyard, or Nantuck's, otherwise Nantucket : together, &c."

Part of this tract was conveyed by the duke, to John Lord Berkeley, baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret, of Saltram, in Devon, who were then members of the king's council. The lease was for the consideration of ten shillings, and dated the 23d of June, 1664. The release, dated the next day, mentions no particular sum of money as a consideration for the grant of the lands, which have the following description :

"All that tract of land, adjacent to New England, and lying and being to the westward of Long Island, and bounded on the east part by the main sea, and partly by Hudson's river ; and hath upon the west, Delaware bay, or river, and extendeth southward to the main ocean as far as Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware bay ; and to the northward, as far as the northernmost branch of the said bay or river of Delaware, which is forty-one degrees and forty minutes of latitude ; which said tract of land is hereafter to be called by the name or names of Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey."

Thus the New Netherlands became divided into New Jersey, (so called after the isle of Jersey, in compliment to Sir George Carteret, whose family came from thence,) and New York, which took its name in honour of the Duke of York.

The Dutch inhabitants, by the vigilance of their governor, were not unapprized of the designs of the English court against them ; for their records testify, that on the 8th of July, "The general received intelligence from one Thomas Willet, an Englishman, that an expedition was preparing in England against this place, consisting of two frigates of forty and fifty guns, and a fly-boat of forty guns, having on board three hundred soldiers, and each frigate one hundred and fifty men, and that they then lay at Portsmouth, waiting for a wind." News arrived also from Boston, that they had already set sail. The burgomasters were thereupon called into council, the fortress ordered to be put into a posture of defence, and spies sent to Milford and West Chester for intelligence. Boston was in the secret of the expedition ; for the general court had, in May preceding, passed a vote for a supply of provisions, towards refreshing the ships on their arrival. They were four in number, and resolved to rendezvous at Gardener's Island in the Sound, but parted in a fog about the 20th of July. Richard Nicholls and Sir George Carteret, two of the commissioners, who were to take possession of the country, and reduce it to the king's obedience, were on board the Guyny, and fell in first with Cape Cod. The winds having blown from the south-west, the other ships, with Sir Robert Jarr, and Mr. Mavenick, the remaining commissioners, were rightly con-

cluded to be driven to the eastward. After despatching a letter to Mr. Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut, requesting his assistance, Colonel Nicolls proceeded to Nantasket, and thence to Boston. The other ships got into Piscatawa. John Endicot, a very old man, was then governor of Boston, and incapable of business. The commissioners, therefore, had a conference with the council, and earnestly implored the assistance of that colony. Colonel Nicolls and Sir George Carteret, in their letter from Boston to Sir H. Bennet, secretary of state, complain much of the backwardness of that province. The reasons urged in their excuse were poverty and the season, it being the time of harvest; but perhaps disaffection to the Stuart family, whose persecuting fury had driven them from their native country, was the true spring of their conduct. The king's success in the reduction of the Dutch evidently opened him a door to come at his enemies in New England, who were far from being few; and whether this consideration might not have given rise to the project itself, must be left to conjecture. T. Dixwel, Esq., one of Charles the First's judges, and excepted out of the general pardon, lived many years at New Haven, unknown, in quality of a country merchant: Sir Edmund Andros, in one of his tours through the colony of Connecticut, saw him there at church, and strongly suspected him to be one of the regicides. In his last illness, he revealed himself to the minister of the town, and ordered a small stone to be set at the head of his grave, inscribed, "T. D., Esq." While at New Haven, he went under the name of John Davis.

On the 27th of July, Nicolls and Carteret made a formal request in writing, "That the government of Boston would pass an act to furnish them with armed men, who should begin their march to the Mannhattans, on the 20th of August ensuing; and promised, that if they could get other assistance, they would give them an account of it." The governor and council answered, that they would assemble the general court, and communicate the proposal to them.



From Boston, a second letter was written to Governor Winthrop, in Connecticut, dated the 29th of July, in which he was informed, that the other ships were then arrived, and would sail with the first fair wind, and he was desired to

meet them at the west end of Long Island.

One of the ships entered the bay of the North River, several days before the rest; and as soon as they were all come up, Stuyvesant sent a letter, dated 19-30 (showing the difference between the old and new style) of August, at Fort Anhill, directed to the commanders of the English

frigates, by John Deelyer, one of the chief council, the Rev. John Megapolensis, minister, Paul Lunder Vander Grift, mayor, and Mr. Samuel Megapolensis, doctor in physic, with the utmost civility, to desire the reason of their approach and continuing in the harbour of Naijarlij, without giving that notice to the Dutch which they ought.

Colonel Nicolls answered the next day with a summons.

“To the honourable the governors and chief council at Manhattans.

“Right worthy Sirs,—I received a letter bearing date 19-30 of August, desiring to know the intent of the approach of the English frigates; in return of which, I think it fit to let you know, that his majesty of Great Britain, whose right and title to these parts of America is unquestionable, well knowing how much it derogates from his crown and dignity to suffer any foreigners, how near soever they be allied, to usurp a dominion, and without his majesty’s royal consent to inhabit in these, or any other of his majesty’s territories, hath commanded me, in his name, to require a surrender of all such forts, towns, or places of strength, which are now possessed by the Dutch under your commands; and in his majesty’s name, I do demand the town situate on the island, commonly known by the name of Manhattoes, with all the forts thereunto belonging, to be rendered unto his majesty’s obedience and protection, into my hands. I am further commanded to assure you, and every respective inhabitant of the Dutch nation, that his majesty being tender of the effusion of Christian blood, doth, by these presents, confirm and secure to every man his estate, life, and liberty, who shall readily submit to his government. And all those who shall oppose his majesty’s gracious intention, must expect all the miseries of a war which they bring upon themselves. I shall expect your answer by these gentlemen, Colonel George Carteret, one of his majesty’s commissioners in America, Captain Robert Needham, Captain Edward Groves, and Mr. Thomas Delavall, whom you will entertain with such civility as is due to them, and yourselves and yours shall receive the same, from,

“Worthy sirs,

“Your very humble servant,

“RICHARD NICOLLS.”

“Dated on board his majesty’s ship, the Guyny, riding before Naych, the 20-31 of August, 1664.”

Mr. Stuyvesant promised an answer to the summons the next morning, and in the mean time convened the council of burgomasters. The Dutch governor was a good soldier, and had lost a leg in the service of the States. He would willingly have made a defence; and refused a sight of the summons, both to the inhabitants and burgomasters, lest the easy terms

offered might induce them to capitulate. The latter, however, insisted upon a copy, that they might communicate it to the late magistrates and principal burghers. They called together the inhabitants of the Stadthouse, and acquainted them with the governor's refusal. Governor Winthrop, at the same time, wrote to the director and his council, strongly recommending a surrender. On the 22d of August, the burgomaster came again into council, and desired to know the contents of the English message from Governor Winthrop, which Stuyvesant still refused. They continued their importunity, and he, in a fit of anger, tore it to pieces; upon which they protested against the act, and all its consequences. Determined upon a defence of the country, Stuyvesant wrote a letter in answer to the summons, which, as it declares the Dutch claim, must be given.

"My lords,—Your first letter, unsigned, of the 20–31 of August, together with that of this day, signed according to form, being the 1st of September, have been safely delivered into our hands by your deputies, unto which we shall say, that the rights of his majesty of England unto any part of America here about, among the rest, unto the colonies of Virginia, Maryland, or others in New England, whether disputable or not, is that, which, for the present, we have no design to debate upon. But that his majesty hath an indisputable right to all the lands in the north parts of America, is that which the kings of France and Spain will deny, as we absolutely do, by virtue of a commission given to me by my lords the high and mighty states-general, to be governor-general over New Holland, the isles of Curacoa, Bonaire, Aruba, with their appurtenances and dependencies, bearing date, the 26th of July, 1646. As also by virtue of a grant and commission, given by my said lords, the high and mighty states-general, to the West India Company, in the year 1621, with as much power, and as authentic as his said majesty of England hath given, or can give, to any colony in America, as more fully appears by the patent and commission of the said lords the states-general, by them signed, registered, and sealed with their great seal, which were shown to your deputies, Colonel George Carteret, Captain Robert Needham, Captain Edward Groves, and Mr. Thomas Delevall; by which commission and patent, together, (to deal frankly with you,) and by divers letters, signed and sealed by our said lords, the states-general, directed to several persons, both English and Dutch, inhabiting the towns and villages on Long Island, (which, without doubt, have been produced before you by those inhabitants,) by which they are declared and acknowledged to be their subjects, with express command that they continue faithful unto them, under penalty of incurring their utmost displeasure, which makes it appear more clear than the sun at noon-day, that your first foundation (viz., that the right and title of his majesty of Great Britain to these parts of America is

unquestionable) is absolutely to be denied. Moreover, it is without dispute, and acknowledged by the world, that our predecessors, by virtue of the commission and patent of the said lords, the states-general, have, without control and peaceably, (the contrary never coming to our knowledge,) enjoyed Fort Orange about forty-eight or fifty years, the Mannhattans about forty-one or forty-two years, the South River forty years, and the Fresh Water River about thirty-six years. Touching the second subject of your letter, viz., his majesty hath commanded me, in his name, to require a surrender of all such forts, towns, or places of strength, which are now possessed by the Dutch under your command. We shall answer, that we are so confident of the discretion and equity of his majesty of Great Britain, that in case his majesty were informed of the truth, which is, that the Dutch came not into these provinces by any violence, but by virtue of commissions from my lords the states-general; first of all, in the years 1614, 1615, and 1616, up the North River, near Fort Orange, where, to hinder the invasions and massacres commonly committed by the savages, they built a little fort; and after, in the year 1622, and even to this present time, by virtue of commissions and grants to the governors of the West India Company; and, moreover, in the year 1656, a grant to the honourable the burgomasters of Amsterdam, of the South River; inso-much, that by virtue of the abovesaid commissions from the high and mighty states-general, given to the persons interested as aforesaid, and others, these provinces have been governed, and consequently enjoyed, as also in regard of their first discovery, uninterrupted possessions, and purchase of the lands of the princes, natives of the country, and other private persons, (though gentiles,) we say we make no doubt, that if his said majesty of Great Britain were well informed of these passages, he would be too judicious to grant such an order, principally in a time when there is so straight a friendship and confederacy between our said lords and superiors, to trouble us in the demanding and summons of the places and fortresses, which were put into our hands, with order to maintain them, in the name of the said lords, the states-general, as was made appear to your deputies, under the names and seal of the said high and mighty states-general, dated the 28th of July, 1646. Besides what had been mentioned, there is little probability that his said majesty of England (in regard the articles of peace are printed, and were recommended to us to observe seriously and exactly, by a letter written to us by our said lords, the states-general, and to cause them to be observed religiously in this country) would give order touching so dangerous a design, being also so apparent, that none other than my said lords, the states-general, have any right to these provinces, and consequently ought to command and maintain their subjects; and in their absence, we, the governor-general, are obliged to maintain their rights, and to repel and take revenge of all threatenings,

unjust attempts, or any force whatsoever, that shall be committed against their faithful subjects and inhabitants, it being a very considerable thing to affront so mighty a state, although it were not against an ally and confederate. Consequently, if his said majesty (as it is fit) were well informed of all that could be spoken upon this subject, he would not approve of what expressions were mentioned in your letter; which are, that you are commanded by his majesty to demand in his name such places and fortresses as are in possession of the Dutch under my government; which, as it appears by my commission before-mentioned, was given me by my lords, the high and mighty states-general. And there is less ground in the express demand of my government, since all the world knows, that about three years ago, some English frigates being on the coast of Africa upon a pretended commission, they did demand certain places under the government of our said lords, the states-general, as Cape Vert, river of Gambo, and all other places in Guyny to them belonging. Upon which our said lords, the states-general, by virtue of the articles of peace, having made appear the said attempt to his majesty of England, they received a favourable answer, his said majesty disallowing all such acts of hostility as might have been done, and, besides, gave order that restitution should be made to the East India Company, of whatsoever had been pillaged in the said river of Gambo; and likewise restored them to their trade, which makes us think it necessary, that a more express order should appear unto us, as a sufficient warrant for us towards my lords, the high and mighty states-general—since by virtue of our said commission we do, in these provinces, represent them, as belonging to them, and not to the king of Great Britain, except his said majesty, upon better grounds, make it appear to our said lords, the states-general, against which they may defend themselves as they shall think fit. To conclude: we cannot but declare unto you, though the governors and commissioners of his majesty have divers times quarrelled with us about the bounds of the jurisdiction of the high and mighty the states-general, in these parts, yet they never questioned their jurisdiction itself; on the contrary, in the year 1650, at Hartford, and the last year at Boston, they treated with us upon this subject, which is a sufficient proof that his majesty hath never been well informed of the equity of our cause, insomuch as we cannot imagine, in regard to the articles of peace between the crown of England and the states-general, (under whom there are so many subjects in America, as well as Europe,) that his said majesty of Great Britain would give a commission to molest and endamage the subjects of my said lords the states-general, especially such as, ever since fifty, forty, and the latest thirty-six years, have quietly enjoyed their lands, countries, forts, and inheritances; and less, that his subjects would attempt any acts of hostility or violence against them: and in case you will act by force of arms, we protest and

declare, in the name of our said lords, the states-general, before God and men, that you will act an unjust violence, and a breach of the articles of peace. so solemnly sworn, agreed upon, and ratified by his majesty of England and my lords the states-general; and the rather for that to prevent the shedding of blood, in the month of February last, we treated with Captain John Scott, (who reported he had a commission from his said majesty,) touching the limits of Long Island, and concluded for the space of a year, that in the mean time the business might be treated on between the king of Great Britain, and my lords the high and mighty states-general: and again, at present, for the hinderance and prevention of all differences, and the spilling of innocent blood, not only in these parts, but also in Europe, we offer unto you a treaty by our deputies, Mr. Cornelius Van Ruyven, secretary and receiver of New Holland, Cornelius Steenwyck, burgomaster, Mr. Samuel Megapolensis, doctor of physic, and Mr. James Cousseau, heretofore sheriff. As touching the threats in your conclusion, we have nothing to answer, only that we fear nothing but what God (who is as just as merciful) shall lay upon us—all things being in his gracious disposal; and we may as well be preserved by him with small forces as by a great army, which makes us to wish you all happiness and prosperity, and recommend you to his protection. My lords, your thrice humble and affectionate servant and friend,

“Signed, P. STUYVESANT.

“At the fort at Amsterdam, the 2d of September, new style, 1664.”



HILE the Dutch governor and council were contending with the burgomasters and people in the city, the English commissioners published a proclamation in the country, encouraging the inhabitants to submit, and promising them the king's protection, and all the privileges of subjects; and as soon as they discovered by Stuyvesant's letter, that he was averse to surrender, officers were sent to beat up for volunteers in Middleborough, Ulissen, Jamaica, and Hempsted. A warrant was also issued to Hugh Hide, who commanded the squadron, to prosecute the reduction of the fort, and an

English ship then trading here was pressed into the service. These preparations induced Stuyvesant to write another letter, on the 25th of August, old style, wherein, though he declares that he would stand the storm, yet to prevent the spilling of blood, he had sent John de Decker, counsellor of state, Cornelius Van Ruyven, secretary and receiver, Cornelius Steenwyck, major, and James Cousseau, sheriff, to consult, if possible, an accommodation. Nicolls, who knew the disposition of the people, answered immediately from Gravesend, that he would treat about nothing but a surrender.

The Dutch governor, the next day, agreed to a treaty and surrender, on condition the English and Dutch limits in America were settled by the crown and the states-general. The English deputies were, Sir Robert Carr, George Carteret, John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, Samuel Willys, one of the assistants or counsel of that colony, and Thomas Clarke, and John Pyncheon, commissioners from the general court of Massachusetts bay, who but a little before brought an aid from that province. What these persons agreed upon, Nicolls promised to ratify. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 27th of August, 1664, the commissioners on both sides met at the governor's farm, and there signed the following articles of capitulation :

"These articles following, were consented to by the persons hereunder subscribed, at the governor's bowery, August the 27th, old style, 1664.

"1. We consent, that the states-general, or the West India Company, shall freely enjoy all farms and houses, (except such as are in the forts,) and that within six months, they shall have free liberty to transport all such arms and ammunition, as now does belong to them, or else they shall be paid for them.

"2. All public houses shall continue for the uses which they are for.

"3. All people shall still continue free denizens, and shall enjoy their lands, houses, goods, wheresoever they are within this country, and dispose of them as they please.

"4. If any inhabitant have a mind to remove himself, he shall have a year and six weeks from this day, to remove himself, wife, children, servants, goods, and to dispose of his lands here.

"5. If any officer of state, or public minister of state, have a mind to go for England, they shall be transported freight free, in his majesty's frigates, when these frigates shall return thither.

"6. It is consented to, that any people may freely come from the Netherlands, and plant in this colony, and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, and any of the Dutch may freely return home, or send any sort of merchandise home, in vessels of their own country.

"7. All ships from the Netherlands, or any other place, and goods therein, shall be received here, and sent hence, after the manner which formerly they were, before our coming hither, for six months next ensuing.

"8. The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship, and church discipline.

"9. No Dutchman here, or Dutch ship here, shall, upon any occasion, be pressed to serve in war against any nation whatsoever.

"10. That the townsmen of the Manhattans shall not have any soldiers quartered upon them, without being satisfied and paid for them by their officers; and at this present, if the fort be not capable of lodging all the

soldiers, then the burgomasters, by their officers, shall appoint some houses capable to receive them.

“11. The Dutch here shall enjoy their own customs concerning their inheritances.

“12. All public writings and records, which concern the inheritances of any people, or the reglement of the church or poor, or orphans, shall be carefully kept by those in whose hands now they are, and such writings as particularly concern the states-general may at any time be sent to them.

“13. No judgment that has passed any judicature here, shall be called in question, but if any conceive that he hath not had justice done him, if he apply himself to the states-general, the other party shall be bound to answer the supposed injury.

“14. If any Dutch living here, shall at any time desire to travel or traffic into England, or any place or plantation, in obedience to his majesty of England, or with the Indians, he shall have (upon his request to the governor) a certificate that he is a free denizen of this place, and liberty to do so.

“15. 1 it do appear, that there is a public engagement of debt, by the town of the Manhattoes, and a way agreed on for the satisfying of that engagement, it is agreed, that the same way proposed shall go on, and that the engagement shall be satisfied.

“16. All inferior civil officers and magistrates shall continue as now they are, (if they please,) till the customary time of new elections, and then new ones be chosen by themselves, provided that such new chosen magistrates shall take the oath of allegiance to his majesty of England, before they enter upon their office.

“17. All differences of contracts and bargains, made before this day, by any in this country, shall be determined according to the manner of the Dutch.

“18. If it do appear, that the West India Company of Amsterdam do really owe any sums of money to any persons here, it is agreed that recognition, and other duties payable by ships going for the Netherlands, be continued for six months longer.

“19. The officers, military, and soldiers, shall march out with their arms, drums beating, and colours flying, and lighted matches; and if any of them will plant, they shall have fifty acres of land set out for them; if any of them will serve as servants, they shall continue with all safety, and become free denizens afterwards.

“20. If at any time hereafter, the king of Great Britain, and the states of the Netherlands do agree, that this place and country be re-delivered into the hands of the said states, whensoever his majesty will send his commands to re-deliver it, it shall immediately be done.

"21. That the town of Manhattans shall choose deputies, and those deputies shall have free voices in all public affairs, as much as any other deputies.

"22. Those who have any property in any houses in the fort of Aurania, shall (if they please) slight the fortifications there, and then enjoy all their houses, as all people do where there is no fort.

"23. If there be any soldiers that will go into Holland, and if the company of West India in Amsterdam, or any private persons here, will transport them into Holland, then they shall have a safe transport from Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy-governor under his royal highness, and the other commissioners, to defend the ships that shall transport such soldiers, and all the goods in them, from any surprisal or acts of hostility, to be done by any of his majesty's ships or subjects. That the copies of the king's grant to his royal highness, and the copy of his royal highness's commission to Colonel Richard Nicolls, testified by two commissioners more, and Mr. Winthrop, to be true copies, shall be delivered to the honourable Mr. Stuyvesant, the present governor, on Monday next, by eight of the clock in the morning, at the Old Miln, and these articles consented to, and signed by Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy-governor to his royal highness, and that within two hours after the fort and town, called New Amsterdam, upon the isle of Manhattoes, shall be delivered into the hands of the said Colonel Richard Nicolls, by the service of such as shall be by him thereunto deputed, by his hand and seal.—John De Decker, Nich. Verleet, Samuel Meganolensis, Cornelius Steenwyck, Oloff Stevens Van Kortlant, James Cousseau, Robert Carr, George Carteret, John Winthrop, Samuel Willys, Thomas Clarke, John Pynchon.

"I do consent to these articles,

RICHARD NICOLLS."

These articles, favourable as they were to the inhabitants, were however very disagreeable to the Dutch governor, and he therefore refused to ratify them, till two days after they were signed by the commissioners.

The town of New Amsterdam, upon the reduction of the island Manhattans, took the name of New York. It consisted of several small streets, laid out in the year 1656, and was not inconsiderable for the number of its houses and inhabitants. The easy terms of the capitulation promised their peaceable subjection to the new government; and hence we find that, in two days after the surrender, the Boston aid was dismissed, with the thanks of the commissioners to the general court. Hudson's and the South River were, however, still to be reduced. Sir Robert Carr commanded the expedition on Delaware, and Carteret was commissioned to subdue the Dutch at Fort Orange. The garrison capitulated on the 24th of September, and he called it Albany, in honour of the Duke. While Carteret was here, he had an interview with the Indians of the Five Na-

tions, and entered into a league of friendship with them. The Dutch were sensible of the importance of preserving an uninterrupted amity with those Indians, for they were both very numerous and warlike. The French pursued quite different measures, and the eruptions of those tribes, according to their own authors, often reduced Canada to the brink of ruin. Sir Robert Carr was equally successful on South River, for he compelled both the Dutch and the Swedes to capitulate, and deliver up their garri-sons the 1st of October, 1664; and that was the day in which the whole New Netherland became subject to the English crown. Very few of the inhabitants thought proper to remove out of the country. Governor Stuyvesant himself held his estate, and died here. His remains were interred in a chapel which he had erected on his own farm, at a small distance from the city, afterwards possessed by his grandson, Gerardus Stuyvesant, a man of probity, who was elected into the magistracy above thirty years successively. For loyalty to the reigning family, and a pure attachment to the Protestant religion, the descendants of the Dutch planters were exceeded by none.





THE FIVE NATIONS CONCLUDING A TREATY WITH THE ENGLISH.

THE FIVE NATIONS.



OR three years after the surrender by the Dutch, Nicolls was governor of New York. He was careful to introduce English customs and laws gradually, and his administration was satisfactory to the people.

Colonel Francis Lovelace was appointed by the Duke of York to succeed him. During his administration a new war having broken out between England and Holland, New York was recaptured by the Dutch, and Colve appointed governor, whose reign was short; for, on the 9th of February, 1674, the province was restored to England by treaty, and Major, afterwards Sir Edmund Andros, was appointed governor.

Before proceeding to the succeeding administration, in which the Indian affairs began to have a powerful influence upon the public measures, it may not be improper to present the reader with a summary view of the history and character of the Five Nations, by the Dutch called Maquaas, by the French Iroquois, and by us Five Nations, Six Nations, and lastly the Confederates. They are greatly diminished, and consist now only of

about twelve hundred fighting men. These, of all the innumerable tribes of savages which inhabit the northern part of America, are of most importance, both on account of their vicinity and warlike disposition. Before the last incorporation of the Tuscaroras, a people driven by the inhabitants of Carolina from the frontiers of Virginia; they consisted of five confederate cantons. The Tuscaroras were received upon a supposition that they were originally of the same stock with the Five Nations, because there is some similitude between their languages. What in particular gave rise to this league, and when it took place, are questions which neither the natives nor Europeans pretend to answer. Each of these nations is divided into three families, or clans, of different ranks, bearing for their arms, and being distinguished by the names of, the tortoise, the bear, and the wolf. Their instruments of conveyances are signed by signatures, which they make with a pen, representing these animals.

No people in the world, perhaps, have higher notions than these Indians, of military glory. All the surrounding nations have felt the effects of their prowess; and many not only became their tributaries, but were so subjugated to their power, that without their consent they durst not commence either peace or war.

Though a regular police for the preservation of harmony within, and the defence of the state against invasions from without, is not to be expected from savages; yet, perhaps, they have paid more attention to it than is generally allowed. Their government is suited to their condition. A people whose riches consist not so much in abundance as in a freedom from want; who are circumscribed by no boundaries; who live by hunting, and not by agriculture,—must always be free, and therefore subject to no other authority than such as consists with the liberty necessarily arising from their circumstances. All their affairs, whether respecting peace or war, are under the direction of their sachems, or chief men. Great exploits and public virtue procure the esteem of a people, and qualify a man to advise in council, and execute the plan concerted for the advantage of his country; thus whoever appears to the Indians in this advantageous light, commences a sachem without any other ceremony.

As there is no other way of arriving at this dignity, so it ceases unless a uniform zeal and activity for the common good is uninterruptedly continued. Some have thought it hereditary, but that is a mistake. The son is indeed respected for his father's services; but without personal merit he can never share in the government—which, were it otherwise, must sink into perfect disgrace. The children of such as are distinguished for their patriotism, moved by the consideration of their birth, and the perpetual incitements to virtue constantly inculcated into them, imitate their father's exploits, and thus attain to the same honours and influence; which accounts for the opinion that the title and power of sachem is hereditary.

Each of these republics has its own particular chiefs, who hear and determine all complaints in council, and though they have no officers for the execution of justice, yet their decrees are always obeyed, from the general reproach that would follow a contempt of their advice. The condition of this people exempts them from factions, the common disease of popular governments. It is impossible to gain a party amongst them by indirect means; for no man has either honour, riches, or power to bestow.

All affairs which concern the general interest are determined in a great assembly of the chiefs of each canton, usually held at Onondago, the centre of their country. Upon emergencies they act separately, but nothing can bind the league but the voice of the general convention.

The French, upon the maxim of divide and govern, tried all possible means to disunite these republics, and sometimes even sowed great jealousies amongst them. In consequence of this plan, they seduced many families to withdraw to Canada, and there settled them in regular towns, under the command of a fort, and the tuition of missionaries.

The manners of these savages are as simple as their government. Their houses are a few crotched stakes thrust into the ground and overlaid with bark. A fire is kindled in the middle, and an aperture left at the top for the conveyance of the smoke. Whenever a considerable number of those huts are collected, they have a castle, as it is called, consisting of a square without bastions, surrounded with palisadoes. They have no other fortification; and this is only designed as an asylum for their old men, their wives and children, whilst the rest are gone out to war. They live almost entirely without care. While the women, or squaws, cultivate a little spot of ground for corn, the men employ themselves in hunting. As to clothes, they use a blanket girt at the waist, and thrown loosely over their shoulders; some of their women indeed have, besides this, a sort of a petticoat, and a few of their men wear shirts; but the greater part of them are generally half-naked. In winter, their legs are covered with stockings of blanket, and their feet with socks of deer-skin. Many of them are fond of ornaments, and their taste is very singular. Some have rings affixed, not only to their ears but their noses. Bracelets of silver and brass round their wrists, are very common. The women formerly plaited their hair, and tied it up behind in a bag, perhaps in imitation of the beaus in Canada. Though the Indians are capable of sustaining great hardships, yet they cannot endure much labour, being rather fleet than strong. Their men are taller than the Europeans, rather corpulent, always beardless, because they pluck out the hairs. The French writers, who say they have naturally no beards, are mistaken; and the reasons they assign for it are ridiculous. They are straight-limbed, of a tawny complexion, and black, uncurled hair. In their food they have no manner of

delicacy, for though venison is their ordinary diet, yet sometimes they eat dogs, bears, and even snakes. Their cookery is of two kinds, boiled or roasted ; to perform the latter, the meat is penetrated by a short sharp stick set in the ground, inclining towards the fire, and turned as occasion requires. They are hospitable to strangers, though few Europeans would relish their highest favours of this kind, for they are very dirty both in their garments and food. Every man has his own wife, whom he takes and leaves at pleasure ; a plurality, however, at the same time, is by no means admitted among them. They have been generally commended for their chastity, but others say, on good authority, that they are very lascivious, and that the women, to avoid reproach, frequently destroy the fœtus in the womb. They are so perfectly free, that unless their children, who generally assist their mother, may be called servants, they have none. The men frequently associate themselves for conversation, by which means they not only preserve the remembrance of their wars and treaties, but diffuse among their youths incitements to a love of war, as well as instruction in all its subtilties.

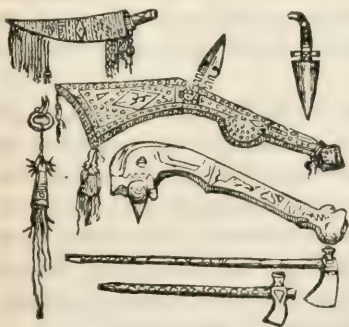
Since they became acquainted with the Europeans, their warlike apparatus is a musket, hatchet, and a long knife. To "take up the hatchet," is with them a phrase signifying to declare war ; as on the contrary, "to bury it," denotes the establishment of a peace. Their boys still accustom themselves to bows and arrows, and are so dexterous in the use of them, that a lad of sixteen will strike an English shilling five times in ten, at twelve or fourteen yards' distance. Their men are excellent marksmen, both with the gun and hatchet ; their dexterity at the latter is very extraordinary, for they rarely miss the object though at a considerable distance. The hatchet in the flight perpetually turns round, and yet always strikes the mark with the edge.

Before they go out, they have a feast upon dog's flesh, and a great war dance. At these, the warriors, who are frightfully painted with vermilion, rise up and sing their own exploits, or those of their ancestors, and thereby kindle a military enthusiasm in the whole company. The day after the dance, they march out a few miles in a row, observing a profound silence. The procession being ended, they strip the bark from a large oak, and paint the design of their expedition on the naked trunk. The figure of a canoe, with the number of men in it, determines the strength of their party ; and by a deer, a fox, or some other emblem painted at the head of it, we discover against what nation they are gone out.

The Five Nations being devoted to war, every art is contrived to diffuse a military spirit through the whole body of their people. The ceremonies attending the return of a party seem calculated in particular for that purpose. The day before they enter the village, two heralds advance, and at a small distance set up a yell, which by its modulation intimates either

good or bad news. If the former, the village is alarmed, and an entertainment provided for the conquerors, who in the mean time approach in sight : one of them bears the scalps stretched over a bow, and elevated upon a long pole. The boldest man in the town comes out, and receives it, and instantly flies to the hut where the rest are collected. If he is overtaken, he is beaten unmercifully ; but if he outruns the pursuer, he participates in the honour of the victors, who at their first entrance receive no compliments, nor speak a single word till the end of the feast. Their parents, wives and children, then are admitted, and treat them with the profoundest respect. After these salutations, one of the conquerors is appointed to relate the whole adventure, to which the rest attentively listen without asking a question, and the whole concludes with a savage dance.

The Indians never fight in the field, or upon equal terms, but always skulk and attack by surprise, in small parties, meeting every night at a place of rendezvous. Scarce any enemy can escape them ; for, by the disposition of the grass and leaves, they follow his track with great speed anywhere but over a rock. Their barbarity is shocking to human nature. Women and children they generally kill and scalp, because they would retard their progress, but the men they carry into captivity. If any woman has lost a relation, and inclines to receive the prisoner in his stead, he not only escapes a series of the most inhuman tortures, and death itself, but enjoys every immunity they can bestow, and is esteemed a member of the family into which he is adopted. To part with him would be the most ignominious conduct, and considered as selling the blood of the deceased ; and, for this reason, it is not without the greatest difficulty that a captive is redeemed.



When the Indians incline to peace, a messenger is sent to the enemy with a pipe, the bowl of which is made of soft red marble ; and a long reed, beautifully painted, and adorned with the gay plumage of birds, forms the stem. This is his infallible protection from any assault on the way. The envoy makes his proposals to the enemy, who, if they approve them, ratify the preliminaries to the peace, by smoking through the

pipe, and, from that instant, a general cessation of arms takes place. The French call it a calumet. It is used, as far as can be learned, by all the Indian nations on the continent. The rights of it are esteemed sacred, and have been only invaded by the Flat Heads ; in just indignation for which the confederates maintained a war with them for near thirty years.

As to the language of the Five Nations, the best account of it is contained

in a letter from the Reverend Mr. Spencer, who resided amongst them in the year 1748, being then a missionary from the Scotch Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. He writes thus:—

“Except the Tuscaroras, all the Six Nations speak a language radically the same. It is very masculine and sonorous, abounding with gutturals and strong aspirations, but without labials. Its solemn, grave tone is owing to the generosity of its feet.

“The extraordinary length of Indian words, and the guttural aspirations necessary in pronouncing them, render the speech extremely rough and difficult. The verbs never change in their terminations, as in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but all their variations are prefixed. Besides the singular and plural, they have also the dual number. A strange transposition of syllables of different words is very common in the Indian tongue.

“The dialect of the Oneidas is softer than that of the other nations; and the reason is, because they have more vowels, and often supply the place of harsh letters with liquids; instead of R, they always use L: Rebecca would be pronounced Lequecca.”

The art of public speaking is in high esteem among the Indians, and much studied. They are extremely fond of method, and displeased with an irregular harangue, because it is difficult to be remembered. When they answer, they repeat the whole, reducing it into strict order. Their speeches are short, and the sense conveyed in strong metaphors. In conversation they are sprightly, but solemn and serious in their messages relating to public affairs. Their speakers deliver themselves with surprising force, and great propriety of gesture. The fierceness of their countenances, the flowing blanket, elevated tone, naked arm, and erect stature, with a half circle of auditors seated on the ground, and in the open air, cannot but impress upon the mind a lively idea of the ancient orators of Greece and Rome.

At the close of every important part of the speech, ratifying an old covenant or creating a new one, a belt is generally given, to perpetuate the remembrance of the transaction. These belts are about four inches wide, and thirty in length. They consist of strings of conch-shell beads fastened together. Those beads, which passed for money, were called by the Indians Wampum, and by the Dutch Sewant; six beads were formerly valued at a styver. There were always several poor families at Albany, who supported themselves by coining this cash for the traders.

With respect to religion, the Indians may be said to be under the thickest gloom of ignorance. If they have any, which is much to be questioned, those who affirm it will find it difficult to tell us wherein it consists. They have neither priest nor temple, sacrifice nor altar. Some traces indeed appear of the original law written upon their hearts; but they have no system of doctrines, nor any rites and modes of public worship.

They are sunk, unspeakably, beneath the polite pagans of antiquity. Some confused notions, indeed, of beings superior to themselves, they have ; but of the Deity, and his natural and moral perfections, no proper or tolerable conceptions ; and of his general and particular providence they know nothing. They profess no obligations to him, nor acknowledge their dependence upon him. Some of them, it is said, are of opinion that there are two distinct, powerful beings, one able to help, the other to do them harm. The latter they venerate most, and some allege, that they address him by a kind of prayer. Though there are no public monuments of idolatry to be seen in their country, yet the missionaries have discovered coarse imagery in wooden trinkets, in the hands of their jugglers, which the converts deliver up as detestable. The sight of them would remind an antiquary of the Lares and Penates of the ancients, but no certain judgment can be drawn of their use. The Indians sometimes assemble in large numbers, and retire far into the wilderness, where they eat and drink in a profuse manner. These conventions are called kenticoy's. Some esteem them to be debauched revels, or bacchanalia ; but those who have privately followed them into these recesses give such accounts of their conduct as naturally lead one to imagine that they pay a joint homage and supplication to some invisible being. If we suppose they have a religion, it is worse than none, and raises most melancholy ideas of their depraved condition.

As to the history of the Five Nations before their acquaintance with the Europeans, it is involved in the darkness of antiquity. It is said that their first residence was in the country about Montreal ; and that the superior strength of the Adirondacks, whom the French call Algonquins, drove them into their present possessions, lying on the south side of the Mohawks river, and the great Lake Ontario. Towards the close of those disputes, which continued for a great series of years, the confederates gained advantages over the Adirondacks, and struck a general terror into all the other Indians. The Hurons on the north side of the Lake Erie, and the Cat Indians on the south side, were totally conquered and dispersed. The French, who settled in Canada, in 1603, took umbrage at their success, and began a war with them, which had wellnigh ruined the new colony. In autumn, 1665, M. Courcelles, the governor, sent out a party against the Mohawks. Through ignorance of the country, and the want of snowshoes, they were almost perished, when they fell in with Schenectady. And even there the Indians would have sacrificed them to their barbarous rage, had not Corlear, a Dutchman, interposed to protect them. For this seasonable hospitality, the French governor invited him to Canada, but he was unfortunately drowned in his passage through the Lake Champlain. It is in honour of this man, who was a favourite of the Indians, that the governors of New York, in all their treaties, were addressed by the name

of Corlear. Twenty light companies of foot, and the whole militia of Canada, marched the next spring into the country of the Mohawks ; but their success was very unequal to the charge and labour of such a tedious march of seven hundred miles, through an uncultivated desert ; for the Indians, on their approach, retired into the woods, leaving behind them some old sachems, who preferred death to life, to glut the fury of their enemies. The emptiness of this parade on the one hand, and the Indian fearfulness of fire-arms on the other, brought about a peace in 1667, which continued for several years after. In this interval, both the English and French cultivated a trade with the natives very profitable to both nations. The latter, however, were most politic and vigorous, and filled the Indian country with their missionaries. The *Sieur Perot*, the very year in which the peace was concluded, travelled above twelve hundred miles westward, making proselytes of the Indians everywhere to the French interest. *Courcelles* appears to have been a man of art and industry. He took every measure in his power for the defence of Canada. To prevent the eruptions of the Five Nations by the way of Lake Champlain, he built several forts in 1665, between that and the mouth of the river Sorel. In 1672, just before his return to France, under pretence of treating with the Indians more commodiously, but in reality, as *Charlevoix* expresses it, "to bridle them," he obtained their leave to erect a fort at Caderacqui, or Lake Ontario, which Count Frontenac, his successor, completed the following spring, and called after his own name. The command of it was afterwards given to Mr. De la Salle, who, in 1678, rebuilt it with stone. This enterprising person, the same year, launched a bark of ten tons into the Lake Ontario, and another of sixty tons, the year after, into Lake Erie, about which time he enclosed with palisadoes a little spot at Niagara.

Though the Duke of York had preferred Colonel Thomas Dongan to the government of New York, on the 30th of September, 1682, he did not arrive here till the 27th of August, in the following year. He was a man of integrity, moderation, and polite manners ; and though a professed Papist, may be classed among the best of the governors.

The people, who had been formerly ruled at the will of the duke's deputies, began their first participation in the legislative power under Colonel Dongan ; for, shortly after his arrival, he issued orders to the sheriffs to summon the freeholders for choosing representatives, to meet him in Assembly on the 17th of October, 1683. Nothing could be more agreeable to the people, who, whether Dutch or English, were born the subjects of a free state ; nor, indeed, was the change of less advantage to the duke than to the inhabitants. For such a general disgust had prevailed, and in particular in Long Island, against the old form which Colonel Nicolls had introduced, as threatened the total subversion of the public tranquillity. Colonel Dongan saw the disaffection of the people at the east

end of the island,—for he landed there on his first arrival in the country ; and to extinguish the discontent then impatient to burst out, gave them his promise, that no laws or rates for the future should be imposed but by a general Assembly. Doubtless, this alteration was agreeable to the duke's orders, who had been strongly importuned for it, as well as acceptable to the people ; for they sent him, soon after, an address, expressing the highest sense of gratitude for so beneficial a change in the government. It would have been impossible for him much longer to have maintained the old model over free subjects, who had just before formed themselves into a colony for the enjoyment of their liberties, and had even already solicited the protection of the colony of Connecticut, from whence the greatest part of them came. Disputes relating to the limits of certain townships at the east end of Long Island sowed the seeds of enmity against Dongan so deeply in the hearts of many who were concerned in them, that their representation to Connecticut, at the revolution, contains the bitterest invectives against him.

Dongan surpassed all his predecessors in a due attention to affairs with the Indians, by whom he was highly esteemed. It must be remembered, to his honour, that though he was ordered by the duke to encourage the French priests who were come to reside among the natives, under pretence of advancing the popish cause, but in reality to gain them over to the French interest ; yet he forbid the Five Nations to entertain them. The Jesuits, however, had no small success. Their proselytes were called praying Indians, or Caghnugaes, and resided afterwards in Canada, at the fall of St. Lewis, opposite to Montreal. This village was begun in 1671, and consisted of such of the Five Nations as had formerly been drawn away by the intrigues of the French priests, in the times of Lovelace and Andros, who seem to have paid no attention to the Indian affairs. It was owing to the instigation, also, of these priests, that the Five Nations about this time committed hostilities on the back parts of Maryland and Virginia, which occasioned a grand convention at Albany, in the year 1684. Lord Howard, of Effingham, the Governor of Virginia, was present, and made a covenant with them for preventing further depredations, towards the accomplishment of which Colonel Dongan was very instrumental.

While Lord Howard was at Albany, a messenger from De la Barre, then Governor of Canada, arrived, complaining of the Seneca Indians for interrupting the French in their trade with the more distant Indians, commonly included among us by the general name of the Far Nations. Colonel Dongan, to whom the message was sent, communicated it to the Senecas, who admitted the charge, but justified their conduct, alleging, that the French supplied arms and ammunition to the Twightwies, with whom they were then at war. De la Barre, at the same time meditating nothing less than the total destruction of the Five Nations, proceeded with

an army of seventeen hundred men to the Lake Ontario. Mighty preparations were made to obtain the desired success: fresh troops were imported from France, and a letter procured from the Duke of York to Colonel Dongan, commanding him to lay no obstacles in the way. The officers posted in the out-forts, even as far as Michilimakinac, were ordered to rendezvous at Niagara, with all the western Indians they could engage. Dongan, regardless of the duke's orders, apprized the Indians of the French designs, and promised to assist them. After six weeks' delay at Fort Frontenac, during which time a great sickness, occasioned by bad provisions, broke out in the French army, De la Barre found it necessary to conclude the campaign with a treaty, for which purpose he crossed the lake and came to the place which, from the distress of his army, was called *La Famine*. Dongan sent an interpreter among the Indians, by all means to prevent them from attending the treaty. The Mohawks and Senecas accordingly refused to meet De la Barre, but the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, influenced by the missionaries, were unwilling to hear the interpreter, except before the priests, one *La Main*, and three other Frenchmen; and afterwards waited upon the French governor. Two days after their arrival in the camp, Monsieur de la Barre addressing himself to Garangula, an Onondaga chief, made the following speech, the Indians and French officers at the same time forming a circle round about him:—

“The king, my master, being informed that the Five Nations have often infringed the peace, has ordered me to come hither with a guard, and to send Ohguesse to the Onondagas, to bring the chief sachems to my camp. The intention of the great king is, that you and I may smoke the calumet of peace together: but on this condition, that you promise me, in the name of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Mohawks, to give entire satisfaction and reparation to his subjects, and for the future never to molest them.

“The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, have robbed and abused all the traders that were passing to the Illinois and Miamies, and other Indian nations, the children of my king. They have acted, on these occasions, contrary to the treaty of peace with my predecessor. I am ordered, therefore, to demand satisfaction, and to tell them that, in case of refusal, or their plundering us any more, I have express orders to declare war. This belt confirms my words. The warriors of the Five Nations have conducted the English into the lakes which belong to the king, my master, and brought the English among the nations that are his children, to destroy the trade of his subjects, and to withdraw these nations from him. They have carried the English thither, notwithstanding the prohibition of the late governor of New York, who foresaw the risk that both they and you would run. I am willing to forget those things; but if ever the like shall happen for the future, I have express orders to

declare war against you. This belt confirms my words. Your warriors have made several barbarous incursions on the Illinois and Umameis; they have massacred men, women, and children; and have made many of these nations prisoners, who thought themselves safe in their villages in time of peace. These people, who are my king's children, must not be your slaves; you must give them their liberty, and send them back into their own country. If the Five Nations shall refuse to do this, I have express orders to declare war against them. This belt confirms my words.

"This is what I have to say to Garrangula, that he may carry to the Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Mohawks, the declaration which the king, my master, has commanded me to make. He doth not wish them to force him to send a great army to Cadarackui Fort, to begin a war which must be fatal to them. He would be sorry that this fort, that was the work of peace, should become the prison of your warriors. We must endeavour, on both sides, to prevent such misfortunes. The French, who are the brethren and friends of the Five Nations, will never trouble their repose, provided that the satisfaction which I demand be given; and that the treaties of peace be hereafter observed. I shall be extremely grieved if my words do not produce the effect which I expect from them; for then I shall be obliged to join with the governor of New York, who is commanded by his master to assist me, and burn the castles of the Five Nations, and destroy you. This belt confirms my words."

Garrangula heard these threats with contempt, because he had learned the distressed state of the French army, and knew that they were incapable of executing the designs with which they set out; and therefore, after walking five or six times round the circle, he answered the French governor, who sat in an elbow chair, in the following strain:—

"Yonnondio!—I honour you; and the warriors that are with me likewise honour you. Your interpreter has finished your speech; I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears: hearken to them.

"Yonnondio! you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had burnt up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflowed the banks that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, surely you must have dreamed so! and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since I and the warriors here present are come to assure you, that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, are yet alive. I thank you, in their name, for bringing back into their country the calumet which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you, that you left under-ground that murdering hatchet that has been so often died in the blood of the French. Hear, Yonnondio! I do not sleep: I have my eyes open; and the sun which enlightens me, dis-

covers to me a great captain at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says, that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas. But Garrangula says, that he sees the contrary : that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

“I see Yonnondio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved, by inflicting this sickness on them. Hear, Yonnondio ! Our women had taken their clubs ; our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them and kept them back ; when your messenger, Ohguesse, came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it. Hear, Yonnondio ! we plundered none of the French, but those that carried guns, powder, and ball to the Twightwies and Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who stave all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all these arms that they have taken, and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words.

“We carried the English into our lakes, to trade there with the Utawas and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacks brought the French to our castles, to carry on a trade, which the English say is theirs. We are born free ; we neither depend on Yonnondio nor Corlear.

“We may go where we please, and carry with us whom we please, and buy and sell what we please : if your allies be your slaves, use them as such, command them to receive no other but your people. This belt preserves my words.

“We knocked the Twightwies and Chictaghicks on the head, because they had cut down the trees of peace, which were the limits of our country. They have hunted beavers on our lands : they have acted contrary to the customs of all Indians, for they left none of the beavers alive, they killed both male and female. They brought the Satanas into the country, to take part with them, after they had concerted ill designs against us. We have done less than either the English or French, that have usurped the lands of so many Indian nations, and chased them from their own country. This belt preserves my words.

“Hear, Yonnondio, what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations—hear what they answer—open your ears to what they speak. The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks say, that when they buried the hatchet at Cadarackui (in the presence of your predecessor) in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that, in place of a retreat for soldiers, that port might be a rendezvous for merchants ; that in place of arms and ammunition of war, beavers and merchandize should enter only there.

"Hear, Yonnondio, take care, for the future, that so great a number of soldiers as appear there do not choke the tree of peace planted in so small a fort. It will be a great loss if, after it had so easily taken root, you should stop its growth, and prevent its covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you, in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves, and shall remain quiet on their mats, and shall never dig up the hatchet, till their brother Yonnondio or Corlear shall, either jointly or separately, endeavour to attack the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors. This belt preserves my words, and this other, the authority which the Five Nations have given me."

Then Garrangula, addressing himself to Monsieur la Main, said: "Take courage, Ohguesse, you have spirit, speak, explain my words, forget nothing, tell all that your brethren and friends say to Yonnondio, your governor, by the mouth of Garrangula, who loves you, and desires you to accept of this present of a beaver, and take part with me in my feast, to which I invite you. This present of beaver is sent to Yonnondio on the part of the Five Nations."

Enraged at this bold reply, De la Barre, as soon as the peace was concluded, retired to Montreal, and ingloriously finished an expensive campaign, as Dr. Colden observes, in a scold with an old Indian.

De la Barre was succeeded by the Marquis de Nonville, colonel of the dragoons, who arrived with a reinforcement of troops, in 1685. The marquis was a man of courage, and an enterprising spirit, and not a little animated by the consideration, that he was sent over to repair the disgrace which his predecessor had brought upon the French colony. The year after his arrival at Quebec, he wrote a letter to the minister in France, recommending the scheme of erecting a stone fort, sufficient to contain four or five hundred men, at Niagara, not only to exclude the English from the lakes, but to command the fur trade, and subdue the Five Nations. Dongan, who was jealous of his designs, took umbrage at the extraordinary supplies sent to Fort Frontenac, and wrote to the French governor, signifying that, if he attacked the confederates, he would consider it as a breach of the peace subsisting between the two crowns; and to prevent his building a fort at Niagara, he protested against it, and claimed the country as dependent upon the province. De Nonville, in his answer, denied that he intended to invade the Five Nations, though the necessary preparations for that purpose were then carrying on, and yet Charlevoix commends him for his piety and uprightness. Colonel Dongan, who knew the importance of the Indian alliance, placed no confidence in the declarations of the marquis, but exerted himself in preparing the confederates for the war; and the French author, just mentioned, does him honour,

while he complains of him as a perpetual obstacle in the way of the execution of their schemes.



De Nonville, to prevent the interruption of the French trade with the Twightwies, determined to divert the Five Nations, and carry the war into their country. To that end, in 1687, he collected two thousand troops, and six hundred Indians, at Montreal, and issued orders to all the officers in the more west-

erly country to meet him with additional succours at Niagara, on an expedition against the Senecas. An English party, under one Gregory, at the same time was gone out to trade on the lakes, but the French, notwithstanding the peace then subsisting between the two crowns, intercepted them, seized their effects, and imprisoned their persons. Monsieur Fonti, commandant among the Chictaghies, who was coming to the general's rendezvous at Niagara, did the like to another English party, which he met with in Lake Erie—both which attacks were open infractions of the treaty at Whitehall, executed in November, 1686; by which it was agreed, that the Indian trade in America should be free to the English and French. The Five Nations, in the mean time, were preparing to give the French army a suitable reception. Monsieur Companie, with two or three hundred Canadians in an advanced party, surprised two villages of the confederates, who, at the invitation, and on the faith of the French, seated themselves down about eight leagues from Lake Fadarackui, or Ontario. To prevent their escape with intelligence to their countrymen, they were carried to the fort, and all but thirteen died in torments at the stake, singing with an heroic spirit, in their expiring moments, the perfidy of the French. The rest, according to the express orders of the French king, were sent to the galleys in Europe. The marquis having embarked his whole army in canoes, set out from the fort at Cadarackui on the 23d of June, one-half of them passing along the north, and the other on the south side of the lake; and both arrived the same day at Tyronpequait, and shortly after set out on their march towards the chief village of the Senecas, at about seven leagues' distance. The main body was composed of the regulars and militia; the front and rear, of the Indians and traders. The scouts advanced the second day on their march as far as the corn of the village, and within pistol-shot of five hundred Senecas, who lay upon

their bellies, undiscovered. The French, who imagined the enemy were all fled, quickened their march to overtake the women and old men. But no sooner had they reached the foot of the hill, about a mile from the villages, than the Senecas raised the war-shout, and in the same instant charged upon the whole army, both in the front and rear. Universal confusion ensued. The battalions divided, fired upon each other, and fled into the wood. The Senecas improved the disorder of the enemy, till they were repulsed by the French Indians. According to Charlevoix's account, which may be justly suspected, the enemy lost but six men, and had twenty wounded in the conflict. Of the Senecas, he says, sixty were wounded, and forty-five slain. The marquis was so much dispirited, that he could not be persuaded to pursue the enemy that day ; which gave the Senecas an opportunity to burn their village, and get off. Two old men remained in the castle to receive the general, and regale the barbarity of his Indian allies. After destroying the corn in this and several other villages, the army retired to the banks of the lake, and erected a fort with four bastions on the south-east side of the straits at Niagara, in which they left one hundred men under the command of Le Chevalier de la Troye, with eight months' provisions ; but these being chiefly blocked up, all, except seven or eight of them, who were accidentally relieved, perished through famine. Soon after this expedition, Colonel Dongan met the Five Nations at Albany. To what intent, appears from the speech he made to them on the 5th of August, which is quoted, in order to show his vigilance and zeal for the province committed to his care, and a sample of the mode of conducting business.

"Brethren,—I am very glad to see you here in this house, and am heartily glad that you have sustained no greater loss by the French, though I believe it was their intention to destroy you all, if they could have surprised you in your castles.

"As soon as I heard their design to war with you, I gave you notice, and came up hither myself, that I might be ready to give all the assistance and advice that so short a time would allow me.

"I am now about sending a gentleman to England, to the king, my master, to let him know that the French have invaded his territories on this side of the great lake, and warred upon the brethren, his subjects. I, therefore, would willingly know, whether the brethren have given the governor of Canada any provocation or not ; and if they have, how, and in what manner ; because I am obliged to give a true account of this matter. This business may cause a war between the king of England, and the French king, both in Europe and here, and, therefore, I must know the truth.

"I know the governor of Canada dare not enter into the king of England's territories in a hostile manner, without provocation, if he thought

the brethren were the king of England's subjects ; but you have, two or three years ago, made a covenant chain with the French, contrary to my command, (which I knew could not hold long,) being void of itself among the Christians ; forasmuch as subjects (as you are) ought not to treat with any foreign nation, it not lying in your power. You have brought this trouble on yourselves, and, as I believe, this is the only reason of their falling on you at this time.

"Brethren, I took it very ill, that after you had put yourselves into the number of the great king of England's subjects, you should ever offer to make peace or war, without my consent. You know that we can live without you, but you cannot live without us ; you never found that I told you a lie, and I offered you the assistance you wanted, provided that you would be advised by me ; for I know the French better than any of you do.

"Now, since there is a war begun upon you by the governor of Canada, I hope without any provocation by you given, I desire and command you, that you hearken to no treaty but by my advice, which, if you follow, you shall have the benefit of the great chain of friendship between the great king of England and the king of France, which came out of England the other day, and which I have sent to Canada, by Anthony le Junard : in the mean time I will give you such advice as will be for your good ; and will supply you with such necessaries as you will have need of.

"First. My advice is, as to what prisoners of the French you shall take, that you draw not their blood, but bring them home, and keep them to exchange for your people which they have prisoners already, or may take hereafter.

"Secondly. That if it be possible that you can order it so, I would have you take one or two of your wisest sachems, and one or two of your chief captains, of each nation, to be a council to manage all affairs of the war. They to give orders to the rest of the officers what they are to do, that your designs may be kept private ; for, after it comes among so many people, it is blazed abroad, and your designs are often frustrated ; and those chief men should keep a correspondence with me by a trusty messenger.

"Thirdly. The great matter under consideration with the brethren is, how to strengthen themselves, and weaken the enemy. My opinion is, that the brethren should send messengers to the Utawawas, Twightwies, and the further Indians, and to send back likewise some of the prisoners of these nations, if you have any left, to bury the hatchet, and to make a covenant chain, that they may put away all the French that are among them, and that you will open a path for them this way, (they being the king of England's subjects likewise, though the French have been admitted to trade with them ; for all that the French have in Canada, they

had it of the great king of England,) that, by that means, they may come hither freely, where they may have every thing cheaper than among the French: that you and they may join together against the French, and make so firm a league, that whoever is an enemy to one must be to both.

“Fourthly. Another thing of concern is, that you ought to do what you can to open a path for all the north Indians and Mahikanders that are among the Utawawas and further nations. I will endeavour to do the same to bring them home; for, they not daring to return home your way, the French keep them there on purpose to join with the other nations against you, for your destruction; for you know, that one of them is worse than six of the others; therefore, all means must be used to bring them home, and use them kindly as they pass through your country.

“Fifthly. My advice further is, that messengers go in behalf of all the Five Nations, to the Christian Indians at Canada, to persuade them to come home to their native country. This will be another great means to weaken your enemy; but, if they will not be advised, you know what to do with them.

“Sixthly. I think it very necessary for the brethren’s security and assistance, and to the endamaging the French, to build a fort upon the lake, where I may keep stores and provisions, in case of necessity; and, therefore, I would have the brethren let me know what place will be most convenient for it.

“Seventhly. I would not have the brethren keep their corn in their castles, as I hear the Onondagas do, but bury it a great way in the woods, where few people may know where it is, for fear of such an accident as happened to the Senecas.

“Eighthly. I have given my advice in your General Assembly, by Mr. Dirk Wessels, and Akus, the interpreter, how you are to manage your parties, and how necessary it is to get prisoners, to exchange for your own men that are prisoners with the French, and I am glad to hear that the brethren are so united as Mr. Dirk Wessels tells me you are, and that there was no rotten members nor French spies among you.

“Ninthly. The brethren may remember my advice which I sent you this spring, not to go to Cadarackui; if you had, they would have served you as they did your people that came from hunting thither, for I told you that I knew the French better than you did.

“Tenthly. There was no advice or proposition that I made to the brethren all the time that the priest lived at Onondaga, but what he wrote to Canada, as I found by one of his letters, which he gave to an Indian to carry to Canada, but which was brought thither; therefore, I desire the brethren not to receive him, or any French priest any more, having sent for English priests, with whom you may be supplied to your content.

"Eleventhly. I would have the brethren look out sharp, for fear of being surprised. I believe all the strength of the French will be at their frontier places, viz., at Cadarackui and Oniagara, where they have built a fort now, and at Trois Rivières, Montreal, and Chambly.

"Twelfthly. Let me put you in mind again, not to make any treaties without my means, which will be more advantageous for you than your doing it by yourselves, for then you will be looked upon as the king of England's subjects, and let me know, from time to time, every thing that is done.

"Thus far I have spoken to you relating to the war."

Not long after this interview, a considerable party of Mohawks and Mahikanders, or River Indians, beset Fort Chambly, burnt several houses, and returned with many captives to Albany. Forty Onondagas, about the same time, surprised a few soldiers near Fort Frontenac, whom they confined instead of the Indians sent home to the galleys, notwithstanding the utmost address was used to regain them, by Lamberville, a French priest, who delivered them two belts, to engage their kindness to the prisoners, and prevent their joining the quarrel with the Senecas. The belts being sent to Colonel Dongan, he wrote to De Nonville, to demand the reason of their being delivered. Pere le Vaillant was sent about the beginning of the year 1688, under colour of bringing an answer, but in reality as a spy. Colonel Dongan told him, that no peace could be made with the Five Nations, unless the Indians sent to the galleys, and the Caghnuaga proselytes were returned to their respective cantons, the forts at Niagara and Frontenac razed, and the Senecas had satisfaction made them for the damage they had sustained. The Jesuit, in his return, was ordered not to visit the Mohawks.

Dongan, who was fully sensible of the importance of the Indian interest to the English colonies, was for compelling the French to apply to him in all their affairs with the Five Nations; while they, on the other hand, were for treating with them independent of the English. For this reason, among others, he refused them the assistance they frequently required, till they acknowledged the dependence of the confederates on the English crown. King James, a bigoted, popish, priest-ridden prince, ordered his governor to give up this point, and to persuade the Five Nations to send messengers to Canada, to receive proposals of peace from the French. For this purpose a cessation of arms and mutual redelivery of prisoners was agreed upon. Near twelve hundred of the confederates attended this negotiation at Montreal, and in their speech to De Nonville, insisted with great resolution upon the terms proposed by Colonel Dongan to Father le Vaillant. The French governor declared his willingness to put an end to the war, if all his allies might be included in the treaty of peace, if the Mohawks and Senecas would send deputies to signify their

concurrence, and the French might supply Fort Frontenac with provisions. The confederates, according to the French accounts, acceded to these conditions, and the treaty was ratified in the field. But a new rupture not long after ensued, from a cause entirely unsuspected. The Dinondadies had been inclined to trade with the English at Michilimakinac, and their alliance was, therefore, become suspected by the French. Adario, their chief, thought to regain the ancient confidence, which had been reposed in his countrymen, by a notable action against the Five Nations; and for that purpose put himself at the head of a hundred men: nothing was more disagreeable to him than the prospect of peace between the French and the confederates: for that event would not only render the amity of the Dinondadies useless, but give the French an opportunity of resenting their late favourable conduct towards the English. Impressed with these sentiments, out of affection to his country, he intercepted the ambassadors of the Five Nations, at one of the falls in Cadarackui river, killed some, and took others prisoners, telling them that the French governor had informed him, that fifty warriors of the Five Nations were coming that way. As the Dinondadies and confederates were then at war, the ambassadors were astonished at the perfidy of the French governor, and could not help communicating the design of their journey. Adario, in prosecution of his crafty scheme, counterfeited the utmost distress, anger, and shame, on being made the ignominious tool of De Nonville's treachery, and addressing himself to Dekanesora, the principal ambassador, said to him, "Go, my brethren, I untie your bonds, and send you home again, though our nations be at war. The French governor has made me commit so black an action that I shall never be easy after it, till the Five Nations shall have taken full revenge." This outrage and indignity upon the rights of ambassadors, the truth of which they did not in the least doubt, animated the confederates to the keenest thirst after revenge; and, accordingly, twelve hundred of their men, on the 26th of July, 1688, landed on the south side of the island of Montreal, while the French were in perfect security; burnt their houses, sacked their plantations, and put to the sword all the men, women, and children, without the skirts of the town. A thousand French were slain in this invasion, and twenty-six carried into captivity and burnt alive. Many more were made prisoners in another attack, in October, and the lower part of the island wholly destroyed. Only three of the confederates were lost, in all this scene of misery and desolation.

The foregoing account is from Dr. Colden, who differs from Charlevoix, who says, that the invasion was late in August, and the Indians fifteen hundred strong; and the loss of the French only two hundred.

The news of this attack on Montreal no sooner reached the garrison at the Lake Ontario, then they set fire to the two barks which they had built

there, and abandoned the fort, leaving a match to twenty-eight barrels of powder, designed to blow up the works. The soldiers went down the river in such precipitation, that one of the battoes and her crew were all lost in shooting a fall. The confederates in the mean time seized the fort, the powder, and the stores; and of all the French allies, who were very numerous, only the Nepicirinians and Kikabous adhered to them in their calamities. The Utawawas and seven other nations instantly made peace with the English; and, but for the uncommon sagacity and address of the Sieur Perot, the Western Indians would have murdered every Frenchman amongst them. Nor did the distresses of the Canadians end here. Numerous scouts from the Five Nations continually infested their borders. The frequent depredations that were made, prevented them from the cultivation of their fields, and a distressing famine raged through the whole country. Nothing but the ignorance of the Indians, in the art of attacking fortified places, saved Canada from being now utterly cut off. It was, therefore, unspeakably fortunate to the French, that the Indians had no assistance from the English, and as unfortunate to us, that our colonies were then incapable of affording succours to the confederates, through the malignant influence of those execrable measures, which were pursued under the infamous reign of King James the Second. Colonel Dongan, whatever his conduct might have been in civil affairs, did all that he could in those relating to the Indians, and fell at last into the king's displeasure, through his zeal for the true interest of the province.

In 1688, Sir Edmund Andros was sent out to unite New York, along with all the New England states, in one system of absolute rule. This annexation was peculiarly odious to the former, in whose eyes the others had always been objects of peculiar dread and aversion. Thus James, as the time approached when friends would be so much wanted, studiously converted those he had into embittered enemies. The first rumours of his downfall were received with equal joy here as at Boston. As soon as the landing of the Prince of Orange was known, a multitude rose in arms, under the conduct of Jacob Leisler, a foreign merchant, of an ardent and daring character. They signed a declaration, "to guard the fort, on behalf of the powers now governing England, to be surrendered to the person, of *the Protestant religion*, who shall be sent to take possession thereof." The council found themselves unable to stem the torrent, and, without attempting to defend the place, requested Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, to proceed to England, in order to represent to William the state of affairs, doubtless to influence him in favour of their own party, and represent the declarants as turbulent and seditious. The latter, however, being left in the full possession of power, called an assembly of the people, who were joined by two deputies from Connecticut. A committee of safety was

appointed, having Leisler at their head, who was also placed in command of the fort.

The king, meantime, before being apprized of these proceedings, sent orders to Nicholson to continue for the present to administer affairs. But this functionary had set out for London, before the instructions arrived, when Leisler, finding them addressed to the absent officer, "or to such as for the time execute the law," chose to consider them as applying to himself, and thereupon assumed the title and duties of governor. He held two assemblies, and concluded a treaty with New England, agreeing to raise nine hundred men for their mutual defence. But though supported by a majority, he was opposed by a powerful party, who disowned his authority, and insulted him even in the capital; while open resistance was raised in the district of Albany. The opposition was put down, but not without violent measures, which inflamed still further the enmity of its supporters, and excited a degree of general odium. William, meantime, always disposed to employ the agents of his despotic predecessor, was guided by the advice of Nicholson, and taking no notice of Leisler's pretensions, sent Colonel Sloughter to administer the government. This officer did not arrive till March, 1691, when he found the other most unwilling to relinquish the reins of power, which he had held upwards of two years. Pretending that the colonel's commission was defective, and that only an authority under the king's hand could be held sufficient, he refused to surrender the fort, or own him as chief ruler. But a large party soon arrayed themselves in arms against him, while his adherents, dreading the superior influence of the mother-country, afforded only timid support. He tendered his submission; but the new governor refused it, seized his person, and issued a special commission to try him: he and his associates were condemned to death, and the sentence was executed upon himself and Milbourne his principal adviser. This punishment, considering his former services, was considered exceedingly severe. The parliament accordingly passed an act reversing the attainder; and the privy council, though they declared the sentence to be legal, recommended the restoration of the forfeited estates. There remained a strong party attached to his memory, and zealous in upholding the franchises of the colony.

Sloughter died suddenly, soon after his arrival, and was succeeded by Colonel Fletcher, an able officer, but intemperate and domineering. As the assembly strenuously maintained their privileges, he was speedily involved in violent contests with them; arising chiefly out of his attempt to introduce an Episcopal establishment, to which he was bigotedly attached. By great exertions, he contrived to obtain an act of Assembly sanctioning it; but that body annexed a clause giving to the people an entire choice of their own ministers. On this occasion he made a violent speech, calling them stubborn, ill-tempered, and unmannerly; alleging that, instead of a

third of the legislative power, to which they were entitled, they sought to engross the whole, excluding both the council and governor; taunting them, at the same time, with their large allowance of ten shillings a day, and the strictness with which they exacted it. Another favourite object was to obtain the command of the militia of Connecticut; but when he went thither, the colonists, following an old precedent, caused the drums to beat, by which his voice was entirely drowned. Astonished at this determination, he thought it best to retreat to his own jurisdiction; and the legal authorities at home decided against him. At length, finding that the American assemblies were not to be intimidated, he gave up the attempt, and his latter years were tranquil.

In 1698, he was succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, who, having been highly popular in New England, seems to have desired to pursue a similar course in this colony. Unfortunately, he found it rent by the most violent dissensions between the partisans of the unfortunate Leisler, and their aristocratic opponents. He studied to soothe the former, and aided in procuring from the Assembly a grant of one thousand pounds to the son of that leader. His administration, however, was too short to enable him to overcome the prevailing dissensions. It was unfortunate for him that Kidd, whom he employed in the important object of suppressing piracy, betrayed his trust, and became himself a robber on the high seas, for which he was sent to Britain, tried, and executed.

Bellamont died in 1701, and was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, a degenerate descendant of the Earl of Clarendon. Entirely opposite to his predecessor, he showed an embittered enmity to the popular party, accompanied by a bigoted attachment to Episcopacy, and hatred of all other forms of religion. He seconded also the attempts made by Dudley, to subvert the charter of Connecticut. Indulging in extravagant habits, he squandered large sums of the public money, and contracted debts, the payment of which his official situation enabled him to evade. He thus rendered himself odious and contemptible to all parties, who united in a firm remonstrance to Queen Anne, and induced her to revoke his commission. No longer protected by the privileges of office, he was thrown into prison, and obtained liberation only when the death of his father raised him to the peerage.

Lord Lovelace succeeded, who, on his arrival, made a demand, destined to cause much dissension, for a permanent salary to the governor. Yet his general deportment was popular and satisfactory; but he lived only a few months. The reins were then held for a short time by Ingoldsby, who also made himself very acceptable; and in 1710, the office was filled by Sir Robert Hunter, a man of wit and talent, by which he had raised himself from a low rank in society. He went out, however, strongly imbued with the monarchical principle, and determined to resist the claims of the

Assemoiy. In advancing the demand for a fixed income, he made use of very offensive expressions, insinuating doubts of their right to appropriate the public money, and suspicions that it was the government, not the governor, whom they disliked. In the council also, the doctrine was advanced, that the Assembly existed only "by the mere grace of the crown." The latter body strenuously vindicated their rights, and refused to grant more than a temporary provision. They remonstrated strongly also against the establishment of a court of chancery, suspected to be with a view of increasing his emoluments. On this ground there seemed great hazard of a collision; but Hunter, being a sensible man, and seeing their very strong determination, deemed it expedient to yield; and, during his latter years, he studied with success to maintain harmony among the different branches of the administration.

He was succeeded by Burnet, a son of the celebrated bishop and historian, an accomplished, amiable man. He appears to have zealously studied the welfare of the colony; he became very generally popular; and was particularly successful in gaining over the Indian tribes. His attempt, however, to maintain the obnoxious court of chancery, involved him in violent disputes with the Assembly. On the advice of a few patriotic but indiscreet individuals, he adopted the injurious measure of prohibiting all commercial intercourse between New York and Canada. The pretext was, that the French merchants bought up the furs brought to Albany, and other markets in the interior. This, if true, must have arisen from the fact that they dealt on more liberal terms than the English; yet the latter were so far from demanding this monopoly, that they exclaimed against it as ruinous to them, making such loud complaints, that, in 1720, Burnet was removed, though compensated with the government of Massachusetts.

After a short interval, the direction of affairs was assumed, in 1732, by Colonel Cosby, a man of such a violent character as created general aversion to him. Strong interest was excited by the trial of Zenger, editor of a journal which had attacked his administration; but through the exertions of Hamilton, an eminent advocate, he was triumphantly acquitted. Cosby died in 1736, and was followed by Clarke, who, having given scarcely more satisfaction, yielded the place in 1741 to Clinton, who ruled upwards of ten years with considerable success and popularity. His successor, Sir Danvers Osborne, suffered severely by the discovery, in 1754, of very arbitrary instructions transmitted to him from home. A great ferment was thus kindled, but gradually subsided: and we shall find New York by no means forward in the cause of independence.



CHARLES II. GRANTING NEW JERSEY TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW JERSEY.



NEW JERSEY was first settled by the Danes, about the year 1618, at a place at the mouth of the Hudson, about three miles west of New York, called Bergen, from a city of that name in Norway. Soon afterwards several Dutch families seated themselves in the vicinity of New York. In 1625, a company was formed in Sweden, under the patronage of King Gustavus Adolphus, for the purpose of planting a colony in America. The next year, a number of Swedes and Finns emigrated, and purchased of the natives the land on both sides of the river Delaware, but made their first settlement on its western bank, near Christina creek.

About the year 1640, the English began a plantation at Elsinburgh, on its eastern bank. The Swedes, in concert with the Dutch, who then possessed New York, drove them out of the country. The former built a fort on the spot whence the English had been driven; and gaining thus the command of the river, claimed and exercised authority over all vessels that entered it, even those of the Dutch, their late associates.

They continued in possession of the country on both sides of the Delaware, until 1655, when Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of the New Netherlands, having obtained assistance from Holland, conquered all their posts, and transported most of the Swedes to Europe. The Dutch were now in possession of the territory comprising, at this time, the states of New Jersey, New York, and Delaware.

This extensive territory, however, soon changed masters. King Charles II., having granted it to the Duke of York, sent an armament in 1664, to wrest it from the Dutch, which, after reducing New York, proceeded to the settlements on the Delaware, which immediately submitted. In the same year, the duke conveyed that portion of his grant, lying between Hudson and Delaware rivers, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, as already narrated in the history of New York. This tract was called New Jersey, in compliment to Sir George, who had been governor of the island of Jersey, and had held it for King Charles in his contest with the parliament. The two proprietors formed a constitution for the colony, securing equal privileges and liberty of conscience to all, and it consequently became popular, and rapidly increased.

In 1664, John Bailey, Daniel Denton, and Luke Watson, of Jamaica, on Long Island, purchased of certain Indian chiefs, inhabitants of Staten Island, a tract of land, on part of which the town of Elizabeth now stands, and for which (on their petition) Richard Nicolls, governor under the duke, granted a patent to John Baker of New York, John Ogden of Northampton, John Bailey, and Luke Watson, and their associates, dated at Fort James in New York, the 2d of December. This was before Lord Berkeley's and Sir George Carteret's title was known; and by this means this part of the province had some few very early settlements; and whether even Middletown and Shrewsbury had not Dutch and English inhabitants before, cannot now be ascertained. About this time there was a great influx of industrious and reputable farmers, the English inhabitants from the west end of Long Island almost generally removing to settle here, most of whom fixed about Middletown, from whence by degrees they extended their settlements to Freehold and its neighbourhood. To Shrewsbury there came many families from New England; and there were soon four towns in the province, viz., Elizabeth, Newark, Middletown, and Shrewsbury; and these, with the adjacent country, were in a few years plentifully inhabited by the accession of many Scotch, by settlers from England, and those of the Dutch who had remained, and also by some emigrants from the neighbouring colonies.

Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret appointed Philip Carteret Governor of New Jersey, and gave him power, with the advice of the major part of the council, to grant lands to all such as by the concessions were entitled thereto; and though there is no provision in the concessions

for bargaining with the Indians, Governor Carteret, on his arrival, thought it prudent to purchase their rights; which was to be done for sums very inconsiderable, in comparison with the damage a neglect might have occasioned. Though the Indians about the English settlements were not at this time considerable as to numbers, they were strong in their alliances, and besides, of themselves, could easily annoy the out-plantations; and there having been before several considerable skirmishes between the Dutch and them, in which some blood had been spilled, they were not considered to be friendly; the governor therefore ordered that the settlers were either to purchase of the Indians themselves, or if the lands were before purchased, they were to pay their proportions. The event justified his caution; for, as the Indians parted with their lands to their own satisfaction, they became, instead of jealous enemies, serviceable neighbours; and though frequent reports of their coming to kill the white people sometimes disturbed their repose, no instance occurs of their hurting the English.

Governor Carteret did not arrive until the latter end of the summer of 1665, during which time the province was under Nicolls's jurisdiction. On the arrival of the former, he summoned a council, granted lands, and administered the government according to the plan of the two chief proprietors; and took up his residence at Elizabethtown, to which it is said he gave the name after Elizabeth, wife of Sir George Carteret. With him came about thirty people, some of them servants, and brought goods proper for the planting a new country; and the governor soon afterwards sent persons into New England and other places, to publish the proprietors' terms, or concessions as they were called, and to invite people to settle there, upon which many soon came from thence; some settled at Elizabethtown, others at Woodbridge, Piscatawa, and Newark. The ship that brought the governor, having remained about six months, returned to England, and the year after made another voyage. Sundry other vessels were from time to time sent by the proprietors with people and goods, to encourage the planting and peopling their lands. Thus the province of East New Jersey increased in settlement, and continued to grow till the invasion in 1673, when the Dutch having got possession of the country, some stop was put to the English government; but the treaty afterwards between Charles II. and the states-general at London, 1673-4, settled all general difficulties of that kind by the sixth article, which states, "That whatever country, island, town, haven, castle, or fortress, hath been, or shall be taken by either party from the other since the beginning of the late unhappy war, whether in Europe or elsewhere, and before the expiration of the times above limited for hostility, shall be restored to the former owner in the same condition it shall be in at the time of publishing this peace."

Though the inhabitants were at variance among themselves, there was a constant resort of settlers between the years 1665 and 1673, which increased even faster afterwards. The Elizabethtown purchasers and others, setting up a right differing in some respects from that of the proprietors, and other incidents of an inconsiderable nature occurring, nourished by a more vindictive spirit on all sides than was necessary or prudent, occasioned much disturbance. Carteret sailed for England in the summer of 1672, and left Captain John Berry as his deputy. He returned in 1674, and found the inhabitants more disposed to union among themselves; and bringing with him the king's proclamation, and a fresh commission and instructions from Sir George Carteret, he summoned the people, and had them all published, which had a good effect towards restoring his authority and the public peace. He remained governor till his death in 1682. In his time, the general assemblies and supreme courts sat at Elizabethtown, and the councils generally: there the secretary's office, and most other public offices were held; and there also most of the officers of the government resided.

Eight white wampum, or four black, passed at this time as a stiver; twenty stivers made what they called a guilder, which was about sixpence currency. The white wampum was worked out of the inside of the great conchs into the form of a bead, and perforated, to string on leather. The black or purple was worked out of the inside of the mussel or clam-shell; they were sometimes wove as broad as the hand, and about two feet long; these the Indians call belts, and commonly gave and received at treaties, as seals of their friendship. For lesser matters a single string is given. Every bead is of a known value, and a belt of a less number is made to equal one of a greater, by so many as is wanting fastened to the belt by a string.

Wampum was the chief currency of the country: great quantities had been formerly brought in, but the Indians had carried so much away, it was now grown scarce; and this was thought to be owing to its low value. To increase it, the governor and council at York issued a proclamation in 1673, that instead of eight white and four black, six white and three black wampums should pass in equal value as a stiver or penny; and three times so much the value in silver. This proclamation was published at Albany, Eusopus, Delaware, Long Island, and parts adjacent.

Mention has already been made that Sir George Carteret, by his instructions to Governor Carteret, confirmed the original concessions, with additions and explanations. These bore date the 13th of July, 1674: and, among other things, they directed that the governor and council should allow eighty acres per head, to settlers above ten miles from the sea, the Delaware, or other river navigable with boats; and to those that settled nearer, sixty acres: that the land should be purchased from the Indians,

as occasion required, by the governor and council, in the name of the proprietors, who were to be repaid by the settlers with charges : that all strays of beasts at land, and wrecks at sea, should belong to the proprietor ; and that all persons discovering any such thing, should have satisfaction for their pains and care, as the governor and council might think fit.

About the month of October, 1674, Major Edmund Andres arrived as governor, under the Duke of York ; he soon after authorized Captain Cantwell, and William Tamm, to take possession of the fort and stores at New Castle, for the king's use, pursuant to the late treaty of peace, and to take such other measures for their settlement and repose at New Castle the Hoarkills, and other parts of Delaware, as they thought best ; requiring them to behave towards the neighbouring colonies in an amicable manner.

The half part of the province of New Jersey, belonging to Lord Berkeley, was about this time (1675) sold to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. Fenwick, in 1675, arrived from London, after a good passage, and landed at a pleasant spot, situate near Delaware, by him called Salem, probably from the peaceable aspect it then bore. He brought with him two daughters, and many servants, two of which, Samuel Hedge and John Adams, afterwards married his daughters ; the other passengers were, Edward Champness, Edward Wade, Samuel Wade, John Smith and his wife, Samuel Nichols, Richard Guy, Richard Noble, Richard Hancock, John Pledger, Hipolite Lufever, and John Matlock : these, and others with them, were masters of families, and most of them Quakers. This was the first English ship that came with emigrants to West Jersey, and none followed for nearly two years, owing probably to a difference between Fenwick and Byllinge.

But this difference being settled to the satisfaction of both parties, by the good offices of William Penn, Byllinge agreed to present his interest in the province of New Jersey to his creditors, as all that he had left towards their satisfaction, and desired Penn to join Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas (two of his creditors) in becoming his trustees. Penn, at first unwilling, was by the importunity of some of the creditors prevailed on ; and with the others accepting the charge, they became trustees for one moiety or half part of the province, which though then undivided, they soon sold a considerable number of shares of their propriety to different purchasers, who thereupon became proprietors (according to their different shares) in common with them ; and it being necessary that some scheme should be laid down, as well for the better distribution of rights to land, as to promote the settlement, and ascertain a form of government ; terms were drawn, mutually agreed on, and signed by most part of the subscribers. It was next the business of the proprietors who held immediately under Lord Berkeley to procure a division of the province, which after some time was effected.

In arranging with Carteret, who still retained his share, it was found most convenient to divide the province into two parts; these were called East and West Jersey, the latter being assigned to the new owners. But the duke, whose concurrence was required to the transaction, took the opportunity of reasserting his dominion over that portion, which was subjected to the arbitrary rule and taxation of New York. Jones, however, decided that, there having been no reservation of such claims in the original grant, they could not now be legally enforced. Hence, in 1680, the province was delivered in full right to the proprietors, whose object was to render the place an asylum for the persecuted Quakers, a considerable number of whom were soon assembled. It became necessary to gratify them by a constitution, based on principles of liberty and even of equality; and they made pretensions to the election of their own governor.

In 1682, Carteret, finding little satisfaction in his possession of New Jersey, sold all his rights to another body of twelve Quakers, Penn being again one. The new owners, with a view to extend their influence, added to their number twelve more, of different professions,—the principal of whom was the Duke of Perth, a nobleman of great power in Scotland. His object was to offer an asylum to the Presbyterians of that country, under the iniquitous persecution to which they were exposed. Hunted like wild beasts from place to place, it was justly thought that many would gladly accept a home in the New World. A considerable number were accordingly conveyed thither, and they formed a laborious, useful, and respectable class of settlers.

Nothing, however, could secure them against the determination formed by James to subvert the rights of all the colonies, and establish in them a completely despotic administration. Andros, without any express authority, began to exercise both jurisdiction and taxation; and as these were strenuously resisted, the juries refusing to convict under them, complaints were sent home of their insubordination. The duke, hereupon, forgetting all his former pledges, ordered, in April, 1686, that writs of *quo warranto* should be entered against both East and West Jersey, "which ought to be more dependent on his majesty." The proprietors, having in vain attempted to deprecate this measure, at length deemed it expedient to surrender their patent, only soliciting a grant securing their title to the soil; but, before the transaction could be completed, it was interrupted by the Revolution, which left them in the possession of all their claims. They acted on them so feebly, however, that the country is represented as remaining nearly in a state of anarchy till 1702, when they were induced to surrender all their political powers to the crown. The two Jerseys were then reunited, and were governed from that time as a royal colony.



WILLIAM PENN.

SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.



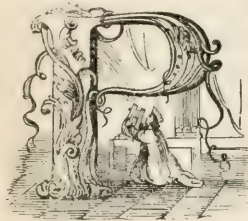
THE colony of Pennsylvania was founded by *William Penn*, the son of Admiral Penn, an officer who distinguished himself by his services in the reign of Charles II. On the death of Admiral Penn, there was a large sum of money due from the government to him; much

of which he himself had advanced for the sea service; and the rest was for arrears in his pay. In consequence of this debt, William Penn, in the summer of the year 1680, petitioned Charles II., that letters patent might be granted him, for a tract of land in America, lying north of Maryland; on the east, bounded by Delaware river; on the west limited as Maryland; and northward to extend as far as plantable.

This was first laid, in 1681, before the privy council, and afterwards the lords of the committee of trade and plantations. After several meetings on the occasion, in which the objections from the Duke of York, by his agent, Sir John Werden, as proprietor of that tract of land, since called the

counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware; and from the Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, were fully heard and debated; the Lord Chief Justice North, and the attorney-general, Sir William Jones, being consulted, both respecting the grant itself, and also the form or manner of making it, the affair was at length decided in William Penn's favour; and he was, by charter, dated at Westminster, the 4th day of March, 1681, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land and province, now called Pennsylvania, and invested with the powers of government of the same.

In consequence of this charter, on the second day of the ensuing April, the king issued a declaration to the inhabitants and planters of Pennsylvania, expressive of the grant, describing the bounds of the province, and enjoining them to yield all due obedience to the proprietary, &c., according to the powers granted by the said charter.



ENN, having obtained these necessary requisites, immediately published such an account of the province as could then be given; with the royal charter, and other information, offering easy terms of sale for lands, viz., forty shillings sterling for one hundred acres, and one shilling per annum, for ever; and good conditions of settlement, to such as chose to be adventurers in the new country.

To this offer and invitation to the people, he added such Christian advice, as indicated a real concern both for their temporal and eternal felicity, which he closed in these words:—

“To conclude, I desire all my dear country-folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but from a solid mind; having, above all things, an eye to the providence of God, in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such, at least, to have the permission, if not the good liking, of their near relations; for that is both natural, and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this will natural affections be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between them; in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours; and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity. Amen.”

On publishing these proposals, a great number of purchasers soon appeared in London, Liverpool, and especially about Bristol; among whom were James Claypole, Nicholas Moore, Philip Forde, and others. who formed a company, called “The Free Society of Traders in Penn

sylvania." These last-mentioned persons, with William Sharloe, Edward Pierce, John Simcock, Thomas Bracey, and Edward Brooks, having purchased twenty thousand acres of land, in trust for the said company, published articles of trade, and entered into divers branches themselves; which were soon improved upon by others.

The proprietary, having already made considerable sales of land, agreed with the adventurers and purchasers on the first deed of settlement, which itself may be regarded as an essay towards a constitution of government, according to the powers granted him by charter. It consists chiefly of certain rules of settlement; of treating the Indians with justice and friendship; and of keeping the peace, agreeable to the customs, usages, and laws of England, to be observed on their arrival in the country, and there to be altered as occasion should require. This compact was published under the title of "Certain conditions or concessions, agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania; and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province, the 11th of July, 1681." One of the stipulations in this instrument very particularly shows the provident care and knowledge of the proprietary in a matter, whose continued neglect will doubtless, in future, be found more important to the country than has been imagined, viz.:

"That in clearing the ground, care be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared; especially to preserve oak and mulberries for silk and shipping."

Three ships sailed for Pennsylvania this year: two from London, and one from Bristol. The John and Sarah, from London, commanded by Henry Smith, is said to have been the first that arrived there; the Amity, Richard Dimon, master, from the same place, with passengers, was blown off, to the West Indies, and did not arrive at the province till the spring of the next year. The Bristol Factor, Roger Drew, commander, arrived at the place where Chester now stands, on the 11th of December; where the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore at Robert Wade's landing, near the lower side of Chester creek; and the river having been frozen up that night, the passengers remained there all the winter. Among the passengers in these ships were John Otter, Nathaniel Allen, and Edmund Lovett, with their families; and several servants of Governor Penn: Joseph Kirkbride, then a boy, being one of them, who afterwards became a person of importance in the province. He is an instance, among many others, that might be given in the early time of this country, of advancement from a low beginning to rank of eminence and esteem, through industry, with a virtuous and prudent conduct. The difficulties, hardships, and trials of many of the well-disposed early settlers, however low in the world, rather visibly tended to their promotion, and in some respects rendered them more useful and worthy members of society in this new

country; while others, even possessed of handsome patrimonies at first, but more improvident, and less accustomed to encounter with such difficulties, more commonly went to ruin, or were reduced to indigence. And several worthy persons, who had not been used to labour, found, by grievous experience, that a dependence on such inheritances, even with otherwise prudent economy, in the early time of this country, where servants could scarcely be had, did not answer here as in Europe; so that for a series of years, those of the more wealthy who emigrated, and had before been used to a different manner of life, sometimes lost much of what they had possessed, and were reduced to greater miseries and trials than the poorer and more laborious part of the settlers, who were generally more numerous, and got estates.

In one of these ships sailed also William Markham, a relation of the proprietary, whom he had appointed his deputy-governor; and joined with him certain commissioners, to confer with the Indians, or aborigines of the country, respecting their lands; and to confirm with them a league of peace. These commissioners were strictly enjoined to treat the natives with all possible justice and humanity.

To cultivate a good understanding with these natives, was a matter of sound policy; but Penn appears to have acted from higher and more disinterested motives: for he never received from the province any pecuniary advantage, during a period of near thirty-seven years' continuance from this time; but even lost much of his other property by it. His ideas were too exalted to be confined within the narrow view of a temporary interest alone; and his conduct respecting these poor and savage people declared his regard for universal justice, and the natural rights of mankind; ever tending to impress on their minds a proper sense of eternal justice, and the happy effects of kindness and peace. A specimen of his manner of treating these people, appears in the following letter which he sent them by his first deputy and commissioners:—

“London, the 18th of the eighth month, (Oct.,) 1681.

“My Friends,—There is a great God and power, that hath made the world, and all things therein; to whom you and I, and all people, owe their being, and well-being; and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world.

“This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the king of the country, where I live, hath given me a great province therein; but I desire to enjoy it, with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now I

would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that have been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world; who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you; which, I hear, hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood: which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man; as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall, in all things, behave themselves accordingly; and, if in any thing, any shall offend you, or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men, on both sides; that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

“I shall shortly come to you myself; at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters; in the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace; let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens, which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

“I am your loving Friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.”



IN the beginning of the year 1682, Penn published his frame of government, and certain laws agreed on in England, by himself and the purchasers under him, entitled, “The frame of the government of the Province of Pennsylvania, in America; together with certain laws agreed upon in England, by the governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid province. To be further explained and confirmed there by the first provin-

cial council that shall be held, if they see meet.”

In the preface to this frame is exhibited a sketch of the author’s sentiments on the nature of government in general; his reflections on the different modes of it; and his inducement for forming his. After having quoted several parts of the Scriptures relative to government, he proceeds in the following words:—

“This settles the Divine right of government beyond exception; and that for two ends,—first, to terrify evil-doers; secondly, to cherish those that do well: which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself,—a thing sacred in its institution and

end. For, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil; and is, as such, a lower, yet an emanation of the same divine power, that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here,—that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operation; but that is only to evil-doers; government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness, and charity, as a more private society.

“They weakly err, that think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it; daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft, and daily necessary, make up much the greater part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fallen; and will continue among men, on earth, under the highest attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed second Adam—the Lord from heaven.”

As to the modes, he further observes, “I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike.” “Any government is free to the people under it, (whatever be the frame,) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.

“There is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that, in good hands, would not do well enough; and history tells us the best, in ill ones, can do nothing that is great and good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them are they ruined, too. Wherefore, governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But, if men be bad, let government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.”—“That, therefore, which makes a good government, must keep it, viz.: men of wisdom and virtue; qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents, for their private patrimonies.

“These considerations,” (several of which we omit,) “of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame, and conditional laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

“But, next to the power of necessity, (which is a solicitor that will take no denial,) this induced me to a compliance, that we have, (with reverence to God, and good conscience to men,) to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government, to the great end of government, viz.: ‘To support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power;’ that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable, for their just administration; for liberty, without obedience, is confusion; and obedience, without liberty, is slavery. To carry this evenness, is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy; where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted; then, where both meet, the government is like to endure; which, I humbly pray and hope, God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen.”

The “frame” itself consisted of twenty-four articles; and the laws were forty. By the former the government was placed in the governor and freemen of the province, in the form of a Provincial Council and General Assembly. By them, conjunctively, all laws were to be made, all officers appointed, and all public affairs transacted. Seventy-two was the number of the council, to be chosen by the freemen; and though the governor, or his deputy, was to be perpetual president, he had but a treble vote. One-third part of them was, at first, to be chosen for three years; one-third for two years, and one-third for one year; in such manner, that there might be an annual succession of twenty-four new members, each to continue three years, and no longer. The General Assembly was, the first year, to consist of all the freemen; afterwards of two hundred; and never to exceed five hundred. And this charter, or form of government, was not to be altered, changed, or diminished, in any part, or clause of it, without the consent of the governor, his heirs or assigns, and six parts of seven of the freemen, in Provincial Council and Assembly. And to the same power, only, was the alteration of the laws made subject; these laws were of the nature of an original compact between the proprietary and the freemen; and, as such, were reciprocally received and executed: one of them was,

“That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world; and that hold themselves obliged, in conscience, to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall, in no ways, be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice, in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain, any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever.”

Moreover, the proprietary, to prevent all future claim, or even pretence of claim, that might be made, of the province by the Duke of York, or

his heirs, obtained of him his deed of release for the same, dated the 21st of August, 1682.

Besides, as an additional territory to the province, he also this year, 1682, procured of the Duke of York, his right, title, and interest, in that tract of land, afterwards called "The three lower counties on Delaware," and since "The State of Delaware," extending from the south boundary of the province, and situated on the western side of the river and bay of Delaware, to Cape Henlopen, beyond, or south of Lewistown; which, by the duke, were made over to William Penn, his heirs and assigns, by two deeds of feoffment, dated August 24, 1682. The first deed was for the town of Newcastle, alias Delaware town, and a district of twelve miles round it, as far as the river Delaware; in the second, of the same date, was comprehended that tract of land, from twelve miles south of Newcastle to the Hoarkills, otherwise called Cape Henlopen, divided into two counties, Kent and Sussex; which, with Newcastle district, were commonly called the territories of Pennsylvania; or the three lower counties upon Delaware.

These territories were a part of the country, called New Netherland, when in possession of the Dutch, and included in the Duke of York's second patent for that country, after its surrender by treaty of peace to the English, in 1674, which extended westward of Delaware river.

Penn had, for a considerable time past, been making preparation for his voyage to America; which being at last accomplished, in the month of August this year, (1682,) accompanied by a number of his friends, he went on board the ship *Welcome*, of three hundred tons burden, Robert Greenaway, commander; and on the 30th of the same month, he wrote, from the Downs, "A valedictory epistle to England," containing "A salutation to all faithful friends."

The number of passengers in this ship was about one hundred, mostly Quakers; the major part of whom were from Sussex, the proprietary's place of residence. In their passage, many of them were taken sick of the small-pox; and about thirty of their number died. In this trying situation, the acceptable company of William Penn is said to have been of singular advantage to them, and his kind advice and assistance of great service during their passage; so that, in the main, they had a prosperous voyage; and in little more than six weeks, came in sight of the American coast, as is supposed about Egg Harbour, in New Jersey.

In passing up the Delaware, the inhabitants, consisting of English, Dutch and Swedes, indiscriminately met the proprietary, with demonstrations of joy. He landed at Newcastle, on the 24th of October; and next day had the people summoned to the court-house; where, after possession of the country was legally rendered him, he made a speech to the old magistrates, and the people, signifying to them the design of his coming

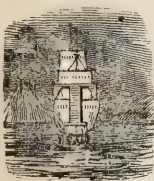
the nature and end of government, and of that more particularly which he came to establish; assuring them of their spiritual and temporal rights liberty of conscience, and civil freedoms; and, recommending them to live in sobriety and peace, he renewed the magistrates' commissions.

To form some idea of the proportion of the different sorts of people, on the west side of Delaware, about this time, or prior to William Penn's arrival, on the lands granted him, it may be noted, that the Dutch then had a meeting-place, for religious worship, at Newcastle; the Swedes, three; one at Christeen, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicocoa, (now in the suburbs of Philadelphia.) The Quakers had three, viz., one at Upland, or Chester; one at Shackamaxon, or about where Kensington now stands, in the vicinity of Philadelphia; and one near the lower falls of Delaware.

Penn proceeded to Upland, now called Chester; where, on the 4th December, (about three months after his sailing from England,) he called an assembly; which consisted of equal numbers of members for the province, and the three lower counties, called the territories; that is, for both of them, so many of the freemen as thought proper to appear, according to the sixteenth article of the frame of government.

This assembly chose Nicholas Moore, who was president of the free society of traders, for their chairman, or speaker; and received as ample satisfaction from the proprietary as the inhabitants of Newcastle had done; for which they returned him their grateful acknowledgments. The Swedes, for themselves, deputed Lacy Cock to acquaint him, "That they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had;" declaring, "that it was the best day they ever saw."

At this assembly, an act of union was passed, annexing the three lower counties to the province, in legislation, on the 7th day of December, 1682; likewise an act of settlement, in reference to the frame of government which, with some alterations, was thereby declared to be accepted and confirmed.



THE Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners were then naturalized: and all the laws, agreed on in England, with some small alterations, were passed in form.

The following extracts from a letter of Penn's, dated Chester, on Delaware, 29th of the tenth month, 1682, are given as descriptive of the country, and as characteristic of its first benevolent legislator.

"I bless the Lord, I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion; yet busy enough; having much to do, to please all; and yet to have an eye to those that are not here to please themselves.

"I have been also at New York, Long Island, East Jersey, and Maryland; in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord, &c.

"I am now casting the country into townships, for large lots of land. I

have held an Assembly; in which many good laws are passed; we could not safely stay till the spring for a government. I have annexed the lower counties (lately obtained) to the province; and passed a general naturalization for strangers; which hath much pleased the people. As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good, and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with; and service enough for God; for the fields are here white for harvest. Oh, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries and perplexities of woful Europe; and God will thin her; the day hastens upon her," &c.

"Blessed be the Lord, that of twenty-three ships, none miscarried: only two or three had the small-pox; else healthy and swift passages, generally such as have not been known; some but twenty-eight days, and few longer than six weeks: blessed be God for it, who is good to us, and follows us with his abundant kindness: my soul fervently breathes, that in his heavenly guiding wisdom, we may be kept; that we may serve him in our day, and lay down our heads in peace, &c.

"P. S. Many women in divers of the ships brought to bed; they and their children do well."

The meeting continued only three days; and notwithstanding the great variety of dispositions in, and the inexperience of this Assembly, yet a perfect unanimity prevailed among them.

The proprietary, prior to his meeting this Assembly, appears to have paid a visit to New York; and immediately after the adjournment of it, he went to Maryland; where he was kindly received by the Lord Baltimore, and the principal persons of that colony. There the two proprietaries held a conference respecting the fixing and settling the boundaries between the two provinces: but the severe part of the season coming on, and there being no appearance of speedily determining the affair, after two days spent on the occasion, they appointed to meet again in the spring, and William Penn took his leave and departed, the Lord Baltimore accompanying him several miles, to the house of one William Richardson; from whence he proceeded two miles further, to a religious meeting of his friends, the Quakers, at the house of Thomas Hooker; and from thence to Choptank, on the eastern side of Chesapeake bay; where was an appointed meeting of persons of various ranks and qualities.

Penn thus proceeded with much fatigue, difficulty, and expense, to settle the province, establish the government, and cultivate a good understanding with his neighbours; though not without enemies and oppositions of different kinds, as will hereafter more fully appear; and that, even from some who had been his friends; as may be seen by the following extract

from an old printed account of his life, viz.—“Nor was the advancement of himself, or family, in worldly wealth and grandeur, his aim in the administration of government; but, in the greatest honour of his public station, he still retained the meekness and humility of a private Christian; the sincerity of his intentions, and with what zeal and ardour he pursued a general good, are best expressed by his own words, in a letter written in Pennsylvania, the latter part of this year, 1682, to a person who had unduly reflected on him, viz.:

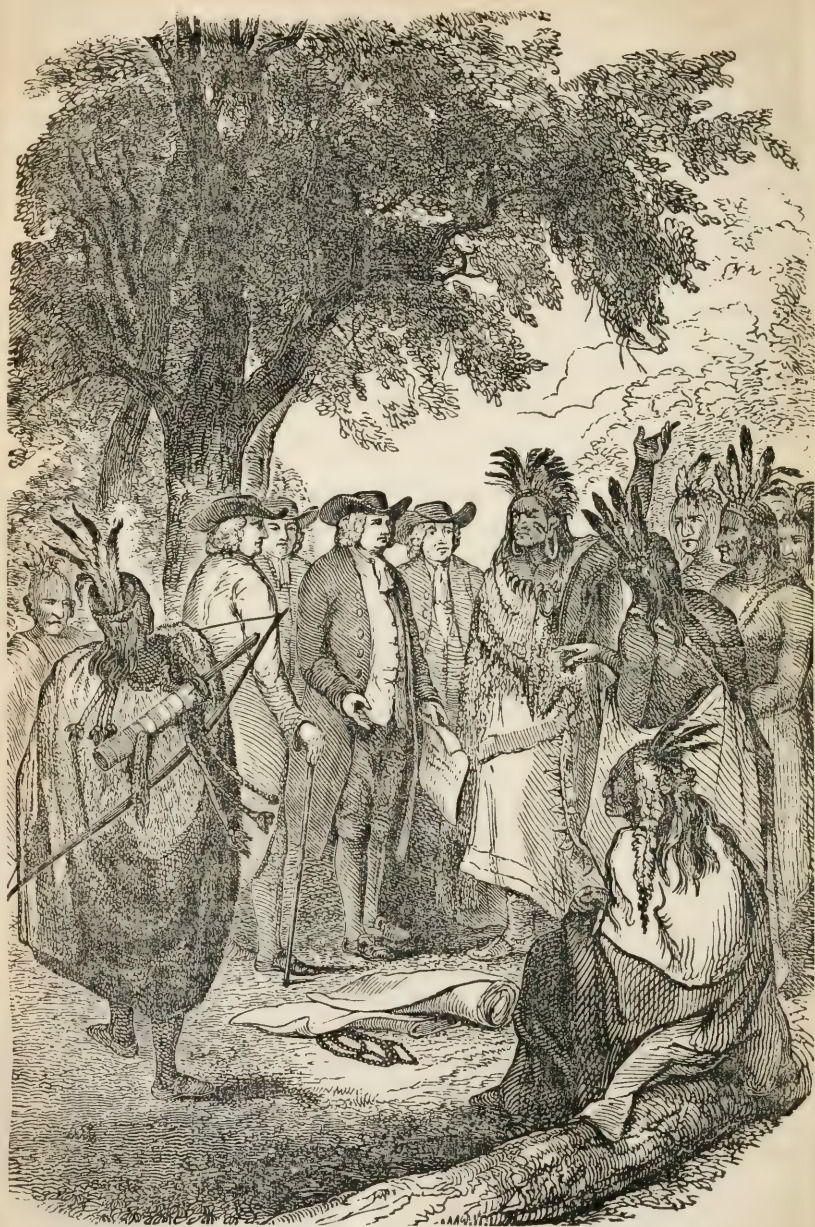
“I could speak largely of God’s dealings with me in getting this thing; what an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me in passing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and cost: through the envy of many, both professors, false friends, and profane; my God hath given it me in the face of the world; and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings: and that is seen here, whatever some despisers may say or think. The place God hath given me, and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a worldly title, or patent, that hath clothed me in this place.

“Keep thy place; I am in mine; I have served the God of the whole earth since I have been in it; nor am I sitting down in a greatness that I have denied. I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not six-pence enriched by this greatness: costs in getting, settling, transportation, and maintenance, now in a public manner, at my own charge, duly considered; to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am from a considerable estate, and, which is more, my dear wife and poor children.

“Well—the Lord is God of righteous judgment: had I sought greatness, I had stayed at home; where the difference between what I am here, and was offered, and could have been there, in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are:—No, I came for the Lord’s sake, and, therefore, have I stood to this day, well and diligent, and successful, blessed by his power. “Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, spendings, and my servants every way freely, not like a selfish man; I have many witnesses. To conclude, it is now in friends’ hands; through my travail, faith, and patience it came.—If friends here keep to God, in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool: if not, their heirs and my heirs too will lose all; and desolation will follow:” but, blessed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender heavenly spirit; and our faith is for ourselves and one another, that the Lord will be with us, a king and counsellor, for ever. Thy ancient, though grieved friend,

WILLIAM PENN.’

“Chester, 5th of the twelfth month,
(Feb.) 1682 (1683).”



PENN FORMING A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.



HE proprietary having now returned from Maryland to Coaquannock, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the natives; whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness, in all his dealings and communications with them; ever giving them full satisfaction for all their lands, and the best advice for their real happiness; of which their future conduct showed they were very sensible; and the country afterwards felt the benefit.

It was at this time, 1683, that he first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the Indians, which ever afterwards continued between them; and for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted; or, so long as the Quakers, to whom, even long after his death, they always continued to show the greatest regard, retained power in the government sufficient to influence a friendly and just conduct towards them, and to prevent, or redress such misunderstandings and grievances as occasionally happened between them, and any of the inhabitants of the province, &c. A firm peace was now reciprocally concluded between Penn and the Indians; and both parties mutually promised to live together as brethren, without doing the least injury to each other. This was solemnly ratified, under the famous Treaty Tree at Kensington, by the usual token of a "chain of friendship, and covenant indelible, never to be broken, so long as the sun and moon endure."

Of this kind of conference he afterwards had many others, and some on a religious account, during both times of his residence in the country. His conduct, in general, to these people, was so engaging, his justice, in particular, so conspicuous, and the council and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and it made such a deep impression that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced, while they continue a people.

That they retain a remembrance of these transactions, and hand them, by tradition, from father to son, many instances have since more particularly shown. At a conference between Governor Keith and the Five Nations, held at Conestogo, in Pennsylvania, in 1721, the chief speaker, with a countenance which showed great respect, said:—

"They should never forget the council that William Penn gave them; and that though they could not write, as the English did, yet they could keep, in the memory, what was said in their councils;" and at the treaty renewed, in the year following, at Albany, they mentioned the name of William Penn, with great affection, calling him a "good man;" and, as their highest compliment to Governor Keith, they used this expression, "We esteem and love you as if you were William Penn himself:" telling

him, "Brother Onas," (which, in their language, signifies a pen, and by which name they call the governors of Pennsylvania, ever since it was first settled by William Penn,) "we are glad to hear the former treaties which we have made with William Penn repeated to us again."

Upon the governor's replying, "That he desired this visit, and the covenant-chain, which is hereby brightened, may be recorded in everlasting remembrance, to be set down to your and our children, to last as long as the mountains and rivers, and while the sun and moon endure:"—they answered, "We desire that peace and tranquillity, which is now established between us, may be as clear as the sun, shining in its lustre, without any cloud or darkness; and that the same may continue for ever."

These instances, among many others that might be given, together with the consequent corresponding behaviour of these people, may show what a grateful remembrance they retained of Penn's conduct towards them; and what a happy influence a just and friendly treatment has on the most savage minds.

Within the first year, after the proper requisites for a regular settlement were obtained, between twenty and thirty sail of ships, with passengers, arrived in the province, including those which came before, and about the same time with the proprietary. The settlers amounted to such a large number, that the parts near Delaware were peopled in a very rapid manner, even from about the falls of Trenton, down to Chester, near fifty miles on the river; besides the settlements in the lower counties, which, at the same time, were very considerable: for the first settlements, for the most part, were made near the river, according to the different shares of land, which were respectively allotted for each settler; as may be seen in an old map of the first settled parts of the province.

As the first colonists, and those who followed, for a number of years afterwards, were more generally of the religious people called Quakers; and in their native country had suffered much on account of their religion, both in person and property, through the persecuting bigotry of those times; so, on their arrival, their great and primary concern is said to have been the continuance and support of their religious public worship, in every part of the country, where they made settlements, in such manner as their situation and circumstances then permitted; and though the generality of them were not ranked among the rich and great, yet many had valuable estates, were of good families and education, and were mostly sober, industrious, and substantial people, of low or moderate fortunes, but of good reputation and character.

The first most considerable English settlement in Pennsylvania proper, is said to have been near the lower falls of the river Delaware, in Bucks county, where the Quakers had a regular and established meeting for religious worship, before the country bore the name of Pennsylvania: some

of the inhabitants there having settled by virtue of patents from Sir Edmund Andros, governor of New York.

The early settlers appear in general to have been provident and cautious in their removal; so that rashness and inconsideration, so common in new attempts of this kind, were not very common among them. Many of them brought servants, and had provided themselves with food and clothing for such a space of time after their arrival, as it might be reasonably supposed their care and industry would afterwards procure necessary subsistence in the province: besides, sufficient quantities of household furniture, utensils, implements, and tools, and necessary trades and occupations, were previously provided and brought by not a few of them.

The nature of both their religious and civil system and conduct in general was so reasonable and liberal, that, as they became known, great numbers of people were induced to flock to the province from different parts of Europe, and in such a rapid manner to colonize and improve it, as had scarcely ever been paralleled in any other country at so great a distance from the parent states, or civilized part of the world.

In this, and the two next succeeding years, arrived ships with passengers or settlers from London, Bristol, Ireland, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Holland, Germany, &c., to the number of about fifty sail.

Among those from Germany, were some Friends, or Quakers, from Krisheim, or Crisheim, a town not far from Worms. They had been early convinced of the religious principles of the Quakers, by the preaching of William Ames, an Englishman; for which they had borne a public testimony there, till the present time; when they all removed to Pennsylvania, and settled about six or seven miles distant from Philadelphia, at a place which they called *Germantown*.

"This removal," says Sewell, in his history of the Quakers, "did not seem to be without a singular direction of Providence: for not long after a war ensued in Germany, where the Palatinate was altogether laid waste by the French, and thousands of families were bereft of their possessions, and reduced to poverty."

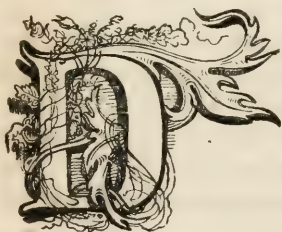
Among those adventurers and settlers who arrived about this time were also many from Wales, of those who are called Ancient Britons, and mostly Quakers; most of whom were of the original or early stock of that society there. They had early purchased of the proprietary, in England, forty thousand acres of land.

Those who came at present took up so much of it on the west side of the Schuylkill river, as made the three townships of Merion, Haverford, and Radnor; and, in a few years afterwards, their number was so much augmented as to settle the three other townships of Newtown, Goshen, and Uwchland. After which they continued still increasing, and became a numerous and flourishing people.

Notwithstanding the precaution which many of these adventurers had used, in bringing provisions and other necessaries with them for a certain time, yet it cannot be reasonably supposed that the arrival of such a large number of people in a wilderness, within the space of two or three years, would not necessarily be attended with inconveniencies and difficulties. Though the European inhabitants in the country, prior to their arrival, were kind and assisting, yet they were very few, mostly new settlers, and consequently were but meanly provided, either with provisions or other accommodations; insomuch that sometimes, for many years afterwards, the scarcity which was experienced among them of the former, caused very alarming apprehensions.

Amidst many minute accounts, the following may give some idea of the early circumstances of the province:—

John Scarborough, of London, coach-smith, arrived in the country in 1682, with his son John, then a youth, and settled in Middletown, in Bucks county, among the first in those parts, where he remained about two years, and then embarked for his native country, with intention to bring over his wife and family; having suffered much by persecution for his religion in England, being a Quaker.



URING his residence in Pennsylvania, provisions were sometimes scarce in the part where he resided; but the wild pigeons came in such great numbers, that the air was sometimes darkened by their flight; and flying low, they were frequently knocked down, as they flew in great quantities, by those who had no other means to take them; whereby they supplied themselves, and having salted those which they could not immediately use, they preserved them both for bread and meat.

Thus they were supplied several times during the first two or three years, till they had raised by their industry food sufficient out of the ground; for the tilling of which at that time they used hoes, having neither horses nor ploughs. The Indians were remarkably kind, and assisted them, frequently supplying them with such provisions as they could spare, and other kindnesses.

John Scarborough, having placed his son under the care of a friend, sailed for England; but he never returned. His wife, who was not a Quaker, being unwilling to leave her native country, and persecution beginning to cease, he afterwards gave his possessions in Pennsylvania to his son, whom he had left in the province, with a strict charge, when it should be in his power, to be kind to the poor Indians, for the favours he had received from them; which his son faithfully observed and complied with, and is said to have been a worthy man, and of good character.

John Chapman came from England in 1684. The ship in which he came, by reason of bad weather, put into Maryland, where he met with Phineas Pemberton, whose father-in-law, James Harrison, had purchased in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, five thousand acres of land, part of it in Wright's town; hence Chapman getting intelligence of that part of the country, afterward settled there. He went from Maryland with his family, first to Phineas Pemberton's plantation, near the falls of Delaware, who had now made a convenient settlement, and entertained the new comers with much kindness. From hence Chapman went to his purchase in Wright's town, where, within about twelve months afterwards, his wife had two sons at one time, whence he called the place Twins Borough.

At this time Chapman's place was the furthest back in the woods of any English settlement; and the Indians, being then numerous, much frequented his house in great companies, and were very kind to him and his family, as well as to those who came after him; often supplying them with corn and other provisions, which in those early times, more especially in that part of the country, were very scarce, and hard to be procured.

In one of those scarce times J. Chapman's eldest daughter, Mara, supplied his family by an incident unexpected. Being near Neshaminy creek, which runs into the Delaware, she heard an unusual noise, like that of something in distress; upon search, she found a large buck, which had disengaged himself from a wolf that a little before had seized on him, and had fled to the creek for safety, under a high bank: the buck stood still till she took the halter from the horse on which she rode, and with a stick put it over his horns, whereby she secured him till assistance came, on which the wolf retired: such incidents as this in those times were considered as providential favours.

Abraham and Joseph Chapman, the twins before mentioned, when boys, about nine or ten years old, going out one evening to seek their cattle, met an Indian in the woods, who told them to go back, else they would be lost. Soon after this they took his advice, and went back; but it was quite night before they got home, where they found the Indian; who being careful lest they should lose themselves, had repaired thither in the night to see if they had returned. And their parents, about that time going to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, and leaving a young family at home, (they being Quakers,) the Indians came every day, to see whether any thing was amiss among them. Such, in many instances, was the kind treatment and behaviour of the natives or aborigines of this country to the English, in their first and early settlement of it.

The first business of the settlers after their arrival, was to land their property, and put it under such shelter as could be found; then, while some of them got warrants of survey, for taking up so much land as was sufficient for immediate settling, others went further into the woods, to the

different places where their lands were laid out ; often without any path or road to direct them ; for scarce any were to be found above two miles from the water-side, nor any sign of a European ever having been there. As to the Indians, they seldom travelled so regularly as to be traced or followed by footsteps, except, perhaps, from one of their towns to another ; and their huntings were rather like ships at sea, without any track or path. So that all the country, further than about two miles distant from the river, (excepting the Indians' movable settlements,) was an entire wilderness, producing nothing for the support of human life but the wild fruits and animals of the woods.

The lodgings of some of these settlers were, at first, in the woods ; a chosen tree was frequently all the shelter they had against the inclemency of the weather, and this sometimes late in the autumn, and even in the winter season. The next coverings of many of them were, either caves in the earth, or such huts erected upon it as could be most expeditiously procured, till better houses were built ; for which they had no want of timber.



It is impossible that these first adventurers and settlers could at once obtain a proper method of improving this wilderness ; and it is equally certain, that the great difference between the finally cultivated and open countries, with the near connections which many of them had left behind, and the appearance of a wild and woody desert, with which they had now to encounter among savages, must have

created in them very forcible emotions, and made at first strong impressions on their minds. The consideration likewise of the long and painful labour, and inevitable disappointments and hardships, which, more or less, were naturally inseparable from such undertakings, and for a series of years must necessarily be endured, before a comfortable subsistence could be procured in the country, and a sufficient portion of land brought into proper order for that purpose, must undoubtedly have been very affecting to a considerable people, in this new, remote, and solitary situation. But the soil was fertile, the air in general pure and healthy ; the streams of water were good and plentiful, wood for fire and building in abundance ; and, as they were a religious people, knowing their views in this their undertaking to be good, they cheerfully underwent all difficulties of this nature, and Providence blessed their industry.

In a short anonymous treatise, printed and published "by Andrew Sowle, in Shoreditch, 1684," the views and motives of some of these early colonists are detailed in a very characteristic manner. We give the introductory part as a specimen of the modes of thought and habits of these modern patriarchs.

"The Planter's speech to his neighbours and countrymen of Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, and to all such as have transported themselves into new colonies, for the sake of a quiet and retired life.

"My dear friends and countrymen,

"Though it may seem very impertinent and unnecessary to go about to repeat to you the occasions and motives that inclined you to abandon the land of your nativity, and those comfortable outward employments and accommodations which most of you had there, and to adventure yourselves to the hazards of a long voyage at sea, to come to this remote part of the world; yet, lest you should forget those inducements—as often it happens, that men, by a slothful negligence or ignorance, after some tract of time, fall from their first love, and blindly hurry themselves into the very same mischiefs which they intended to avoid, and build up again what they justly endeavoured to destroy, not foreseeing the future ill consequences of their present (supposed innocent) actings—I shall take leave briefly, to mention some few of those weighty causes which, I am confident, originally swayed your spirits to this transplantation, and those good ends, for the obtaining of which you chiefly removed hither.

"The motives of your retreating to these new habitations, I apprehend (measuring your sentiments by my own) to have been—

"1. The desires of a peaceable life, where we might worship God, and obey his law with freedom, according to the dictates of the divine principle, unincumbered with the mouldy errors of fierce invasions of tradition, politic craft, covetous or ambitious cruelty, &c.

"2. That we might here, as on virgin Elysian shore, commence, or improve, such an innocent course of life as might unload us of those outward cares, vexations, and turmoils, which before we were always subject unto, from the hands of self-designing and unreasonable men.

"3. That, as Lot, by flying to little Zoar, from the ungodly company of a more populous, magnificent dwelling, we might avoid both being grieved with the sight of infectious, as well as odious examples, of horrid swearings, cursings, drunkenness, gluttony uncleanness, and all kinds of debauchery, continually committed with greediness; and also escape the judgments threatened to every land polluted with such abominations.

"4. That, as trees are transplanted from one soil to another, to render them more thriving and better bearers, so we here, in peace and secure retirement, under the bountiful protection of God, and in the lap of the least adulterated nature, might every one the better improve his talent, and bring forth more plenteous fruits, to the glory of God, and public welfare of the whole creation.

"5. And lastly, that in order hereunto, by our holy doctrine, and the practical teachings of our exemplary, abstemious lives, transacted in all humility, sobriety, plainness, self-denial, virtue, and honesty, we might

gain upon those thousands of poor dark souls scattered round about us, (and commonly, in way of contempt and reproach, called heathens,) and bring them, not only to a state of civility, but real piety ; which effected, would turn to a more satisfactory account, than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi, and might make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their petty and shameful victories, which only tend to make their fellow-creatures slaves to those that are already the devil's vassals : whereas hereby we might release millions from the chains of Satan, and not only teach them their rights as men, and their happiness when Christians, but bring them from the power of darkness into the marvellous light, and the glorious liberty of the sons of the Most High.

"These thoughts, these designs, my friends, were those that brought you hither : and so far only as you pursue and accomplish them, you obtain the end of your journey. If these be neglected, though your ports and rivers were full of trading ships, your land never so populous, and laden with most vendible commodities, yet I would be bold to say, that your plantations were in a most unthriving condition ; that like men in a fever, tumbling from one side of the bed to the other, you have shifted your dwelling, but not recovered your health ; nor are one inch nearer your proposed happiness in America than in Europe ; and have travelled some thousands of miles, to as little purpose as the Jesuits into Japan and China, or foolish pilgrims, in their tedious, vain, journeys to Compostella, Loretto, or Jerusalem.

"Our business, therefore, here, in this new land, is not so much to build houses, and establish factories, and promote trade and manufactories, that may enrich ourselves, (though all these things, in their due place, are not to be neglected,) as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in ; to lay such lasting frames and foundations of temperance and virtue as may support the superstructures of our future happiness, both in this and the other world.

"In order to these great and glorious ends, it will become, nay, it is the indispensable duty of all that are superiors amongst us, to make laws, and imitate customs that may tend to innocency, and a harmless life ; so as to avoid and prevent all oppression and violence, either to men or beasts ; by which we shall strengthen the principle of well-doing, and qualify the fierce, bitter, envious, wrathful spirit ; which (as it is said of fire and water in the extremes) is a good servant, but a bad master." &c.

In the remainder of this curious tract many particulars are proposed, as fundamentals for future laws and customs, tending principally to establish a higher degree of temperance, and original simplicity of manners. Every thing of a military nature, even the use of warlike implements, is not only disapproved, but also all violence, or cruelty towards, and the wanton

killing of, the inferior living creatures, with the eating of animal food, are also strongly advised against. All which customs or laws are proposed, "to the end that a higher degree of love, perfection, and happiness, might more universally be introduced and preserved among mankind."

The first comers after their arrival soon cleared land enough to make way for a crop of Indian corn, in the succeeding spring; and in a year or two, they began upon wheat and other grain; thus they went on improving, till they got into a comfortable way of living; so that many of them were blessed both with the necessities and conveniences of life beyond their expectation; and lived to a good old age. The following extract from the testimony of one of them, a Quaker, gives a lively idea of their circumstances.

"The testimony of Richard Townsend, showing the providential hand of God, to him and others, from the first settlement of Pennsylvania, to this day. (About the year 1727.)

"Whereas, King Charles II., in the year 1681, was pleased to grant this province to William Penn, and his heirs for ever; which act seemed to be an act of Providence to many religious, good, people; and the proprietor, William Penn, being one of the people called Quakers, and in good esteem among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him, for the settlement of this place.

"To that end, in the year 1682, several ships being provided, I found a concern on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child, and about the latter end of the sixth month, having settled my affairs in London, where I dwelt, I went on board the ship *Welcome*, Robert Greenaway, commander, in company with my worthy friend, William Penn; whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the company. His singular care was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many, who were sick of the small-pox, then on board; out of which company about thirty died. After a prosperous passage of about two months, having had in that time many good meetings on board, we arrived here.

"At our arrival, we found it a wilderness; the chief inhabitants were Indians, and some Swedes; who received us in a friendly manner: and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner; in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before.

"Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship; and, in order thereunto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-house was set up, where the city was to be, near Delaware; and, as we had nothing but love and good-will, in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings, from time to

time ; and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other in building little houses, for our shelter.

“ After some time, I set up a mill on Chester creek ; which I brought ready framed from London, which served for grinding of corn, and sawing of boards ; and was of great use to us. Besides, I, with Joshua Tittery, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish ; which supplied ourselves and many others ; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel.

“ And, as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

“ About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families from high and low Germany, of religious, good people ; who settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place Germantown. The country continually increasing, people began to spread themselves further back. Also, a place called North Wales was settled by many of the ancient Britons, an honest inclined people, although they had not then made a profession of the truth as held by us, yet, in a little time, a large conviction was among them ; and divers meeting-houses were built.

“ About the time in which Germantown was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land, which I had purchased of the proprietor in England, about a mile from thence ; where I set up a house and a corn-mill ; which was very useful to the country, for several miles round : but there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles ;—I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him, instead of a horse.

“ Being now settled about six or seven miles from Philadelphia, where leaving the principal body of friends, together with the chief place of provisions as before mentioned, flesh-meat was very scarce with me for some time ; of which I found the want. I remember I was once supplied by a particular instance of Providence, in the following manner :—

“ As I was in my meadow mowing grass, a young deer came and looked on me ; I continued mowing, and the deer in the same attention to me ; upon which I laid down my scythe, and went towards him ; upon which he ran off a small distance ; I went to my work again, and the deer continued looking on me ; so that several times I left my work, to go towards him ; but he still kept himself at a distance ; at last, as I was going towards him, and he looking on me did not mind his steps, but ran forcibly

against the trunk of a tree, and stunned himself so much that he fell, upon which I ran forward, and getting upon him, held him by the legs: after a great struggle, in which I had almost tired him out, and rendered him lifeless, I threw him on my shoulders, holding him fast by the legs, and with some difficulty, from his fresh struggling, carried him home, about a quarter of a mile to my house; where, by the assistance of a neighbour, who happened to be there, and killed him for me, he proved very serviceable to my family. I could relate several other acts of Providence of this kind, but omit them for brevity.

"As people began to spread, and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful; so that those who came after us were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad. And as Philadelphia increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a wilderness, the Lord, by his good hand of Providence, hath made it a fruitful field: on which to look back, and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose; yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory pretty clear, concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the Almighty, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our meetings; wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving-kindness in reaching to, and convincing many persons of the principles of truth; and those that were already convinced and continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of Heaven. I am engaged in my spirit, to supplicate the continuance thereof to the present rising generation: that, as God hath blessed their parents, the same blessing may remain on their offspring to the end of time: that it may be so, is the hearty desire and prayer of their ancient and loving friend,

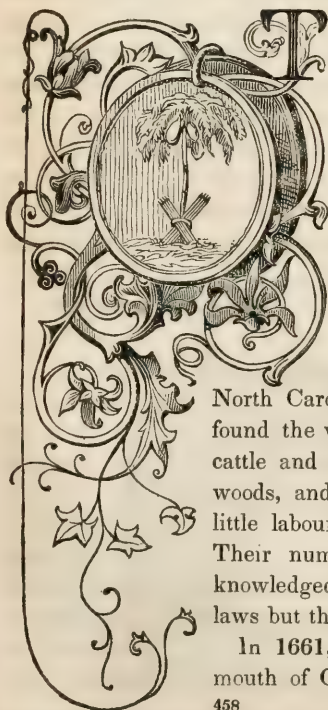
"RICHARD TOWNSEND."





CLARENDON.

SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.



THE same year that Boston was settled (1630) was the date of a charter which Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath, giving him all the territory between thirty and thirty-six degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea, by the name of Carolina. Under this grant, no settlement was made. Between 1640 and 1650, persons suffering from religious intolerance in Virginia fled beyond her limits, and without license from any source, occupied that portion of North Carolina, north of Albemarle sound. They found the winters mild and the soil fertile. As their cattle and swine procured their own support in the woods, and multiplied fast, they were enabled, with little labour, to live in the enjoyment of abundance. Their number was annually augmented; they acknowledged no superior upon earth, and obeyed no laws but those of God and nature.

In 1661, another settlement was made, near the mouth of Clarendon river, by adventurers from Mas-

sachusetts. The land being sterile, and the Indians hostile, they, in 1663, abandoned it; but immediately afterwards, their place was supplied by emigrants from Barbadoes.

In the year 1662, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, George, Duke of Albemarle, William, Lord Craven, John, Lord Berkeley, Antony, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton, being apprized of the excellent soil of this country, united and formed a project for planting a colony in it. Upon application to the crown for a charter, Sir Robert Heath having neglected to comply with the condition of his patent, Charles granted them all the lands lying between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees of north latitude. Two years afterwards he confirmed this grant, and by a second charter enlarged the boundaries of it, from the twenty-ninth degree of north latitude, to thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and from these points on the sea-coast westward in parallel lines to the Pacific ocean. Of this immense region, the king constituted them absolute lords and proprietors, saving to himself, his heirs and successors, the sovereign dominion of the country. At the same time he invested them with all the rights, jurisdiction, royalties, privileges, and liberties, within the bounds of their province, to hold, use, and enjoy the same, in as ample a manner as the bishop of Durham did in that county palatine in England. This province they were to hold and possess of the king, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich, in Kent, not *in capite*, or by knight's service, but in free and common soccage.

These absolute lords and proprietors were, by their charter, empowered to enact, and, under their seal, to publish any laws or constitutions they judged necessary to the public state of the province, with the assent, advice, and approbation of the freemen of the colony; to constitute counties, baronies, and colonies within the province; to erect courts of judicature, and appoint civil judges, magistrates, and officers; to erect forts, castles, cities, and towns; to make war; to levy, muster, and train men to the use of arms, and, in cases of necessity, to exercise the martial law; to confer titles of honour, only they must be different from those conferred on the people of England; to build harbours, make ports, and enjoy customs and subsidies, which they, with the consent of the freemen, should impose on goods loaded and unloaded; reserving the fourth part of the gold and silver ore found within the province to the crown. By the said charter the king granted them the patronage and advowson of all churches and chapels, to hold and exercise the same rights, powers, and privileges as the bishop of Durham did in England: but as it might happen that several of the inhabitants could not in their private opinions conform to the exercise of religion, according to the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of England; the proprietors had power and authority granted them, to allow the inhabitants of the province such indulgences and dispensations

as they should think reasonable ; and no person, to whom such liberty should be granted, was to be molested, punished, or called in question for any differences in speculative opinions with respect to religion ; so that all persons, of what denomination soever, had liberty to enjoy their own judgments and consciences in religious concerns, provided they disturbed not the civil order and peace of the province. And as the Assembly of freeholders could not be immediately called, the proprietors had power granted them to make such orders and ordinances as might be necessary to the government of the people, and the preservation of peace, and as were not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England. Liberty was given to the king's liege subjects to transport themselves and families to settle the province, only they were to remain immediately subject to the crown of England, and to depend thereon for ever ; and were not compellable to answer to any cause or suit in any other part of his majesty's dominions but in England and Wales.

Agreeably to the powers with which the proprietors were invested by their charter, they began to frame a system of laws for the government of their colony ; in which arduous task they called in the great Locke to their assistance. A model of government, consisting of no less than one hundred and twenty different articles, was framed by this learned man, which they agreed to establish, and to the careful observance of which, to bind themselves and their heirs for ever. But there is danger of error, where speculative men of one country attempt to sketch out a plan of government for another, in a different climate and situation. This legislator must be acknowledged to have possessed great abilities and merit ; yet his fine-spun system proved in effect useless and impracticable. Several attempts were afterwards made to amend these fundamental constitutions, but all to little purpose ; the inhabitants, sensible of their impropriety and how little they were applicable to their circumstances, neither by themselves, nor by their representatives in Assembly, ever gave their assent to them as a body of laws, and, therefore, they obtained not the force of fundamental and unalterable laws in the colony. What regulations the people found applicable and useful, they adopted at the request of their governors ; but observed them on account of their own propriety and necessity, rather than as a system of laws imposed on them by British legislators.

As the proprietors were so fond of these constitutions, and expressed so much zeal for their establishment, it may not be improper to give a short and imperfect view of them, especially such as were allowed to take place in the government of the colony. The eldest of the eight proprietors was always to be palatine, and at his decease was to be succeeded by the eldest of the seven survivors. This palatine was to sit as president of the palatine's court, of which he and three more of the proprietors made a

quorum, and had the management and execution of all the powers of their charter. This palatine's court was to stand in room of the king, and give their assent or dissent to all laws made by the legislature of the colony. The palatine was to have power to nominate and appoint the governor, who, after obtaining the royal approbation, became his representative in Carolina. Each of the seven proprietors was to have the privilege of appointing a deputy to sit as his representative in parliament, and to act agreeably to his instructions. Besides a governor, two other branches, somewhat similar to the old Saxon constitution, were to be established, an upper and lower house of Assembly; which three branches were to be called a parliament, and to constitute the legislature of the country. The parliament was to be chosen every two years. No act of the legislature was to have any force unless ratified in open parliament during the same session, and even then to continue no longer in force than the next biennial parliament, unless in the mean time it were ratified by the hands and seals of the palatine and three proprietors. The upper house was to consist of the seven deputies, seven of the oldest landgraves and caciques, and seven chosen by the Assembly. As in the other provinces, the lower house was to be composed of the representatives from the different counties and towns. Several officers were also to be appointed, such as an admiral, a secretary, a chief-justice, a surveyor, a treasurer, a marshal, and register: and besides these, each county was to have a sheriff and four justices of the peace. Three classes of nobility were to be established, called barons, caciques, and landgraves; the first to possess twelve, the second twenty-four, and the third forty-eight thousand acres of land, and their possessions were to be unalienable. Military officers were also to be nominated, and all inhabitants, from sixteen to sixty years of age, as in the times of feudal government, when summoned by the governor and grand council, were to appear under arms, and, in time of war, to take the field.

With respect to religion, three terms of communion were fixed: First, to believe that there is a God: Secondly, That he is to be worshipped: and, Thirdly, That it is lawful, and the duty of every man when called upon by those in authority to bear witness to the truth. Without acknowledging which, no man was to be permitted to be a freeman, or to have any estate or habitation in Carolina. But persecution for observing different modes and ways of worship was expressly forbid, and every man was to be left full liberty of conscience, and might worship God in that manner which he in his private judgment thought most conformable to the Divine will and revealed word. This was the opinion of Mr. Locke, with respect to religious matters. He chose the word of God for his rule of life, and used to say, "That, at the day of judgment, it would not be asked whether

he was a follower of Luther or Calvin ; but whether he embraced the truth in the love of it."

Notwithstanding these preparations, several years elapsed before the proprietors of Carolina made any serious efforts towards its settlement. In 1667, they fitted out a ship, gave the command of it to Captain William Sayle, and sent him out to bring them some account of the coast. In his passage, Captain Sayle was driven by a storm among the Bahama islands, which accident he improved to the purpose of acquiring some knowledge of them ; particularly the island of Providence, which he judged might be of service to the intended settlement of Carolina : for, in case of an invasion from the Spaniards, this island, fortified, might be made to serve either as a check to the progress of their arms, or a useful retreat to unfortunate colonists. Leaving Providence, he sailed along the coast of Carolina, where he observed several large navigable rivers emptying themselves into the ocean, and a flat country covered with woods. He attempted to go ashore in his boat, but observing some savages on the banks of the rivers, he was obliged to drop his design ; and after having explored the coast, and the mouth of the rivers, he took his departure, and returned to England.

His report to his employers, as might naturally be expected, was favourable. He praised their possessions, and encouraged them to engage with vigour in the execution of their project. His observations respecting the Bahama islands induced them to apply to the king for a grant of them Charles bestowed on them, by patent, all those islands lying between the twenty-second and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude. Nothing then remained but to make preparations for sending a colony to Carolina. Two ships were procured, on board of which a number of adventurers embarked, with provisions, arms, and utensils, requisite for building and cultivation. William Sayle, who had visited the country, was appointed the first governor of it, and received a commission, bearing date July 26, 1669. The expenses of this first embarkation amounted to twelve thousand pounds, which vigorous effort was a proof that the proprietors entertained no small hopes with respect to their palatinate. The number of men, however, must have been inconsiderable, and no ways adequate to the undertaking, especially when we consider the multitude of savages that ranged through that extensive wilderness.

In what place Governor Sayle first landed is uncertain ; but he was dissatisfied with his first situation, and, moving to the southward, took possession of a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper rivers. The earliest instructions we have seen upon record were directed to the governor and council of Ashley river, in which spot the first settlement was made that proved permanent and successful. This place, however, was more eligible for the convenience of navigation than for the richness of its soil.

But to struggle amidst a complication of difficulties and dangers was the lot of such adventurers; to surmount which, at this early period, no small degree of fortitude, patience, and perseverance must have been requisite.

The difficulties of the first settlers of Carolina must have equalled, if not surpassed, every thing of the kind to which men in any age have been exposed. To fell the trees of the thick forest, and build habitations for themselves, would probably be their first employment, before they began to clear their spots of ground for raising the necessaries of life. In such a low country, and warm climate, even this task must have been a considerable burden. But Carolina, like other level countries, overflowed with water, is productive of many disorders, such as putrid fevers, agues, dysenteries, and the like; and to fix habitations on such places, where the exhalations from stagnated waters and marshy swamps poisoned the air, must have rendered them extremely unwholesome. During the summer months the climate is so sultry that no European, without hazard, can endure the fatigues of labouring in the open air: for the most part, the weather, during this season, is very clear and serene, excepting when a thunder-storm happens, which cools the air, suddenly stops perspiration, and becomes exceedingly dangerous to labourers of little precaution. Besides, the violent heat continues through the night, and denies the weary workman the natural refreshment of sleep. The autumn introduces cool evenings and mornings, while the noon-day is intolerably warm; which change, together with the thick fogs that commonly fall at this season, renders it the most unhealthy division of the year. In winter, though the degree of cold is not so great as in the more northern climates of America, yet it is severely felt by the human body, exhausted and relaxed with the summer heat; and when the wind shifts suddenly from any quarter to the north-west or north, it blows extremely sharp and piercing, brings along with it sometimes frost and snow, and renders the warmest clothing requisite. The spring is the most temperate and delightful season of the year. it begins early, and diffuses its enlivening influence over the fields and forests. Experience had not yet taught the young colonists the methods either of improving the advantages, or guarding against the disadvantages of the climate, and therefore it is no wonder that they found themselves involved at this period in a complication of hardships.

To enhance their distress, they were surrounded with tribes of warlike savages, who viewed them with a jealous eye, and were by no means pleased at the encroachments made on their natural possessions. The tribes called Stonoes and Westoes were particularly troublesome. The colonists, indeed, were furnished with arms and ammunition from the storehouse of the proprietors, yet as they lived in the midst of perpetual alarms, their condition must have been deplorable. Nor did the musket give those

strangers to the woods such an advantage over the bow and arrow in the hands of the Indians, as some people may be apt to imagine. The savage, quick-sighted, and accustomed to perpetual watchfulness, springs from his den behind a bush, and surprises his enemy with the pointed arrow before he is aware of danger. He ranges through the trackless forests like the beasts of prey, and safely sleeps under the same canopy with the wolf and bear. His vengeance is concealed, and sends the tidings in the fatal blow. The first settlers were obliged to stand in a continual posture of defence, and as they could not be supposed to understand the political methods of managing their barbarous neighbours, they must have been subjected to all the hardships arising from their ignorance and dangerous condition.

While one party was employed in raising their little habitations, another was always kept under arms, to watch the motions of these Indians. The governor shared those hardships along with his fellow-adventurers, and by his example animated and encouraged them to perseverance. The only fresh provisions they could procure were fish from the river, and what game they could kill with their gun. Fortunately deer and wild turkey were abundant. While the settlers were struggling under the difficulties inseparable from the first state of colonization, the ship *Blessing*, belonging to the proprietors, commanded by Captain Mathias Halstead, happily arrived, and brought them a seasonable supply of necessaries. At the same time deputies from the other proprietors came over, to assist the governor in the discharge of the duties of his office. They brought with them twenty-three articles of instruction, called *Temporary Agrarian Laws*, intended for the



equitable division of lands among the people; but whatever difficulties or inconveniences might occur in the execution of them, the governor had directions to represent them to the proprietors, who had reserved to themselves the sole power of making alterations in them. At the same time the governor received a plan of a magnificent town, to be laid out on the neck of land between the two rivers, to be called *Charlestown*, in honour of the king. Captain Halstead was employed, during his stay, in sounding the rivers, for the benefit of navigation, which were found sufficiently deep, and excellently calculated for the purposes of trade.

About this time, the Duke of Albemarle, who was the first palatine, died, and was succeeded by the Earl of Craven, as eldest proprietor. John Locke, Sir John Yeamans, and James Carteret, were created landgraves, to

make part of the nobility required by the fundamental constitutions. Sir John was the eldest son and heir of Robert Yeamans, alderman of Bristol, who was imprisoned and executed in 1643, by order of Nathaniel Fienes, son to Lord Say, who had been appointed governor of Bristol by the parliament. His son, Sir John, was afterwards advanced to the dignity of baronet by King Charles II., in 1664, as a reward for the steady loyalty and heavy sufferings of his father. But as the violence of the preceding times, which had deprived Sir John of his father, had also injured him in his private fortune, he embarked for the Island of Barbadoes, at that time in a flourishing condition, to hide his poverty from his acquaintance in England, and endeavour to acquire a fortune suitable to his dignity. When Carolina was settled, having received a grant of a large tract of land from the proprietors, he, with several respectable followers, retired to that infant colony, to forward, by his presence and example, the interest of his generous and beloved friends, from whom he had received great encouragement and assistance.

Soon after his arrival in Carolina, (A. D. 1671,) Governor Sayle fell a sacrifice to the hardships of the climate. Upon his death the council met, and Sir John claimed the office of vice-palatine in consequence of his rank, being the only landgrave resident in the colony. But the council, who were empowered to elect a governor in such a case, chose to prefer Joseph West, until a special appointment arrived from England. West was a popular man, much esteemed among the colonists for his activity, courage, and prudence. However, he did not long remain in office, for the first vessel that arrived from England brought a commission to Sir John Yeamans, constituting him governor of the colony.

Reasons of state contributed to render those new settlements reasonably useful and important to the king. By this time several of the settlers in Virginia and Barbadoes had been successful, and having surmounted the difficulties attending the first state of colonization, were living in easy and plentiful circumstances. The lands of Carolina were esteemed equal, if not superior in value, to those of the northern colonies. Here the ministers of the king could provide for his friends, without any expense to the nation, and by this means not only secured their attachment, but also extended his power. Grants of land were allowed them in Carolina by the proprietors, where it was thought they might in time enrich themselves, and become beneficial to the commerce and navigation of the mother country.

From this period every year brought new adventurers to Carolina. The friends of the proprietors were invited to it, by the flattering prospects of obtaining landed estates at an easy rate; and others took refuge there from the rigour of their creditors. It cannot be deemed wonderful if many of them were disappointed, especially such as emigrated with sanguine expectations; the manners and vices of the city were bad qualifications for rural industry,

and rendered some utterly unfit for the frugal simplicity and laborious task of the first state of cultivation. Nor could the Puritans, who settled before them, promise themselves much greater success than their neighbours: though more rigid and austere in their manners, and more religiously disposed, their scrupulosity about trifles and ceremonies, and their litigious dispositions, created trouble to all around them, and disturbed that general harmony so necessary to the welfare and prosperity of the young settlement. From the various principles which actuated the populace of England, and the different sects who composed the first settlers of Carolina, nothing less could be expected, but that the seeds of division should be imported into that country with its earliest inhabitants.

Before the year 1667, there is no mention made of America in any treaty between England and Spain: but a few years after Carolina was settled, Sir William Godolphin concluded a treaty with Spain, in which, among other articles, it was agreed, "That the king of Great Britain should always possess, in full right of sovereignty and property, all the countries, islands, and colonies lying and situated in the West Indies, or any part of America, which he and his subjects then held and possessed, inasmuch that they neither can nor ought thereafter to be contested on any account whatsoever.



The Buccaneers, who had for many years infested Spanish America, were now cut off from all future protection from the English government in their hostile invasions of these dominions, and all commissions formerly granted to such pirates were recalled and annulled. By this treaty, the freedom of navigation in these American seas was opened to both nations; and all ships in distress, whether from storms, or the pursuit of enemies and

pirates, taking refuge in places belonging either to Britain or Spain, were to be treated with humanity, to meet with protection and assistance, and to be permitted to depart without molestation. These things merit particular notice, as by this treaty Spain evidently gave up all future pretensions to the country of Carolina granted to the proprietors by the king; and this freedom of navigation, provided for in such express terms, was violated, as we shall afterwards see, by the Spaniards, and proved the occasion of a destructive war between the two nations. Not long after this, a treaty of neutrality between Britain and France was also concluded; by which negotiations the possessions of Great Britain, France, and Spain, in the western world, were better ascertained; and the freedom of commerce and

navigation was more firmly established by those three great potentates, than had taken place in any former period.

In Carolina, Sir John Yeamans had entered on the government with an uncommon zeal for the success of the settlement, and a grateful anxiety to discharge the duties of his trust with fidelity and honour. The proprietors, fond of their new form of government, had instructed him to use his endeavours to introduce it, as the most excellent of its kind, and wisely adapted to promote the prosperity and happiness of the people. Accordingly, Sir John summoned the people together, ordered the fundamental constitutions to be read, and representatives to be elected. The province was divided into four counties, called Berkeley, Colleton, Craven, and Carteret counties. The people, who had hitherto lived under a kind of military government, now began to form a legislature for establishing civil regulations. Ten members were elected as representatives for Colleton, and ten for Berkeley counties. A committee, consisting of Stephen Bull, Ralph Marshal, and William Owen, were nominated for framing some public regulations. Three acts were proposed by them as beneficial; the first, to prevent persons leaving the colony; the second, to prohibit all men from disposing of arms and ammunition to Indians; and the third, for the regular building of Charleston.

Notwithstanding the public treaty already mentioned, a religious society of the Spanish nation laid claim to the large territory of Florida, not only on the foot of prior discovery, but also by virtue of a grant from the pope; and the garrison kept at Augustine, regarding the British settlement as an encroachment on their possessions, were disposed to throw every difficulty in the way of the Carolinians, in order to compel them to relinquish the country. They encouraged indented servants to leave their masters, and fly to them for liberty and protection. They instilled into the savage tribes the most unfavorable notions of British heretics, and urged them on to the destruction of the colony. Good policy required that the governor should keep a watchful eye on the motions of such neighbours, and guard his weak and defenceless colony against the pernicious designs of their Spanish rivals. Some men he discovered, who were attempting to entice servants to revolt; these were ordered to receive so many stripes. Others, in defiance of the feeble power of the magistrate, took to such courses as were subversive of public peace and justice. Except a few negroes whom Sir John Yeamans and his followers brought along with them from Barbadoes, there were no labourers but Europeans for the purposes of culture. Until the fields were cleared, cattle could afford the planters no assistance; and hard indeed was the task of these labourers while employed in felling the large and lofty trees, exposed to the heat of an inclement sky, and the terrors of barbarous enemies. After all, the provisions they raised were exposed

to the plundering parties of savage neighbours, and one day often robbed them of the dear-bought fruits of their whole year's toil.

During the government of Sir John Yeamans, a civil disturbance broke out among the colonists, which threatened the ruin of the settlement. At such a distance it was very difficult for the proprietors to furnish their colony with regular supplies; and the spots of sandy and barren land they had cleared poorly rewarded their toil. Small was the skill of the planter; and European grain, which they had been accustomed to sow, proved suitable to neither soil nor climate. The emigrants being now, from sad experience, sensible of difficulties inseparable from their circumstances, began to murmur against the proprietors, and to curse the day they left their native land, to starve in a wilderness. While they gathered oysters for subsistence with one hand, they were obliged to carry their muskets for self-defence in the other. A great gun had been given to Florence O'Sullivan, which he placed on an island situated at the mouth of the harbour, to alarm the town in cases of invasion from the Spaniards. O'Sullivan deserted his island, being ready to perish with hunger, and joined the discontented party in the town. The people became seditious and ungovernable, and threatened to compel the governor to relinquish the settlement: even one Culpepper, the surveyor-general, joined them in their complaints and murmurs. The greatest prudence and courage were requisite to prevent tumults, and animate the colonists to perseverance. Florence O'Sullivan was taken up by the marshal on a charge of sedition, and compelled to find security for his future good behaviour. One sloop, commanded by Joseph Harris, was despatched to Virginia, another to Barbadoes, to bring provisions. Happily before their return a seasonable supply arrived from England, together with a number of new settlers, which revived the drooping spirits of the people, and encouraged them to engage in more vigorous efforts. The governor, sensible of the hardships the people had suffered, the more readily forgave them for their past misconduct: but as Culpepper held an office from the proprietors, he sent him to England, to be tried by them for joining the people in treasonable conspiracies against the settlement.

The garrison at Augustine having intelligence from servants who fled to them, of the discontented and miserable situation of the colony in Carolina, advanced with a party under arms, as far as the island of St. Helena, to dislodge or destroy the settlers. Brian Fitzpatrick, a noted villain, treacherously deserted his distressed friends, on purpose to join their enemies. However, Sir John Yeamans having received a reinforcement, set his enemies at defiance. Fifty volunteers, under the command of Colonel Godfrey, marched against the Spaniards, who, on his approach, evacuated the island of St. Helena, and retreated to Augustine.



At this period, to form alliances with Indian tribes was an object of great importance with the governor and council; and one circumstance proved favourable to the colony at the time of its settlement. The Westoes, a powerful and numerous tribe, who harboured an irreconcilable aversion to the white faces of strangers, would have proved a dangerous enemy to them, had not their attention been occupied by the Seran-

nas, another Indian nation. A bloody war between these two tribes, fortunately for the settlers, was carried on with such fury that in the end it proved fatal to both. This served to pave the way for the introduction and establishment of this British settlement, which otherwise might have shared the same unhappy fate with the first adventurers to Virginia. Many tribes, besides, might no doubt have extirpated the colony, but it is probable the governor studied by every means to avoid giving them any provocation, and to conciliate their affection and esteem.

After the conquest of the Dutch settlements in New York, many of the Dutch colonists, who were discontented with their situation, had formed resolutions of moving to other provinces. The proprietors of Carolina offered them lands and encouragement in their palatinate, and sent their ships, *Blessing* and *Phoenix*, and brought a number of Dutch families to Charleston. Stephen Bull, surveyor-general of the colony, had instructions to mark out lands on the south-west side of Ashley river for their accommodation. There, each of the Dutch emigrants drew lots for their property, and formed a town, which was called Jamestown. This was the first colony of Dutch who settled in Carolina, whose industry surmounted incredible hardships, and whose success induced many from Holland, afterwards, to follow them to the western world. The inhabitants of Jamestown, afterwards finding their situation too narrow and circumscribed, in process of time spread themselves through the country, and the town was totally deserted.

About the year 1674, Sir John Yeamans, having his health much injured by the climate and his indefatigable labours for the success of the settlement, returned to Barbadoes, where he died. After his departure, the grand council again chose Joseph West, governor; and the palatine confirmed the election. A meeting of all the freemen was called at Charleston, where they elected representatives, for the purpose of making laws for the government of the colony. Thomas Gray, Henry Hughes, Maurice Mathews, and Christopher Portman, were chosen deputies from the people, and took their seat at the upper house of Assembly. These new members were obliged to take an oath, that they should show equity and justice to

both rich and poor, without favour or affection ; that they should observe the laws of England, and those that should hereafter be established in the colony ; that they should obey the rules and directions of the proprietors ; that they should not divulge the secrets of the grand council, without sufficient authority from that board. A question being put, whether the deputies of the proprietors should take the same oath ? it was judged unnecessary, as they held their appointments during pleasure, and were immediately answerable to the proprietors for their conduct. The colony at this time had its governor, and its upper and lower house of Assembly, which three branches took the name of parliament, agreeably to the constitution. This was the first parliament that passed acts which are ratified by the proprietors, and found on record in the colony.

It might have been expected, that these adventurers, who were all embarked on the same design, would be animated by one spirit, and zealous above all things to maintain harmony and peace among themselves ; they had all the same hardships to encounter, the same enemies to fear, and the same cause, the prosperity of the settlement, to promote. In such circumstances, the governor had good reason to hope, that one common desire of safety would pervade the whole colony ; yet the contrary effect took place. The most numerous party in the country were dissenters, of various denominations, from the Established Church of England ; a number of cavaliers, also having received grants from the proprietors, had now brought over their families and effects, and joined the Puritans in Carolina. The royalists were looked upon by the proprietors with a partial eye, and met with great indulgence and encouragement ; by which means they thrust themselves into offices of trust and authority. The Puritans, on the other hand, viewed them with the eye of envy and jealousy, and having suffered from them in England, could not bear to see the smallest share of power committed to them in Carolina. Hence the seeds of strife and division, which had been imported into the colony, began to spring forth. No common dangers or difficulties could blot out of their memories the prejudices and animosities contracted in England : the odious terms of distinction were revived and propagated among the people, and while one party were attached to the Church of England, the other, who had fled from the rigour of ecclesiastical power, were jealous above all things of religious liberties, and could bear no encroachment on them. The governor found that matters of religion were tender points, and therefore wisely avoided all deliberations about them, choosing rather to leave every man to his free choice, than propose an establishment of any kind, which he saw would occasion trouble and division among the people.

Another source of difficulty arose to government, from the different manners of these colonists. The sober and morose Puritans were made the objects of ridicule by the royalists, and all the powers of wit were em-

ployed in exposing them to public derision and contempt. The Puritans, on the other hand, possessed of no small share of rancour, and exasperated by their licentious manners and grievous abuse, violently opposed their influence among the people. Governor West, observing these dissensions breaking out in the settlement, was at no small pains to keep them within the bounds of moderation, but having a council composed of ambitious cavaliers, was unable entirely to check the disorder. In spite of his authority, the Puritans were treated with insolence and neglect, and the colony, distracted with domestic differences, were ill prepared for defence against external enemies, or to provide for their own wants.

At this unfavourable juncture, the Indians from Stono came down in straggling parties, and plundered the plantations of the scanty fruits of labour and industry. Being accustomed to the practice of killing whatever came in their way, they ranked the planters' hogs, turkeys, and geese among their game, and freely preyed upon them. The planters as freely made use of their arms in defence of their property, and several Indians were killed during their depredations. This occasioned a war, and the Indians poured their vengeance indiscriminately, as usual, on the innocent and guilty, for the loss of their friends. Governor West found it necessary to encourage and reward such of the colonists as would take the field against them for the public defence. Accordingly, a price was fixed on every Indian the settlers should take prisoner, and bring to Charleston. These captive savages were disposed of to the traders, who sent them to the West Indies, and there sold them for slaves. This traffic was indeed an inhuman method of getting rid of troublesome neighbours.

Though Carolina lies in the same latitude with some of the most fertile countries on the globe, yet many local circumstances concur to occasion a difference between it and Palestine, the north of Egypt, or the dominions in the same latitude in China. Besides the bleak mountains, frozen lakes, and the large uncultivated territory over which the north and north-west winds blow in winter, by which they are rendered dangerous; when the extreme heat of summer is united with a low marshy soil, where the water stagnates, and the effluvia arising from it thicken and poison the air, it must prove the occasion of a numberless list of fatal distempers. The winds in Carolina are changeable and erratic, and, about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, commonly boisterous. In summer, they are sultry and suffocating; in winter, cold and dry. Beyond doubt, the flat maritime part is a most unhealthy situation, and the first settlers could scarcely have been cast ashore in any quarter of the globe where they could be exposed to greater hazards from the climate.

Yet the country, low and unhealthy as it is, affords many advantages for commerce and navigation. As you approach towards the shore, the sea gradually ebbs, which furnishes good soundings for the help of navigators.



WILD DEER.

For eighty, and in some places one hundred, miles from the Atlantic, the country is an even plain; no rocks, nor stones, nor scarce a hill of any height are to be seen. Backwards from this, the lands begin to rise gradually into little hills and beautiful inequalities, which continue increasing in height and variation, until you advance to the Apalachian mountains, three hundred miles and more from the sea. Here a vast ridge of mountains begins, which give rise to four large rivers, called by their Indian names, Alatahama, Savanna, Santee, and Pedee. Among the hills, these rivers are composed of different branches, and run in a rapid course; but lose their velocity when they reach the plains, through which they glide smoothly along, in a serpentine course, to the ocean. Up these large rivers the tide flows a considerable way, and renders them navigable for ships, brigs, sloops and schooners, and smaller craft force their way still higher than the tide flows. Besides these large rivers, the hills in the heart of the country give rise to others of a secondary size, such as Ogetchee, Cusaw, Cambahee, Edisto, Ashley, Cooper, and Black rivers; all which are also navigable many miles from the ocean. The coast is also checkered with a variety of fine islands, around which the sea flows, and opens excellent channels, for the easy conveyance of produce to the market.

By the different trees which cover the lands the soil is distinguished, which in some places is very rich, and in others very poor. Where the

pine-trees grow, the ground is sandy and barren, and produces little, except in rainy seasons. The oaks and hickories grow in a lower and richer soil, running in narrow streaks through the different eminences ; which grounds, when cleared and cultivated, amply reward the planter. The cypresses and canes require a still deeper and more miry soil, which is exceedingly fruitful, having had the fruits and foliage of trees from the higher grounds flowing into it from the creation. The river swamp-lands, by proper culture and judicious management, are of inexhaustible fertility. The savannas and open plains are of a deep fat mould, which, when drained and freshened, become also fruitful, and excellent parts of a plantation. In their wild state they abound with deer. The marshy grounds, some of which are fresh, and others salt, are much neglected, yet they yield a kind of grass grateful to some animals, and are used as yet only for pasturage. Many years elapsed before the planters found out the different grains suited to these different soils. The soil of the hilly country differs from all these ; for there, in the valleys between the hills, a black and deep loam is found, probably formed of rotten trees and vegetables, which the showers and floods have carried into them from the adjacent heights. Marble, clay, chalk, and gravel grounds are also observed among these hills, in the middle of the country, and a variety of soil nearly similar to that found in Europe.

No earthquakes, such as are commonly known in the West India islands, have ever been felt here ; but whirlwinds sometimes have made avenues through the thick forests, by levelling the loftiest trees, or sweeping them away before them. These terrible blasts are generally confined to a narrow tract, and run in an oblique and crooked direction. Hurricanes have also often visited the country ; and through such low and flat lands have spread their desolation far and wide.

In travelling along the coast of Carolina, partly by water and partly by land, the stranger has an excellent view of its natural beauties. At a distance the marshes and savannas appear like level meadows, with branches or creeks of the sea running through them. On one hand the evergreen pines appear, and engross almost the whole higher lands of the country ; on the other the branching oaks and stately hickories appear ; a grove covered with cypress ; laurels, palmetoes, beech, and mulberry-trees, all growing wild. In the spring the dogwood, cherry-trees, and many other blossoms, together with the jessamines, perfume the air ; while luxuriant vines climb over the loftiest trees ; and bushes, or shrubs of lower growth, fill up the thickets.

At this early period the savage hunters were masters of the woods. Numbers of deer, timorous and wild, ranged through the trees ; and herds of buffaloes were found grazing in the savannas ; and the feathered tribes were more remarkable for the splendour of their plumage than the

harmony of their notes; there was also an abundance of reptiles and insects.



The alligator, probably a species of the crocodile, is found here nigh the rivers and ponds, and is very destructive to young creatures about a plantation. The bear is a fierce animal, but in many respects a rich prize to the Indian hunter. The beaver is also a native of Carolina, and his

fur is a precious article of American commerce. The racoon and opossum are also natives of the country, and are scarcely found in any other continent. The puma, the wolf, the fox, the rabbit, wild and polecats, are all found in the country. Squirrels of various kinds and different hues are numerous; one of which is called the flying-squirrel, not from its having wings like a bird, but from its being furnished with a fine, loose skin between its fore and hind legs, which it contracts or expands at pleasure, and which buoys it up, and enables it to spring from branch to branch, at considerable distances, with great nimbleness.

In the mouth of the rivers, and on the coast, the shark, the porpoise, the sword, the guarr, and devil-fishes are all found, but in no respects rendered useful. However, the sea-coast and rivers furnish a variety of fine fish for human use, both of the salt and fresh-water kinds. The angel-fish, so called for their uncommon splendour; the sheephead, so named from its having teeth like those of sheep; the cavalli, the mullet, the whiting, the plaice, and young bass, are all esteemed delicate food. Besides these, porgy, shads, trout, stingre, drum, cat, and black fish are all used, and taken in great abundance. The fresh-water rivers and ponds furnish stores of fish, all of which are excellent in their season. The sturgeon and rock-fish, the fresh-water trout, the pike, the bream, the carp, and roach, are all fine fish, and found in plenty. Near the sea-shore vast quantities of oysters, crabs, shrimps, and other shell-fish may be taken, and sometimes a kind of turtle.

Besides eagles, falcons, cormorants, gulls, buzzards, hawks, herons, cranes, marsh-hens, jays, and woodpeckers, there are wild turkeys, pigeons, blackbirds, woodcocks, little partridges, plovers, curlews, and turtle-doves, in great numbers; and also incredible flocks of wild geese, ducks, teal, snipes, and rice-birds. There has been found here, near rivers, a bird of an amazing size, thought to be a species of the pelican. Under its beak, which is very long, it is furnished with a large bag, which it contracts or lets loose at pleasure, to answer the necessities or conveniencies of life. The summer duck is a well known and beautiful creature, and has got this



AMERICAN EAGLE.

name to distinguish it from others of the same species, which continue not in the country during the summer months, but search for a cooler retreat. The mocking-bird of Carolina is a fine, bold creature, which mimics the various voices of the forest, both in captivity and in the enjoyment of natural freedom. The red-bird is exceedingly beautiful, and has a soft, melodious note, but with few variations. The humming-bird is remarkable for its small size, flies from flower to flower like a bee, and is sometimes caught by children, while lying buried in a large flower, of which it sucks the juice; its nest is very curious, and discovers amazing art and contrivance. These are some of the feathered inhabitants of this forest, among which there is little melody; and, were it otherwise, the music would all be lost, by the continual croaking of frogs, which swarm in millions over the flat country.

There is no reptile merits more particular notice than the rattlesnake, which is one of the most formidable living creatures. It is fortunately furnished with a tail which makes a rattling noise, and, no doubt, was intended to warn every other creature of the danger of approaching nigh

it; although it is harmless, unless provoked. It is never the aggressor, and flies from man; but when pursued, and it finds it cannot escape, it instantly gathers itself into a coil, and prepares for self-defence. It has a sharp and sparkling eye, and quickly sees any person approaching towards it, and winds its course out of the way into some thicket or concealed place. The greatest danger is, when it is inadvertently trampled on, as it lies coiled among the long grass or thick bushes. On each side of the upper jaw there are two long fangs, which are hollow, and through which the poison is injected into the wound. When it penetrates a vein or nerve, sudden death ensues, unless some remedy be instantly applied. The usual symptoms from the bite are acute pains from the wound, inflammatory



RATTLESNAKE.

swellings round it, sickness at the stomach, and convulsive vomitings. The Indians, as quickly as possible, after being bit, swallow a strong dose of the decoction of snake-root, which is found everywhere growing in the woods; this causes a plentiful vomit; and at the same time, having sucked the poison out of the wound, they chew a little snake-root, and apply it exter-

nally to it. This remedy, when applied in time, sometimes proves efficacious. Besides the rattlesnake, the black and brown vipers have fangs, and are also venomous. The horn-snake is also found here, which takes its name from a horn in the tail, with which it defends itself, and strikes with great force into every aggressor. This reptile is also deemed very venomous, and the Indians, when wounded by it, usually cut out the part wounded as quickly as possible, to prevent the infection spreading through the body. There are, besides these, a variety of other snakes, such as the green, the chicken, the copperbelly, the wampum, the coach-whip, and corn-snakes; all of which are esteemed harmless.

The insects in Carolina are innumerable, as might naturally be expected from the heat of the climate and the moistness of the soil. Bees are found in several places, and they choose the hollow trees for their habitation; but whether they have been imported or not, is uncertain. The fire-fly is so called from its emitting sparks of fire in the night, resembling flashes from the strokes of steel upon flint. About the beginning of summer, when these insects are very numerous, they almost illuminate the woods. Millions of pestiferous gnats, called musquitoes, are hatched during the summer, and swarm over the country in such numbers that, during the day, it requires no small trouble for the inhabitants to defend themselves in every quarter against them; and during the night, gauze pavilions are necessarily

used, to exclude them from their beds; without which it is impossible to get any rest. The sand-flies are also vexatious insects, and exceedingly minute; yet, wherever they bite, their poison occasions itching and painful inflammation. Besides these, there are ticks, flies, wasps, and many more insects which are very troublesome. To these plagues; with which this country is cursed, we may also add the water wood-worms, which infest the rivers as far as the salt-water flows, eat the bottoms of vessels into the form of honeycombs, and prove extremely destructive to shipping.

About the year 1682, Governor West having incurred the displeasure of the proprietors, Joseph Morton, who had lately been created a landgrave, received a commission from Lord Craven, investing him with the government of the colony. About the same time, Joseph Blake sold his estate in England, and with his family and several substantial followers retired to Carolina. Lord Cardross also, a nobleman of Scotland, having formed a project for carrying over some of his countrymen to Carolina, embarked with a few families, and made an attempt to establish a colony on Port Royal Island; but observing the government in a confused and fluctuating state, he soon after returned to Britain. The island on which he left his few followers having excellent conveniencies for navigation, was a place of all others in the country the most advantageous for a settlement; but, to effect it, a greater number of emigrants was absolutely requisite. The Spaniards sent an armed force, and dislodged the Scotch settlers; after which no attempts were made, for many years, towards establishing a colony in that quarter.

The proprietors of Carolina had instructed Governor Morton to take all Indians within four hundred miles of Charleston under his protection, and to treat them with humanity and tenderness; but such instructions were very disagreeable to many of the people, especially to those members of the council who were concerned in the Indian trade; and therefore great opposition was raised to the execution of them. Maurice Mathews, James Moore, and Arthur Middleton, members of the council, warmly opposed the governor, while he proposed regulations for the peaceable management of Indians, and considered the proprietors as strangers to the interest of their colony, by such impolitic restrictions. The people who had lost some friends and relations by the savages, were also greatly irritated against them, and breathed nothing but vengeance and implacable resentment. These members of the council were removed from it for their disobedience; nevertheless they had such influence among the people, as to occasion great trouble to the governor, and totally to subvert his authority; in consequence of which, Joseph West appeared again at the head of the colony, and gave his assent to several laws made in it. During which time the people followed their former practice, of inveigling and

kidnapping Indians wherever they found them, and shipped them off to the West Indies, without any restraint from government.

Soon after, Governor West was superseded by Sir Richard Kirle, an Irish gentleman, who died six months after his arrival in the country. After his decease, Colonel Robert Quarry was chosen his successor. During the time of his government, a number of pirates put into Charleston, and purchased provisions with their Spanish gold and silver. These public robbers, instead of being taken and tried by the laws of England, were treated with great civility and friendship, in violation of the laws of nations. Whether the governor was ignorant of the treaty made with Spain, by which England had withdrawn its former toleration from these plunderers of the Spanish dominions; or whether he was afraid to bring them to trial from the notorious courage of their companions in the West Indies, we have not sufficient authority to affirm; but it is certain that Charles II., for several years after the restoration, connived at their depredations; and many of them performed such actions as, in a good cause, had justly merited honours and rewards. Even as the case was, Charles, out of mere whim, knighted Henry Morgan, a Welchman, who had plundered Porto Bello and Panama, and carried off large treasures from them. This body of plunderers was for several years so formidable in the West Indies, that they struck a terror into every quarter of the Spanish dominions. Their gold and silver, which they lavishly spent in the colony, ensured to them a kind reception among the Carolineans, who opened their ports to them freely, and furnished them with necessaries. They could purchase the favour of the governor, and the friendship of the people, for what they deemed a trifling consideration. Leaving their gold and silver behind them, for clothes, arms, ammunition, and provisions, they embarked in quest of more. However, the proprietors, having intelligence of the encouragement given to pirates by Governor Quarry, dismissed him from the office he held; and, in 1685, Landgrave Joseph Morton was reinstated in the government of the colony.

During the reign of James II., the hardships under which the people of Britain laboured, and the troubles they apprehended, brought much strength to the colonies. The unsuccessful or unfortunate are easily induced to emigrate; but the oppressed and persecuted are driven from their country, however closely their affections may cleave to it. Such imprudent attempts were made by this prince against what the nation highly revered, that many Protestants deserted it, preferring the hardships of the first state of colonization abroad, to oppression at home.

The next acquisition America gained, was from the revocation of the edict of Nantes; in consequence of which, the flames of persecution broke out in France, and drove many of its best subjects out of that kingdom. These Protestant refugees were beneficial in many respects to England and Hol-

land, and served greatly to promote the trade and manufactures of these nations. Among the other colonies in America which reaped advantage from this impolitic measure of France, Carolina had a large share. Many of the Protestant refugees, having purchased lands from the proprietors, embarked with their families for that colony, and proved some of its best and most industrious inhabitants.

The progress in cultivation which the colonists of Carolina had yet made was small, and the heat of the climate, and the labours of the field, had proved fatal to many of them. Yet their cattle increased in an amazing manner, and thrived exceedingly well in the forests. Having little winter, the woods furnished them with both shelter and provisions all the year; neither houses nor attendants were provided for them, but each planter's cattle, distinguished only by his mark, everywhere grazed with freedom. Hogs still fared better, and increased faster. The woods abounded with acorns, and roots of different kinds, on which they fed and fattened, and were reckoned most excellent food. Stocks of cattle, at this period, were a great object with the planters, for several reasons. Little labour was requisite to raise and render them profitable. The planters were at no trouble in building houses for them, nor at any expense in feeding them. If either cattle or hogs were fed, it must only have been intended to accustom them to keep nigh their owner's abode, or to return under his eye every evening. Besides, a planter fond of hunting might supply his family with game through the year, with which the woods abounded, and save his stock. Horses were also bred in the same manner, and though they degenerated greatly, they multiplied fast. No part of the world could prove more favourable to poultry of all kinds. By the trade of the colony to the West Indies, they had rum and sugar in return for their lumber and provisions; and England supplied them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and utensils, for building and cultivation, in exchange for their deer-skins, furs, and naval stores.

Turpentine is the gum in a liquid state of that species of the pine-tree called the pitch-pine, extracted by incision and the heat of the sun, while the tree is growing. The common manner of obtaining it, is as follows:—About the first of January, the persons employed in making turpentine begin to cut boxes in the trees, a little above the ground, and make them large or small, in proportion to the size of the tree; the box of a large tree will hold two English quarts; of a middling tree, one, and of a small one, a pint. About the middle of March, when the weather becomes warm, they begin to bleed, which is done by cutting about an inch into the sap of the tree with a joiner's hatchet; these channels made in the green standing tree, are framed so as to meet in a point where the boxes are made to receive the gum; then the bark is peeled off that side of the tree which is exposed to the sun, that the heat may extract the turpentine. After bleed-

ing, if rain should happen to fall, it not only condenses the sap, but also contracts the orifices of the vessels that discharge the gum, and therefore the trees must be bled afresh. About fourteen days after the bleeding, the boxes will be full of turpentine, and must be emptied into a barrel. When the boxes are full, an able hand will fill two barrels in a day. A thousand trees will yield at every gathering about two barrels and a half of turpentine, and it may be gathered once every fourteen days, till the frost comes, which chills the sap, and obliges the labourer to apply to some other employment, until the next season for boxing shall approach. The oil of turpentine is obtained by distillation; and rosin is the remainder of the turpentine, after the oil is distilled from it.

From the same pine-trees, tar and pitch are also made, but by a different mode of operation. "For extracting tar they prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little towards the centre, from which there is laid a pipe of wood, extending almost horizontally two feet without the circumference, and so let into the ground, that its upper side may be level with the floor: at the outer end of this pipe they dig a hole large enough to hold the barrels of tar, which, when forced out of the wood, naturally runs to the centre of the floor as the lowest part, and from thence along the pipe into the barrels. Matters being thus prepared, they raise upon the clay floor a large pile of dry pine-wood, split in pieces, and enclose the whole pile with a wall of earth, leaving only a little hole in the top, where the fire is to be kindled; when that is done, and the inclosed wood begins to burn, the whole is stopped up with earth, that there may be no flame, but only heat sufficient to force the tar out of the wood, and make it run down to the floor. They temper the heat as they think proper, by thrusting a stick through the wall of earth, and letting the air in at as many places as they judge necessary. As to pitch, it is nothing more than the solid part of the tar separated from the liquid by boiling."

As Carolina abounds with this kind of pine-trees, vast quantities of pitch, tar, and turpentine, might have been made in it. At this early period, the settlers, having little strength to fell the thick forest, and clear the lands for cultivating grain, naturally applied themselves to such articles as were in demand in England, and for procuring which moderate labour was requisite. Lumber was a bulky article, and required a number of ships to export it. Naval stores were more valuable and less bulky, at the same time that the labour necessary to obtain them was easier, and more adapted to European constitutions. The province as yet could supply Britain with a very inconsiderable quantity of naval stores; but by encouraging the planters in preparing them, the expense of its vast importations from the Baltic might have been in some measure saved to the nation.

Though Governor Morton was possessed of a considerable share of wisdom, and was connected with several respectable families in the colony, yet

so inconsistent were his instructions from England, with the prevailing views and interests of the people, that he was unable, without great trouble, to execute the duties of his trust. He was a man of a sober and religious temper of mind, and had married a Mr. Blake's sister, lately arrived from England, by which alliance it was hoped the hands of government would be strengthened, and a check given to the more licentious and irregular party of the people. His council was composed of John Boone, Maurice Mathews, John Godfrey, Andrew Percival, Arthur Middleton, James Moore, and others; some of whom differed widely from him in opinion with respect to public measures, and claimed greater indulgences for the people than he had authority to grant. Hence two parties arose in the colony: one in support of the prerogative and authority of the proprietors, the other in defence of the liberties of the people. The former contended, that the laws and regulations received from England respecting government, ought to be strictly and implicitly observed: the latter kept in view their local circumstances, and maintained, that the freemen of the colony were under obligations to observe them only so far as they were consistent with the interest of individuals, and the prosperity of the settlement. In this situation of affairs, no governor could long support his power among a number of bold adventurers, who improved every hour for advancing the interest, and could bear no restraints which had the least tendency to defeat their favourite views and designs: for whenever he attempted to interpose his feeble authority, they insulted his person and complained of his administration, till he was removed from his office.

The proprietors also finding it prudent to change their governor so soon as he became obnoxious to the people, James Colleton at this time was appointed to supersede Joseph Morton. He was a brother to Sir Peter Colleton, one of the proprietors, but was possessed neither of his address nor abilities for the management of public affairs. He left Barbadoes and retired to Carolina, where he built an excellent house on Cooper river, in hopes of settling in that country, and long enjoying, by the influence of his brother, the emoluments of his office in tranquillity and happiness. To give him the greater weight, he was created a landgrave of the colony, to which dignity forty-eight thousand acres of land were unalienably annexed: but to his mortification he soon found, that the proprietary government had acquired but little firmness and stability, and by his imprudence and rigour, fell into still greater disrespect and contempt.

About the year 1687, having called an assembly of the representatives, he proposed to make some new regulations respecting the government of the colony. Having examined the fundamental constitutions, and finding the people disposed to make many objections to them, he thought proper to nominate a committee, to consider wherein they were improper or defective, and to make such alterations and amendments in them as they

judged might be conducive to the welfare of the country. This committee consisted of the governor, Paul Grimball, the secretary, William Dunlop, Bernard Schinking, Thomas Smith, John Far, and Joseph Blake. Accordingly, by these men a new code of laws was framed, consisting of many articles different from the former, which they called "Standing Laws," and transmitted to England for the approbation of the proprietors. These standing laws, however, the proprietors rejected, and insisted on the observance of the fundamental constitutions; and all the while the people treated both with equal indifference and neglect.

At this early period, a dissatisfaction with the proprietary government appeared, and began to gain ground among the people. A dispute having arisen between the governor and the house of Assembly about the tenures of lands and the payment of quit-rents, Landgrave Colleton determined to exert his authority, in compelling the people to pay up their arrears of quit-rents, which, though very trifling and inconsiderable, were burdensome, as not one acre out of a thousand of these lands for which quit-rents were demanded, yielded them any profit. For this purpose, he wrote to the proprietors, requesting them to appoint such deputies as he knew to be most favourably disposed towards their government, and would most readily assist him in the execution of his office. Hence the interest of the proprietors and that of the people were placed in opposition, and the more rigorously the governor exerted his authority, the more turbulent the people became. At last they proceeded to avowed usurpation: they issued writs in their own name, and held assemblies in opposition to the governor and the authority of the proprietors. Letters from England, containing deputations to persons obnoxious to the people, they seized and suppressed, and appointed other men better affected to the popular cause. Paul Grimball, the secretary of the province, they imprisoned, and forcibly took possession of the public records. The militia act they refused to settle, because recommended by the governor, even though their own security depended on it. In short, the little community was turned into a scene of confusion, and every man acted as he thought proper, without any regard to legal authority, and in contempt of the governor and other officers of the proprietors.

Landgrave Colleton, mortified at the loss of power, and alarmed at the bold and seditious spirit of the people, was not a little perplexed what step to take in order to recall them to the obedience of legal authority. Gentle means he perceived would be vain and ineffectual. One expedient was suggested, which he and his council flattered themselves might be productive of the desired effect, and induce the people through fear to return to his standard, and stand by the person who alone had authority to punish mutiny and sedition, which was to proclaim the martial law, and try to maintain by force of arms the proprietary jurisdiction. Accordingly, without acquainting the people with his design, he caused the militia to be

drawn up, as if some danger had threatened the country, and publicly proclaimed the martial law at their head. His design, however, did not long remain a secret, and when discovered, served only to exasperate the people the more. The members of the Assembly met, and taking this measure under their deliberation, resolved, that it was an encroachment upon their liberties, and an unwarrantable exertion of power, at a time when the colony was in no danger from any foreign enemy. The governor, however, insisted on the articles of war, and tried to carry the martial law into execution; but the disaffection was too general to admit of such a remedy. In the year 1690, at a meeting of the representatives, a bill was brought in and passed, for disabling Landgrave James Colleton from holding any office, or exercising any authority, civil or military, within the province; and so outrageous were they against him, that they gave him notice, that in a limited time, he must depart from the country.

During these public commotions, Seth Sothell, pretending to be a proprietor, by virtue of some regulations lately made in England, usurped the government of the colony. At first the people seemed disposed to acknowledge his authority, while the current of their enmity ran against Landgrave Colleton; and as he had stood forth as an active and leading man in opposition to that governor, and ratified the law for his exclusion and banishment: but, afterwards, finding him to be void of every principle of honour and honesty, they persecuted him also, with deserved and implacable enmity. Such was the insatiable avarice of this usurper, that his popularity was of short duration. Every restraint of common justice and equity was trampled upon by him; and oppression, such as usually attends the exaltation of vulgar and ambitious scramblers for power, extended her rod of iron over the distracted colony. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda were seized as pirates, by order of this popular governor, and confined until such fees as he was pleased to exact were paid him: bribes from felons and traitors were accepted to favour their escape from the hands of justice: plantations were forcibly taken possession of, upon pretences the most frivolous and unjust, and planters were compelled to give bonds for large sums of money, to procure from him liberty to remain in possession of their property. These, and many more acts of the like atrocious nature, did this rapacious governor commit, during the short time of his administration, to increase his fees as governor and proprietor. At length, the people, weary of his impositions and extortions, agreed to take him by force, and ship him off for England. To his other vile qualities he added meanness of spirit, and humbly begged of them liberty to remain in the country, promising to submit his conduct to the trial of the Assembly at their first meeting. When the Assembly met, thirteen different charges were brought against him, and all supported by the strongest evidence: upon which, being found guilty, they compelled him to abjure the govern-

ment and country for ever. An account of his conduct was drawn up and sent to the proprietors, which filled them with indignation. He was ordered to England, to answer the accusations brought against him, before the palatine's court, and, in case of refusal, was given to understand it would be taken as a further evidence and confirmation of his guilt. The law for disabling Landgrave James Colleton from holding any authority, civil or military, in Carolina, was repealed, and strict orders were sent out to the Grand Council, to support the power and prerogative of the proprietors. To compose the minds of the people, they declared their detestation of such unwarrantable and wanton oppression, and protested that no governor should ever be permitted to oppress them; enjoining them, at the same time, to return to the obedience of their magistrates, and subjection to legal authority.

Hitherto, this little community had been a scene of continual contention and misery. The fundamental constitutions, which the proprietors thought the most excellent form of government possible, had been little regarded. The governors had been either ill qualified for their office, or the instructions given them had been unacceptable to the people. The inhabitants, far from living in friendship and harmony among themselves, had also been seditious and ungovernable. Indeed, while the proprietary government continued to be thus weak and unstable, its authority could be little respected; and while the encouragement given to civil officers and magistrates was trifling and inconsiderable, men of judgment and ability would not throw away their time and pains for supporting the honour and authority of others, which might be otherwise employed to purposes more advantageous to themselves. The titles of landgraves and caciques did not compensate for the loss of such time and labour, especially when they were only joined with large tracts of land which, for want of hands, must lie uncultivated. The money arising from quit-rents and the sale of lands was inconsiderable, hard to be collected, and by no means adequate to the support of government. The proprietors were unwilling to involve their English estates for the improvement of American property; and hence their government was feeble and ill supported in Carolina.

The French Protestant refugees met with encouragement in England after King William's accession to the throne, and the parliament voted fifteen thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed among persons of rank, and all such as through age or infirmities were unable to support themselves or families. To artificers and manufacturers encouragement was offered in England and Ireland, which contributed much to the improvement of the silk and linen manufactures of these kingdoms. To husbandmen and merchants agreeable prospects were opened in the British colonies; and, in 1690, the king sent a large body of these people to Virginia. Lands were allotted them on the banks of St. James's river, which.

by their industry, they soon improved into excellent estates. Others purchased lands from the proprietors of Carolina, transported themselves and families to that quarter, and settled a colony on Santee river. Others, who were merchants and mechanics, took up their residence in Charleston, and followed their different occupations. At this period these new settlers were a great acquisition to Carolina. They had taken the oath of allegiance to the king, and promised fidelity to the proprietors. They were disposed to look on the colonists, whom they had joined, in the favourable light of brethren and fellow-adventurers, and though they understood not the English language, yet they were desirous of living in peace with their neighbours, and willing to stand forth on all occasions of danger with them for the common safety and defence.

About the same time Philip Ludwell, a gentleman from Virginia, being appointed governor of Carolina, arrived in the province. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had been general of the Leeward Islands in the reign of King James, being created a cacique of Carolina, after the Revolution retired to that country, and took his seat as a member of the council. The proprietors having found the fundamental constitutions disagreeable to the people, and ineffectual for the purposes of government, repealed all their former laws and regulations, excepting those called Agrarian Laws, and sent out a new plan of government to Mr. Ludwell, consisting of forty-three articles of instruction, for the better management of their colony. The inhabitants, who had been long in a turbulent state, were enjoined to obedience; but liberty was granted to the representatives of the people to frame such laws as they judged necessary to the public welfare, which were to continue in force for two years, but no longer, unless they were in the mean time ratified and confirmed by the palatine and three more proprietors. Lands for the caciques and landgraves were ordered to be marked out in square plats, and freedom was granted them to choose their situation. Hitherto the planters remained utter strangers to the value and fertility of the low lands; the swamps were, therefore, carefully avoided, and large tracts of the higher lands, which were esteemed more precious, were surveyed, and marked out for estates by the provincial nobility.

Governor Ludwell, who was a man of great humanity, and considerable knowledge and experience in provincial affairs, by the many indulgences he was authorized to grant, had the good fortune to allay the ferment among the people, and reconcile them to the proprietors. But this domestic tranquillity was of short duration. New sources of discontent broke out from a different quarter. He had instructions to allow the French colony, settled in Craven county, the same privileges and liberties with the English colonists. Several of the refugees being possessed of considerable property in France, had sold it, and brought the money with them to

England. Having purchased large tracts of land with this money, they sat down in more advantageous circumstances than the poorer part of English emigrants. Some of them, who had gone to the northern provinces, hearing of the kind treatment and great encouragement their brethren had received in Carolina, joined their countrymen there. Having clergymen of their own persuasion, for whom they entertained the highest respect and veneration, they were disposed to encourage them as much as their narrow circumstances would admit. Governor Ludwell received the foreigners with great civility, and was not a little solicitous to provide them with settlements equal to their expectations. While these refugees were entering on the hard task of clearing and cultivating spots of land, encouraging and relieving each other as much as was in their power, the English settlers began to revive the odious distinctions and rooted antipathies of the two nations, and to consider them as aliens and foreigners, entitled by law to none of the privileges and advantages of natural-born subjects. The governor had instructions to allow them six representatives in Assembly; which privilege the Englishmen considered as contrary to the English laws, and beyond the power of the proprietors to grant; and, instead of considering these persecuted strangers as fellow-labourers, they began to execute the laws of England respecting aliens in their utmost rigour against them. Their turbulent spirits thought it a degradation to receive laws in common with Frenchmen, who they said were the favourers of a system of slavery and absolute government. In this unfavourable light they were held forth to the people, to their great prejudice, and the occasioning no small jealousies and apprehensions in the colony.

The refugees, alarmed at these proceedings, and discouraged at the prospect of being deprived of all the rights and liberties of British subjects, began to suspect that the oppression of England would fall heavier upon them than that of France, from which they had fled. Dejected at the thoughts of labouring they knew not for whom, if their children could not reap the fruits of their labours, or if their estates should escheat to the proprietors at their decease, they could consider themselves only as deceived and imposed upon by false promises and prospects; and after holding several consultations among themselves about their deplorable circumstances, they agreed to state their case before the proprietors, and beg their advice. In answer to which, the proprietors instructed Governor Ludwell to inform them, "that they would inquire what does in law qualify an alien born for the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of English subjects, and in due time let them know; that, for their part, they would take no advantages of the present grievous circumstances of the refugees; that their lands should descend to such persons as they thought proper to bequeath them; that the children of such as had been married in the same way were not deemed bastards in England, nor could they be

considered as such in Carolina, where such unlimited toleration was allowed to all men by their charter." Though this served in some measure to compose the minds of the refugees, yet while the people harboured prejudices against them, the relief was only partial; and at the next election of members to serve in the Assembly, Craven county, in which they lived, was not allowed a single representative.

From the first settlement of the colony, the common method of obtaining lands in it was by purchase, either from the proprietors themselves, or from officers commissioned by them, who disposed of them agreeably to their directions. Twenty pounds sterling for one thousand acres of land, and more or less, in proportion to the quantity, was commonly demanded, although the proprietors might accept of any acknowledgment they thought proper. The emigrants having obtained warrants, had liberty to go in search of vacant ground, and to fix upon such spots as they judged most valuable and convenient. This was surveyed, and marked out to them according to the extent of their purchase, and plats and grants were signed, registered and delivered to them, reserving one shilling quit-rent for every hundred acres, to be paid annually to the proprietors. Such persons as could not advance the sum demanded by way of purchase obtained lands on condition of paying one penny annual rent for every acre to the landlords. The former, however, was the common method of obtaining landed estates in Carolina, and the tenure was a freehold. The refugees having purchased their estates, and meeting with such harsh treatment from the colonists, were greatly discouraged, and became apprehensive, notwithstanding the promises of the proprietors, that they had only escaped one abyss of misery to plunge themselves deeper into another.

About this time forty men arrived in a privateer, called the *Royal Jamaica*, who had been engaged in a course of piracy, and brought into the country a great quantity of Spanish gold and silver. These men were allowed to enter into recognisances for their good behaviour for one year, with securities, till the governor should hear whether the proprietors would grant them a general indemnity.

At another time a vessel was shipwrecked on the coast, the crew of which openly and boldly confessed they had been on the Red Sea plundering the dominions of the Great Mogul: an assertion which proved as unfortunate to themselves as it was apparently incorrect; for it is difficult to say when the Mogul Empire was extended to the Red Sea: it probably means the ships of that monarch. The proprietors were disposed to consider piracy in an inimical manner, and, therefore, instructed Governor Ludwell to change the form of electing juries, and required that all pirates should be tried and punished by the laws of England, made for the suppression of piracy. Before such instructions reached Carolina, the pirates,



by their money and freedom of intercourse with the people, had so ingratiated themselves into the public favour, that it was become no easy matter to bring them to trial, and dangerous to punish them as they deserved. The courts of law became scenes of altercation, discord,

and confusion. Bold and seditious speeches were made from the bar, in contempt of the proprietors and their government. Since no pardons could be obtained but such as they had authorized the governor to grant, the Assembly took the matter under deliberation, and fell into hot debates among themselves about a bill of indemnity. When they found the governor disposed to refuse his assent to such a bill, they made a law empowering magistrates and judges to put in force the habeas corpus act made in England. Hence it happened, that several of those pirates escaped, purchased lands from the colonists, and took up their residence in the country. While money flowed into the colony in this channel, the authority of government was a barrier too feeble to stem the tide, and prevent such illegal practices. At length the proprietors, to gratify the people, granted an indemnity to all the pirates, excepting those who had been said to have plundered the Great Mogul, most of whom found means of making their escape out of the country.

In this community there subsisted a constant struggle between the people and the officers of the proprietors: the former claiming great exemptions and indulgences, on account of their indigent and dangerous circumstances; the latter being anxious to discharge the duties of their trust, and to comply with the instructions of their superiors. When quit-rents were demanded, some refused payment, and others had nothing to offer. When actions were brought against all those who were in arrears, the poor planters murmured and complained among themselves, and were discontented at the terms of holding their lands, though, comparatively speaking, easy and advantageous. It was impossible for any governor to please both parties. The fees also of their courts and sheriffs were such, that, in all actions of small value, they exceeded the debt to be recovered by them. To remedy this inconvenience, the Assembly made a law for empowering

justices of the peace to hear, and finally to determine, all causes of forty shillings sterling value and under. This was equally agreeable to the people, as it was otherwise to the officers of justice. At length, to gratify the planters, the governor proposed to the Assembly, to consider of a new form of a deed for holding lands, by which he encroached on the prerogative of the proprietors, who had reserved to themselves the sole power of judging in such a case, incurred their displeasure, and was soon after removed from the government.

To find another man equally well qualified for the trust, was a matter at this time of no small difficulty to the proprietors. Thomas Smith, possessed of considerable property, was much esteemed by the people for his good sense and sobriety; and such a person they deemed would be the most proper to succeed Ludwell, as he would naturally be both zealous and active in promoting the prosperity of the settlement. Accordingly, a patent was sent out to him, creating him a landgrave, and, together with it, a commission, investing him with the government of the colony. Mr. Ludwell returned to Virginia, happily relieved from a troublesome office, and Landgrave Smith, under all possible advantages, entered on it. He was previously acquainted with the state of the colony, and with it the tempers and complexions of the leading men in it. He knew that the interest of the proprietors and the prosperity of the settlement were inseparably connected; and he was disposed to allow the people, struggling under many hardships, every indulgence consistent with the duties of his trust. No stranger could have been appointed to the government that could boast of being in circumstances equally favourable and advantageous.

About this time a fortunate accident happened, which occasioned the introduction of rice into Carolina, a commodity which was afterwards found very suitable to the climate and soil of the country. A brigantine, from the island of Madagascar, touching at that place in her way to Britain, came to anchor off Sullivan's island. There Landgrave Smith, upon an invitation from the captain, paid him a visit, and received from him a present of a bag of seed-rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food, and produced an incredible increase. The governor divided his bag of rice between Stephen Bull, Joseph Woodward, and some other friends, who agreed to make the experiment, and planted their small parcels in different soils. Upon trial they found it answer their highest expectations. Some years afterwards, Mr. Du Bois, treasurer to the East India Company, sent a bag of seed-rice to Carolina, which, it is supposed, gave rise to the distinction of red and white rice, which are both cultivated in that country. Several years, however, elapsed, before the planters found out the art of beating and cleaning it to perfection, or discovered that the lowest and richest lands were best

adapted to the nature of the grain ; yet, from this period, the colonists persevered in planting it, and every year gave them greater encouragement. From this small beginning did the staple commodity of Carolina take its rise, which soon became the chief support of the colony, and its great source of opulence. Besides provisions for man and beast, as rice employs a number of hands in trade, it became also a source of naval strength to the nation, and of course more beneficial to it, than even mines of silver and gold.

With the introduction of rice planting into this country, and the fixing upon it as its staple commodity, the necessity of employing African slaves for the purpose of cultivation was coupled ; a circumstance which could only be justified if their labour had been voluntary, and they had been induced to settle in a climate not unsuitable to their constitution.

During the government of Cromwell in England, considerations of mercantile profit became connected with those of government. After the conquest of Jamaica, it was resolved, that the nation should make a commercial profit of every colony that had been, or should be, planted in the western world. At the Restoration, the same turn in politics was also adopted, and the parliament which brought about that great event made a law, by which it was enacted, that no sugar, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dyeing wood, of the growth of any English plantation in Asia, Africa, or America, should be transported to any other place than to some English plantation, or to England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, upon pain of forfeiture of ship and goods ; that, for every vessel sailing from England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, bond shall be given, with security of a thousand or two thousand pounds sterling, money of Great Britain, that if she load any of the said commodities at such plantations, she shall bring them to some port of these English dominions. And for every vessel coming to the said plantations, the governor shall, before she be permitted to load, take such bond as aforesaid, that she shall carry such commodities to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick-upon-Tweed. This laid the foundation of what was afterwards called "enumerated commodities;" and to these already mentioned, rice, hemp, copper-ore, beaver-skins, and naval stores, were afterwards added, and, with some exceptions, subjected to the same restraint.

This navigation law, though it cramped the trade of the colonies, yet has been attended with many beneficial consequences to Britain : and while it maintained the supreme power of legislation throughout the empire, and wisely regulated the trade and commerce of its foreign settlements, it might reap many and substantial advantages from them. It might render them a market for its own manufactures, and at the same time supply itself with such commodities as its northern climate obliged to purchase from other nations. By such means it might enlarge com-

merce and trade, at the same time it increased its naval strength. Colonies planted in the same latitude with the parent state, raising the same productions, and enjoying the same privileges, must in time be both detrimental and dangerous; for while they drain it of inhabitants, they are growing strong upon its ruins. They meet at the same market with the same commodities, a competition arises between them, and occasions jealousies, quarrels, and animosities.

From Carolina, indeed, Britain had less to fear than from the more northern colonies, as the latitude was more remote, and the soil better suited to different productions. Here the people naturally engaged in pursuits different from those of the mother-country, and a mutual exchange of commodities and good offices would of consequence the more necessarily take place. They might barter their skins, furs, and naval stores, for clothes, arms, ammunition, and utensils necessary for cultivation, imported from England. They might send their provisions, lumber, and Indian captives to the West Indies, and receive the luxuries of these islands, and the refuse of their cargoes of slaves, in return, without any prejudice to Britain: for as the two climates differed greatly, they were of consequence adapted to different articles of produce. To such staples the first views of the planters ought to have been chiefly directed, and, for their encouragement in raising them, premiums from the proprietors might have been attended with the most beneficial effects.

Before this time, the Carolinians had found out the policy of setting one tribe of Indians against another, on purpose to save themselves. By trifling presents they purchased the friendship of some tribes, whom they employed to carry on war with others, which not only diverted their attention from them, but encouraged them to bring captives to Charleston, for the purpose of transportation to the West Indies, and the advantage of trade.

In the year 1693, twenty Cherokee chiefs waited on Governor Smith, with presents and proposals of friendship, craving the protection of government against the Esaw and Congaree Indians, who had destroyed several of their towns, and taken a number of their people prisoners. They complained also of the outrages of the Savanna Indians, for selling their countrymen, contrary to former regulations established among the different tribes; and begged the governor to restore their relations, and protect them against such insidious enemies. The governor declared to them, that there was nothing he wished for more than friendship and peace with the Cherokee warriors, and would do every thing in his power for their defence: that the prisoners were already gone, and could not be recalled; but that he would for the future take care that a stop should be put to the custom of sending them out of the country. At the same time the Chihawking complained of the cruel treatment he had received from John Palmer

who had barbarously beat and cut him with his broad-sword. In answer to which charge Palmer was contumacious, and protested, in defiance and contempt of both governor and council, that he would again treat him in like manner upon the same provocation; for which he was ordered into custody, until he asked pardon of the house, and found security for his future peaceable behaviour to the Indians. Such instances of harsh treatment serve to account for many outrages of Indian nations, who were neither insensible to the common feelings of human nature, nor ignorant of the grievous frauds and impositions they suffered in the course of traffic. By some planters, indeed, they were used with greater humanity, and employed as servants to cultivate their lands, or hunt for fresh provisions to their families; and as the woods abounded with deer, rabbits, turkeys, geese, ducks, snipes, &c., which were all accounted game, an expert hunter was of great service in a plantation, and could furnish a family with more provisions than they could consume.

With respect to government, Carolina still remained in a confused and turbulent state. Complaints from every quarter were made to the governor, who was neither able to quiet the minds of the people, nor afford them the relief they wanted. The French refugees were uneasy that there was no provincial law to secure their estates to the heirs of their body, or the next in kin, and were afraid that their lands at their death would escheat to the proprietors, and their children become beggars, notwithstanding their industry and application; and concluded that, in such case, the sooner they removed from the colony, the better it would be for themselves and their posterity. The English colonists not only kept up variances among themselves, but also perplexed the governor with their complaints of hardships and grievances. At last, Landgrave Smith wrote to the proprietors, and frankly told them, that he despaired of ever uniting the people in interest and affection; that he and many more, weary of the fluctuating state of public affairs, had resolved to leave the province; and that he was convinced nothing would bring the settlers to a state of tranquillity and harmony, but the arrival of one of the proprietors, with full powers to redress grievances and settle differences.

The proprietors, astonished at the discontented and turbulent spirit of the people, yet anxious to prevent the settlement from being deserted and ruined, resolved to try the remedy Smith had suggested; and, accordingly, selected Lord Ashley to visit Carolina, and invested him with full powers to establish such regulations as he judged most conducive to the peace and welfare of the colony. Lord Ashley, however, having either little inclination to the voyage, or being detained in England by business of greater consequence, John Archdale agreed to embark in his place. Archdale was a man of considerable knowledge and discretion, a Quaker, and a proprie-

tor ; and great trust was reposed in him, and much was expected from his negotiations.

In the mean time, Landgrave Smith having resigned his charge, Daniel Blake was chosen governor, until the pleasure of the proprietors was known. To so great a height had the antipathy of the English settlers to the French refugees now grown, that they insisted on their total exclusion from a voice in the legislature ; and for this purpose an address was prepared and signed by a great number of them, and presented to Governor Blake, praying that the refugees might not only be denied the privilege of sitting as members of the legislative body, but also of a vote at their election, and that the Assembly might be composed only of English members, chosen by Englishmen. Their request, however, being contrary to the instructions of the proprietors, Blake, it is probable, judged beyond his power to grant, and therefore matters relating to them continued in the same unsettled state, until the arrival of Governor Archdale, which happened about the middle of the year 1695.

The arrival of this pious man occasioned no small joy among all the settlers, who crowded about him, each expecting some favour or indulgence. Amidst the general joy, private animosities and civil discord seemed for a while to lie buried in oblivion. The governor soon found, that three interesting matters demanded his particular attention. The first was, to restore harmony and peace among the colonists themselves ; the second, to reconcile them to the jurisdiction and authority of the proprietors ; and the third, to regulate their policy and traffic with the Indian tribes. For these purposes he summoned his council for advice, and the commissions to the different deputies were read. The members appointed were Joseph Blake, Stephen Bull, James Moore, Paul Grimball, Thomas Carey, John Beresford, and William Hawett. All former judges of the courts, officers of the militia, and justices of the peace, were continued in their respective offices. But such was the national antipathy of the English settlers to the poor French refugees, that Archdale found their total exclusion from all concern in legislation was absolutely necessary to the peaceable convocation of the delegates, and therefore issued writs directing them only to Berkeley and Colleton counties. Ten members for the one, and ten for the other, all Englishmen, were accordingly chosen by the freemen of the same nation. At their meeting, the governor made a seasonable speech to both houses, acquainting them with the design of his appointment, his regard for the colony, and great desire of contributing towards its peace and prosperity. They, in return, presented affectionate addresses to him, and entered on public business, with great temper and unanimity. Many matters of general concern, by the governor's sensible discretion, were settled to the satisfaction of all, excepting the French refugees. The price of lands and the form of conveyances were fixed by law. Three years' rent was remitted

to those who held land by grant, and four years to such as held them by survey, without grant. Such lands as had escheated to the proprietors, were ordered to be let out or sold for their lordships' benefit. It was agreed to take the arrears of quit-rents either in money or commodities, as should be most easy and convenient for the planters. Magistrates were appointed, for hearing all causes between the settlers and Indians, and finally determining all differences between them. Public roads were ordered to be made, and water passages cut, for the more easy conveyance of produce to the market. Some former laws were altered, and such new statutes made as were judged requisite for the good government and peace of the colony. In short, public affairs began to put on an agreeable aspect, and to promise fair towards the future progress and welfare of the settlement. But as for the French refugees, all the governor could do for them was, to recommend it to the English freeholders to consider them in the most friendly and compassionate point of light, and to treat them with lenity and moderation.

No man could entertain more benevolent sentiments, with respect to the ignorant savages, than Governor Archdale; his compassion for them was probably one of the weighty motives which induced him to undertake the voyage to this country. To protect them against insults, and establish a fair trade and friendly intercourse with them, were regulations which both humanity required, and sound policy dictated. But such was the rapacious spirit of individuals, that it could be curbed by no authority. Many advantages were taken of the ignorance of Indians in the way of traffic. The seizing and selling them for slaves to the West Indian planters, the colonists could not be prevailed on entirely to resign, without much reluctance. At this time a war raged between two Indian nations, the one living in the British, the other in the Spanish territories. The Yamassees, a powerful tribe in Carolina, having made an incursion into Florida, took a number of Indians prisoners, whom they brought to Charleston for sale to the provincial traders to Jamaica and Barbadoes. Governor Archdale no sooner heard of their arrival, than he ordered the Spanish Indians to be brought to him, and finding that they had been instructed in the rites and principles of the Catholic religion, he represented it as an atrocious crime to sell Christians of any denomination. To maintain a good understanding between the two provinces, he sent the prisoners to Augustine, and along with them the Yamassees warriors, to treat of peace with the Indians of Florida. The Spanish governor wrote a letter to Mr. Archdale, thanking him for his humanity, and expressing a desire to live on terms of friendship and peace with the Carolinians. In consequence of which, Governor Archdale issued orders to all Indians in the British interest, to forbear molesting those under the jurisdiction of Spain. The two kings being at that time confederates, the like orders were issued at St. Augustine, and in a short time they were attended with beneficial effects. Such wise steps served not only to prevent

slaughter and misery among these savages themselves, but an English vessel being accidentally shipwrecked on the coast of Florida, the Indians did the crew no harm, but, on the contrary, conducted them safe to Augustine, where the commandant furnished them with provisions, and sent them to the English settlements.

Governor Archdale did not confine his views to the establishment of a good correspondence with Indian nations on the south of this settlement, but extended them also to those on the north side of it. Stephen Bull, a member of the council and an Indian trader, at his request, entered into a treaty of friendship with the Indians living on the coast of North Carolina. This proved also favourable for some adventurers from New England, who were soon after the conclusion of the treaty shipwrecked on that coast. These emigrants got all safe to land, but finding themselves surrounded by barbarians, expected nothing but instant death. However, to defend themselves in the best manner they could, they encamped in a body on the shore, and drew up an intrenchment around them; where they remained until their small stock of provisions was almost exhausted. The Indians, by making signs of friendship, frequently invited them to quit their camp; but they were afraid to trust them, until hunger urged them to run the hazard at all events. After they came out, the Indians received them with great civility, and not only furnished them with provisions, but also permitted some of them peaceably to travel overland to Charleston, to acquaint the governor with their misfortune. Upon which a vessel was sent to North Carolina, which brought them to Cooper river, on the north side of which lands were allotted them for their accommodation; and they formed that settlement afterwards known by the name of Christ's church parish.



About the same time, two Indians of different tribes being intoxicated with liquor, a vice which they learned from the English settlers, fell out at Charleston, and one murdered the other. Among these barbarians, not to avenge the death of a friend is considered as pusillanimous,

and whenever death ensues, drunkenness, accident, or even self-defence, are in their eyes no extenuation of the crime. The relations of the deceased, hearing of his death, immediately came to Charleston, and demanded satisfaction. Governor Archdale, who had confined the murderer, being desirous to save his life, offered them a compensation; but they refused it, and insisted on blood for blood, and death for death, according to the law

of retaliation. To prevent the quarrel spreading wider among them, he was obliged to deliver the prisoner up to punishment and death. While they were conducting him to the place of execution, his king, coming up to him, enjoined him, since he must die, to stand and die like a man; adding, at the same time, that he had often warned him of the danger of rum, and now he must lose his life for neglecting his counsel. When he had advanced to the stake to which he was to be fastened, he desired that they would not bind him, promising not to stir a foot from the spot; and accordingly he did not, but with astonishing resolution braved the terrors of death.

It may now be thought a matter of surprise by some men, especially by such as know the advantages of agriculture, that the proprietors of Carolina, who were men of knowledge, and zealous for the interest and improvement of the colony, paid so little regard to the only thing upon which the subsistence of the inhabitants and the success of the settlement depended. Instead of framing codes of laws, and modelling the government of the country on principles of speculation, in which men are always in danger of error, especially when living in a different climate, far remote from the country they mean to govern; had they established a plantation in it for the particular purpose of making experiments, to find out what productions were most suitable to the soil and climate; this would have been of more real use than all the visionary laws they ever framed. The first planters were men of little knowledge or substance, many of them utter strangers to the arts of agriculture; and those who had been accustomed to husbandry in Europe followed the same rules, and planted the same grain in Carolina, as they had formerly done in England; which were by no means adapted to the climate. They proceeded in their old method, exhausted their strength in fruitless efforts, without presuming to imagine that different articles of produce, and a deviation from the European modes of cultivation, could be beneficial. Hence the planters, though they had lands on the easiest terms, remained poor; and the fault was occasioned more by their ignorance and inexperience than by the climate or soil.

Governor Archdale, having finished his negotiations in Carolina, made preparations for returning to England. During his time, though the government had acquired considerable respect and stability, yet the differences among the people still remained. Former animosities were rather smothered for awhile than extinguished, and were ready on the first occasion to break out again with greater violence. Before he embarked, the council presented to him an address, to be transmitted to the proprietors, expressing the deep sense they had of their lordships' paternal care for their colony, in the appointment of a man of such abilities and integrity to the government, who had been so happily instrumental in establishing its peace and security. They told them, they had now no contending factions

in government, or clashing interests among the people, excepting what respected the French refugees; that, by the governor's prudent conduct, they hoped all misunderstandings between their lordships and the colonists were now happily removed; that they would for the future cheerfully concur with them in every measure for the speedy population and improvement of the country; that they were now levying money for building fortifications, to defend the province against foreign attacks, and that they would strive to maintain harmony and peace among themselves. Governor Archdale received this address with peculiar satisfaction, and promised to present it to the proprietors on his arrival in England. Being empowered to nominate a lieutenant-governor, he made choice of Joseph Blake for his successor, and embarked for England about the close of the year 1696.

After Mr. Archdale's arrival in England, he laid this address, together with a state of the country, and the regulations he had established in it, before the proprietors, and showed them the necessity of abolishing many articles in the constitutions, and framing a new plan of government. Accordingly, they began to compile new constitutions; and from his information and intelligence forty-one different articles were drawn up and sent out by Robert Daniel, for the better government of the colony. But when the governor laid these new laws before the Assembly for their assent and approbation, recommending the careful perusal and consideration of them, they treated them as they had done the former constitutions, and, instead of taking them under deliberation, modestly laid them aside.

A treaty of peace having been concluded between England and France, a project was formed by Louis XIV. for establishing a French colony at the mouth of the great river Mississippi. To that immense territory lying to the eastward of that river, and extending along the back of the Appalachian mountains, from the Mexican seas to Canada, he laid claim, which in honour of him was afterwards called Louisiana. Some discerning men in England early warned the nation of danger to the British settlements from a French colony established in this quarter; yet many years elapsed before they began to feel the inconvenience arising from it. It was foreseen, that, besides the Spaniards, another competitor for power and dominion would spring up, in a situation where they had a fair opportunity of engrossing the trade and affections of Indian tribes, and harassing the weakest frontiers of the British colonies: and doubtless, from the influence and address of the Frenchmen among the Indians, the English settlers had more to fear than from the religious zeal and bigotry of the indolent Spanish settlers.

John, earl of Bath, having succeeded Lord Craven as palatine, several persons of character and influence in Carolina were by him created land-graves; among whom, were Edmund Ballenger, John Bayley, and Robert Daniel: and Edmund Bohun was appointed chief justice of the colony

About the same time Nicholas Trott, a learned and ambitious man, left the Bahama islands, and took up his residence in Carolina. Numbers from different quarters continued to resort to this country, and, notwithstanding its warm and unhealthy climate, the flattering prospects of landed estates induced men to run every risk; and the proprietors neglected no means which they judged conducive towards its speedy population.

With respect to the French refugees, the national antipathies among the colonists now began to abate, who, from their quiet and inoffensive behaviour, began to entertain more favourable sentiments of them. Along with their neighbours they had defied the dangers of the desert, and given ample proofs of their fidelity to the proprietors, their love to the people, and their zeal for the success of the colony. They had cleared little spots of land for raising the necessaries of life, and in some measure surmounted the difficulties of the first state of colonization. Yet none of them could boast of great success, excepting one man who had taught the Indians dancing and music, for which arts they discovered an amazing fondness, and liberally rewarded him for his instructions. At this favourable juncture the refugees, by the advice of the governor and other friends, petitioned the legislature to be incorporated with the freemen of the colony, and allowed the same privileges and liberties with those born of English parents. Accordingly an act passed for making all aliens free, for enabling them to hold lands, and to claim the same as heirs to their ancestors, who should take the oath of allegiance to King William. With this condition the refugees joyfully complied, and the proprietors, without scruple, ratified the law; in consequence of which, the French and English settlers united in interest and affection, and have ever since lived together in harmony and peace.

Though every person enjoyed liberty of conscience with respect to religion, yet as the proprietors were Episcopalians, the tendency of their government leaned towards that mode of religious worship. Governor Blake, though a dissenter himself, possessed the most liberal sentiments towards men of a different persuasion. During his time a bill was brought into the assembly, for allowing the Episcopal minister of Charleston, and his successors for ever, a salary of a hundred and fifty pounds sterling, together with a house, glebe, and two servants. Samuel Marshal, a pious and learned man, being the Episcopal minister at that time, whose prudence and ability had gained him great esteem from Christians of all denominations, the bill passed with less opposition. The dissenters, who formed a large body of the people, conscious of the amiable character and great merit of the man, acquiesced in the measure; and as no motion had been made respecting any established church, they seemed apprehensive of no ill consequences from it. However, soon after this, when the design of the proprietors became more evident, this party, jealous above all things of

their religious liberties, took the alarm, and opposed the establishment of the church of England amongst them, with such violence, as occasioned no small ferment for many years in the colony.

About this time the coast of Carolina was infested with pirates, who hovered about the mouth of Ashley river, and obstructed the freedom of trade. In the last year of the seventeenth century, the planters had raised more rice than they could find vessels to export. Forty-five persons, from different nations, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, and Indians, had manned a ship at the Havanna, and entered on a cruise of piracy. While they were on the coast of Carolina, the people felt severely the pernicious effects of that lawless trade, which in former times they were too apt to encourage. Several ships belonging to Charleston were taken by them, who sent the crews ashore, but kept the vessels as their prizes. At last, having quarrelled among themselves about the division of the spoil, the Englishmen, proving the weaker party, were turned adrift in a long-boat. They landed at Sewee bay, and from thence travelled over land to Charleston, giving out that they had been shipwrecked, and fortunately escaped to shore in their boat. But, to their disappointment and surprise, no less than three masters of ships happened to be at Charleston at the time, who had been taken by them, and knew them; upon whose testimony the pirates were instantly taken up, tried, and condemned, and seven out of nine suffered death.

During the autumn of the same year, a dreadful hurricane happened at Charleston, which did great damage, and threatened the total destruction of the town. The lands on which it is built being low and level, and not many feet above high-water mark, the swelling sea rushed in with amazing impetuosity, and obliged the inhabitants to fly for shelter to the second stories of their houses. Happily few lives were lost in the town; but a large vessel, called the *Rising Sun*, belonging to Glasgow, and commanded by James Gibson, which had come from Darien with part of the unfortunate Scotch settlers, at the time of the storm rode at anchor off the bar. This ship the hurricane drove from her anchor, and dashed to pieces against the sand-banks, and every person on board perished.

Nor was this the only disaster which distinguished this year in the annals of Carolina. A fire broke also out in Charleston, and laid the most of it in ashes. The small-pox raged through the town, and proved fatal to multitudes of the younger population.

To complete their distress, another infectious distemper broke out, and carried off a great number of people, among whom were Chief Justice Bohun, Samuel Marshal, the Episcopal clergyman, John Ely, the receiver-general, Edward Rawlins, the provost-marshal, and almost one-half of the members of Assembly. Never had the colony been visited with such general distress and mortality. Few families escaped a share of the public

calamities. Almost all were lamenting the loss, either of their habitations by fire, or of friends or relations by the infectious maladies. Discouragement and despair oppressed every one. Many of the survivors could think of nothing but abandoning a country in which there was so little prospect of success, health, or happiness. They had heard of Pennsylvania, and how pleasant and flourishing a province it was described to be, and therefore were determined to embrace the first opportunity that offered, of retiring to it with the remainder of their families and effects.

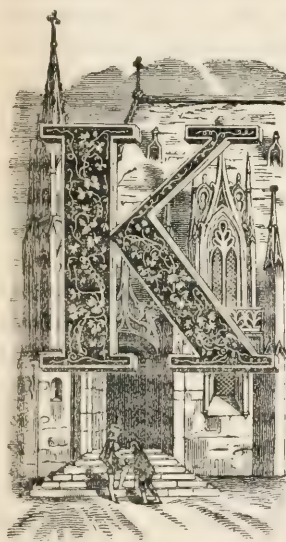
Governor Blake, deeply sensible of the public distress, tried every means of alleviating the misery of the people, and encouraging them to perseverance; but the members of Assembly who survived became so negligent about public affairs, that he found himself under a necessity of dissolving the house, and calling another, hoping that they might be more zealous and active in concerting measures for the public relief. Of this new Assembly, Nicholas Trott, whose talents had raised him above the level of his fellow-representatives, was made speaker, and who warmly espoused the cause of the people, in opposition to the interest of the proprietors. The governor and council claimed the privilege of nominating public officers, particularly a receiver-general, until the pleasure of the proprietors was known. The Assembly, on the other hand, insisted that it belonged to them. This occasioned several messages between the two houses, and much altercation. However, the upper house appointed their officer. The lower house resolved, that the person appointed by them was no public receiver, and that whoever should presume to pay money to him as such, should be deemed an infringer of the privileges of Assembly, and an enemy to the country. Trott flatly denied they could be called an upper house, though they thus styled themselves, as they differed in the most essential circumstances from the House of Lords in England; and this led the Assembly to call them the proprietors' deputies, and to treat them with indignity and contempt, by limiting them to a day to pass their bills, and to an hour to answer their messages. At this time, Trott was eager in the pursuit of popularity, and by his uncommon abilities and address succeeded in a wonderful manner. Never had any man, in so short a time, so thoroughly engrossed the public favour and esteem, or carried matters with so high a hand, in opposition to the proprietary counsellors.

About the close of the year 1700, Governor Blake died, and a dispute arose in the upper house about the succession to the government. Joseph Morton, as eldest landgrave, claimed the preference, until the pleasure of the palatine was known. But James Moore, a needy, forward, and ambitious man, stood forth in competition, and, by activity and art, gained a number over in support of his pretensions. He objected to Landgrave Morton, because he had accepted a commission from King William, to be judge of the court of vice-admiralty, while, at the same time, he held one

of the proprietors to the same office: this Moore and his friends declared to be a breach of the trust reposed in him, and that he might with equal propriety have accepted of a commission from King William to be governor, while he held that office of the proprietors. Landgrave Morton replied, that there was a necessity for holding a commission from the king to be judge of the court of vice-admiralty, because it did not appear from the charter that the proprietors could empower their judge to try persons for acts committed without the bounds of their colony, and that with such jurisdiction the judge of the admiralty ought for many reasons always to be vested. However, the upper house deemed the objection of force sufficient to set Morton aside, and James Moore was chosen successor to Governor Blake. From which period the colony may date the beginning of further jealousies and troubles, which continued for several years, and obstructed its

progress in improvement. Various intrigues crept into the seat of government, and several encroachments were made on the liberties and privileges of the people, both civil and religious.

King William, though he maintained the power of the established church, yet often discovered a secret attachment to Presbyterians, and on all occasions treated them with lenity and moderation. Hence many of the more zealous friends to the church of England, alarmed at the prospects of its dangerous situation, became eagerly bent, not only in support of its constitution, but even of its minutest forms, usages, and vestments. Lord Granville, among the rest, after he was called up to the House of Peers, had there distinguished himself as an inflexible bigot for the high church, having been early taught to entertain the most super-



cilious contempt for dissenters of all denominations. Being now also palatine of Carolina, he soon discovered that the establishment of Episcopacy, and the suppression of all other modes of religious worship in that country, was the chief object of his zeal and attention. James Moore being considered as a man more fit than Landgrave Morton, for assisting him in the accomplishment of his favourite design, the more easily obtained a confirmation of his election to the government.

Here it may not be improper to observe, that several eminent men had appeared in England, who, pitying the miserable state of the western world with respect to religion, had proposed some public-spirited design for the propagation of the gospel among the heathens on that vast continent. Robert Boyle, no less distinguished for his eminent piety than universa

learning, had been appointed by Charles II., governor of a corporation established for the propagation of the Christian religion among Indians, the natives of New England and parts adjacent, in America. Queen Mary afterwards discovered a great desire for enlarging their plan, and for this purpose gave a bounty of two hundred pounds sterling, annually, to support missionaries in that quarter. Dr. Compton, bishop of London, was at pains to procure an account of the state of religion among the English colonies, from a persuasion of the necessity of beginning this charitable work among them; and Dr. Thomas Bray, his commissary in Maryland, furnished him with one suited to excite sympathy and compassion in every pious and generous breast. At length Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, undertook the laudable design, applied to the crown, and obtained a charter, incorporating a society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. The nation in general entered into the design with their usual ardour for all benevolent institutions. From different parts large benefactions were received by this society, and it was soon enabled to support a number of missionaries in the plantations. Religious books were purchased, and sent out to different provinces, and Carolina among the rest received a number of them. A law passed for instituting a public library in the province, to remain under the care and custody of the Episcopal minister of Charleston. Edward Marston at this time took the charge of it, and was disposed to contribute every thing in his power towards rendering it generally useful. But the dissenters, from the choice of the books, most of which were written by Episcopal divines, and in defence of the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of England, soon perceived the intention of the society, and a library framed on such a narrow foundation was treated with neglect, and proved utterly ineffectual for promoting the desired end.

About this time the number of inhabitants in the colony amounted to between five and six thousand, besides Indians and negroes. In Charleston they had one minister of the church of England, and another of the church of Scotland; but in the country there was no such thing as public worship, nor schools for the education of children; and people living thus scattered through a forest, were likely in time to sink by degrees into the same state of ignorance and barbarism with the natural inhabitants of the wilderness. To supply these destitute colonists with proper means of instruction, called for the first attention of the society; for as Indians and negroes would naturally take their first religious impressions from their neighbours, to begin at this place was like paving the way for extending wider the benefits of instruction.

To prepare the province for the charitable assistance of this society, it was judged necessary to have the church of England established in it by a provincial law, and the country divided into different parishes. The

palatine imagined that these internal troubles and differences, by which the colony had hitherto been agitated, and the government rendered feeble and fluctuating, were occasioned by the clashing sentiments of the people with respect to religion. To remedy this evil, he perceived that some bond of union was necessary, to carry on public measures with ease and success; and religion had been deemed the firmest cement of every state. He knew that the Episcopal form of church government was more favourable to monarchy and the civil constitution than the Presbyterian, as in it a chain of dependence subsists, from the highest to the lowest in the church. While, therefore, he instructed Governor Moore to study all possible means of persuading the Assembly to acquiesce in that form contained in the fundamental constitutions, he was equally zealous for an established church, that the wheels of their government might be no more clogged by religious dissensions.

But as a great majority of the colonists were dissenters, who had fled from England, on account of rigorous acts of uniformity, their minds were ill disposed to admit of any establishment. Their former prejudices they had not yet thrown aside: their hardships in England they had not yet forgotten. Their private opinions respecting religion were various as their different complexions, and unlimited toleration was granted to all by the charter. They could hear of no proposals about an established church, and the palatine, at such an unseasonable time, showed more zeal than prudence or good policy in attempting to introduce it among them. The governor found them inflexible and obstinate in opposing such a measure; and the people even began to repent of having passed a law for fixing a salary for ever on the rector of the Episcopal church, and considered it as a step to further encroachments.

The great object with Governor Moore was to improve his time, not knowing how long his precarious power might last, for bettering his indigent circumstances. It appeared to him, that the traffic in Indians was the shortest way to riches. He, therefore, granted commissions to several persons to assault and capture as many Indians as they could, and resolved to turn the profits of such trade to his own private emolument. Not contented with this base and cruel method of acquiring wealth, he formed a design for engrossing the whole advantages arising to the colony from their commerce with Indian nations. For this purpose a bill was brought into the Assembly for regulating the Indian trade, and drawn up in such a manner as would cause all the profits of it to centre in his hands. But Nicholas Trott, Robert Stephen, and others, proved to the Assembly the pernicious tendency of such a bill, and therefore it was thrown out. At which Governor Moore being highly offended, dissolved the house, in hopes of procuring another more favourable to his private views and interests.

At the election of the next Assembly, the governor and his friends exerted all their power and influence to bring in men of their own. Nicholas Trott, who had hitherto appeared in the opposition, being now appointed attorney-general, threw all his influence and weight into the scale of government, turned his back on his former friends, and strongly supported that tottering fabric which he had formerly endeavoured to pull down. Charleston, where all freeholders met to give their suffrages, at the time of this election was a scene of riot, intemperance, and confusion. The sheriff, having instructions so to do, admitted every person to vote; the members of Colleton county say, even common sailors, servants, foreigners, and mulattoes. Such freeholders as stood forth in opposition to the governor's party were abused and insulted. At length, when the poll was closed, one-half of the persons elected were found to be men of neither sense nor credit; but being the chosen creatures of the governor, it was his business to prevent all inquiry into the conduct of the sheriff, and the qualifications of such members.

At this time Carteret county was inhabited only by Indians; but in Colleton county there were no less than two hundred freeholders, who had a right to vote for delegates to Assembly. The principal plantations in it were those of the late Sir John Yeamans, Landgraves Morton, Ballenger, and Axtell, and those of Blake, Boone, Gibbes, Schinking, and others. The people of this county being highly offended at the manner of election, particularly the arts and intrigues practised, and the riot and intemperance permitted at it, drew up a representation of the whole transaction, and transmitted it to the proprietors in England: but the palatine was too deeply concerned in promoting those measures of which they complained, to grant them any favourable answer. In Berkeley county the principal settlements were those of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Governor Moore, Landgraves West, Smith, Bayley, and Daniel; together with those belonging to Godfrey, Matthews, Iazard, Colleton, Grimbail, &c.; several of whom were also dissatisfied with the public proceedings. But Craven county being composed of French refugees, these having little knowledge of the English language, were easily managed; and many, indeed, supported the governor purely out of affection to the proprietors. In short, the house consisted of thirty members, one-half of whom were elected from the dregs of the people, utter strangers to public affairs, and in every respect unqualified for sitting as provincial legislators.

In the mean time a rupture took place in Europe between England and Spain, which turned the attention of the colony to a different object, and afforded Governor Moore an opportunity of exercising his military talents, and a new prospect of enriching himself by Spanish plunder or Indian captives. Accordingly, instead of private disputes among themselves, he proposed to the Assembly an expedition against the Spanish settlement at

Augustine. Many of the people, from mercenary motives, applauded the proposal; however, men of cool reflection, having yet had no intelligence of the declaration of war, were averse from rushing into any hazardous enterprise, until they had certain advice of it from England. As the expedition was projected, contrary to the opinion and inclination of many Carolinians, without any recent provocation from the Spanish garrison, it is probable that the governor engaged in it chiefly from views of private emolument. Florida, he assured the people, would be an easy conquest; and treasures of gold and silver were held out to them as the rewards of valour. In vain did some members of the Assembly oppose it, by representing the province as weak, and ill provided for warlike enterprises, and by hinting at the many hazards and difficulties always attending them; in vain did they urge the strength of the Spanish fort, and the expenses incurred by a fruitless, and perhaps, bloody expedition: such men were called enemies to their country, and represented as pusillanimous wretches, who were utter strangers to great and glorious undertakings. Accordingly, a great majority of the Assembly declared for the expedition, and a sum of two thousand pounds sterling was voted for the service of the war. Six hundred Indians were engaged, who, being fond of warlike exploits, gladly accepted of arms and ammunition offered them for their aid and assistance. Six hundred provincial militia were raised, and schooners and merchant-ships were impressed, for transports to carry the forces. Port Royal was fixed upon as the place of general rendezvous, and there, in September, 1702, the governor, at the head of his troops, embarked in an expedition equally rash and foolhardy on one side, as it was well known and unprovoked on the other.

While these preparations were going on in Carolina, the Spaniards, apprized of the governor's design, were making ready for their defence. In the plan of operations it had been agreed, that Colonel Daniel, who was an officer of spirit, should go by the inland passage with a party of militia and Indians, and make a descent on the town from the land, while the governor with the main body should proceed by sea, and block up the harbour. Colonel Daniel lost no time, but advanced against the town, entered and plundered it before the governor got forward to his assistance. But the Spaniards having laid up provisions for four months in the castle, on his approach retired to it, with all their money and most valuable effects. Upon the arrival of Governor Moore, the place was invested with a force against which the Spaniards could not appear, and, therefore, kept themselves shut up in their stronghold. The governor finding it impossible to dislodge them without such artillery as are necessary to a siege, despatched a sloop to Jamaica, on purpose to bring cannon, bombs, and mortars, for attacking the castle: and Colonel Daniel embarked and sailed with the greatest expedition to bring them. During his absence, two

Spanish ships, the one of twenty-two guns, and the other of sixteen, appearing off the mouth of the harbour, struck such a panic into the governor, that he instantly raised the siege, abandoned his ships, and made a precipitate retreat to Carolina by land. In consequence of which the Spaniards in the garrison were not only relieved, but the ships, provisions, and ammunition, belonging to the Carolineans, fell also into their hands. Colonel Daniel, on his return, standing in for the harbour of Augustine, found, to his surprise, the siege raised, and made a narrow escape from the enemy.

Military expeditions rashly undertaken, conducted by a headstrong and inexperienced officer, and executed by raw and ill-disciplined troops, very rarely succeed. We are not able to account for the governor's conduct in raising the siege, after he had been a month in possession of the town, unless he was in immediate want of provisions or ammunition, or his men, having little confidence in his abilities, threatened to desert him: for if the Spanish ships drew more than ten feet water, which it is probable they must have done, they could not come over the bar to injure him: if they landed their men, yet still his force was superior to that of the enemy, and he might, at least, have risked a battle on such grounds, before he made an inglorious retreat. The Indians were averse from leaving the field, without scalps, plunder, or glory. It is true, the Spanish ships of war might have prevented Colonel Daniel from getting into the harbour with the supply of military stores, yet the coast was large, and afforded many more places for landing them. The governor had Indians to hunt for provisions for his men, and it was by no means impossible to have starved the garrison, and compelled them to surrender. What then can be thought of a commander, who, on the first appearance of a little danger, abandoned his station, however advantageous, and tamely yielded up, not only the town, but also his own ships and provisions to the enemy.

Upon his return to Carolina many severe reflections were thrown out against him, as might naturally have been expected; but especially by that party who opposed the enterprise. It is true, it proved not a bloody expedition, the governor having lost no more than two men in it; yet it entailed a debt of six thousand pounds sterling on a poor colony, which, at that period, was a grievous burden. The provincial Assembly, who during the absence of the governor, had been under prorogation, now met, to concert ways and means for discharging this public debt. Great dissensions and confusion prevailed among them; but the governor, having a number of men under arms, to whom the country stood indebted, despised all opposition, and silenced the malcontents by threats and compulsion. A bill was brought into the Assembly for stamping bills of credit, to answer the public expense, which were to be sunk in three years by a duty laid upon liquors, skins, and furs. In this measure all parties acqui-

esced, as it fell easy on private persons, at the same time that it satisfied the public creditors. This was the first paper money issued in Carolina, and, for five or six years after the emission, it passed in the country at the same value and rate with the sterling money of England. How in process of time, it increased in quantity and sunk in value; how it was deemed useful by debtors, and prejudicial by creditors, we shall afterwards have occasion more particularly to demonstrate. At present it may suffice to observe, that it was absolutely necessary to support the public credit, and the most practicable method the colony had of defraying the expenses incurred by the unsuccessful expedition.



Notwithstanding his past misfortunes, Governor Moore, fond of warlike exploits, had still in view the striking some blow that might distinguish his administration. The Appalachian Indians, by their connection with the Spaniards, had become insolent and troublesome. Mr. Moore determined to chastise them, and for this purpose marched at the head of a body of white men and Indian allies, into the heart of their settlements. Wherever he went he carried fire and sword along with him, and struck a terror into his enemies. The towns of the unhappy tribes, who lived between the rivers Alatomaha and Savanna, he laid in ashes, captured many savages, and obliged others to submit to the English government. The governor received the thanks of the proprietors for his courage, who acknowledged that the success of his arms had gained their province a reputation; but, what was of greater consequence to him, he wiped off the ignominy of the Augustine expedition, and procured a number of Indian slaves, whom he employed to cultivate his fields, or sold for his own profit and advantage.

About this time, Sir Nathaniel Johnson introduced the raising of silk into the country, which is an article of commerce exceedingly profitable, and, by proper encouragement, might have been made very beneficial both to the colony and the mother country. Mulberry-trees grew spontaneously in the woods, and thrived as well as other natural productions. The great demand for silk in Britain made it an object of the highest consequence; and an article so profitable, and so easily raised, ought to have engaged the attention of the proprietors.

To the culture of cotton, the climate and soil were equally favourable. It might have been planted on lands newly cleared, or on light and sandy grounds, such as the maritime parts of Carolina, which are by no means unsuitable to the production. The seeds are commonly sown about two

feet and a half asunder, and grow up like other plants. Indeed, the fields require to be kept clean, and the fresh earth carefully thrown around the plant, to defend it against the winds ; but this is no difficult task, and might be performed by hands incapable of more severe labour. When the pods burst, cotton is gathered, and separated from the seeds ; which is the most tedious and troublesome part of the business requisite. This article, also, though not of importance enough to have engrossed the whole attention of the colonists, might, nevertheless, in conjunction with other staples, have been rendered profitable and useful.

Instead of these and several other articles, to which the views of the planters in the weaker and earlier state of the colony ought to have been turned in some degree, we find from this period the culture of rice engrossing their whole strength and attention. This commodity being an article of provision, was indeed likely always to find a good market ; yet it was scarcely possible to have fixed on a staple which required more severe labour during the whole process of its preparation. The warm climate and low lands were doubtless well adapted to the nature of the grain, after experience had taught the husbandman to clear and cultivate the swampy grounds for that purpose : yet it is certain that the planters long went on with this article, and exhausted their strength in raising it on higher lands, which poorly rewarded them for their toil. After clearing the lands, they commonly plant it in furrows made with a hoe, about eighteen inches asunder. When the seed is sown, the fields must be carefully kept clear of noxious weeds, which retard its growth, and the earth must also be laid up to the root of the rice, to facilitate its progress. No work can be imagined more pernicious to health, than for men to stand in water mid-leg high, and often above it, planting and weeding rice ; while the scorching heat of the sun renders the air they breathe ten or twenty degrees hotter than the human blood, and the putrid and unwholesome effluvia from an oozy bottom and stagnated water, poison the atmosphere. They sow it in April, or early in May, and reap in the latter end of August, or in the month of September. After which it is dried and carried to the barn-yard, and built in stacks, in like manner as the corn in Europe. After this, it is threshed, winnowed, and ground in mills made of wood, to free the rice from the husk. Then it is winnowed again, and put into a wooden mortar, and beat with large wooden pestles, which labour is so oppressive, and hard that the firmest nerves and most vigorous constitutions sink under it. To free it from the dust and flour, occasioned by pounding, it is sifted first through one sieve, and then, to separate the small and broken rice from the large, through another. Last of all, it is put into large barrels of enormous weight, and carried to the market. During the whole tedious process of its preparation, much care and great strength are

requisite, and many thousands of lives from Africa have been sacrificed, in order to furnish the world with this commodity.

On the accession of Anne to the English throne, Sir Nathaniel Johnson received a commission from John, Lord Granville, investing him with the government of Carolina, to which office a salary of two hundred pounds was annexed, to be paid annually by the receiver-general of the colony. This gentleman had not only been bred a soldier from his youth, but had been also a member of the House of Commons, and was well qualified for the trust. But it being suspected that he was no friend to the Revolution, the proprietors could not obtain her majesty's approbation of him; but on his undertaking to qualify himself for the office in such a manner as the laws of England required, to give security for his observing the laws of trade and navigation, and obey such instructions as should be sent out from time to time by her majesty, he was ultimately accepted; and the lords commissioners of trade and plantations were ordered to take care that good and sufficient security be given by him.

With respect to his own conduct in the government of the colony, he had instructions from the proprietors to follow such rules as had been given to former governors, in the fundamental constitutions and temporary laws entered upon record, and to be guided by the same as far as in his judgment he might think expedient. He was required, with the advice and assistance of his council, carefully to review the constitutions, and such of them as he should think necessary to the better establishment of government, and calculated for the good of the people, he was ordered to lay before the Assembly for their concurrence and assent. He was to use his endeavours to dispose of their lands; but to take nothing less than twenty pounds for one thousand acres; and, in all future grants, to make them escheat to the proprietors, unless a settlement was made on them, within the space of four years. He was to take special care that the Indians be not abused or insulted, and to study the most proper methods of civilizing them, and creating a firm friendship with them, in order to protect the colony against the Spaniards in the neighbourhood. He was to transmit to England exact copies of all laws passed, accounts of the lands sold, &c.

It has already been observed, that the colony was in a wretched state with respect to religion. The first emigrants from England, retained, indeed, for a little time some sense of it, and showed some respect for the ordinances of the gospel: but their children, born in a wilderness, where there was not so much as even the semblance of public worship, were likely to grow up in ignorance, and to live entirely void of all sense of religion. The proprietors were either unable to furnish them with the proper means of instruction, or they were unwilling to bear the expense of it, having as yet received little recompense for the past charges of the settlement. Not only the emigrants from England, but also those from France

and Holland, were much divided in their private opinions with respect to modes of religious worship ; and for this reason all governors, excepting the last, had prudently deferred interfering in a matter which would occasion uneasiness and confusion among the settlers. Still, however, the establishment of the church of England, in Carolina, was the chief object in view with the proprietors. The palatine was a bigoted zealot for this mode of ecclesiastical worship and government : the governor was strongly attached to it. James Moore, who was made receiver-general, and Nicholas Trott, the attorney-general, were also men of the same complexion. These men, assisted by a majority of the council, now began to concert measures with art and skill, and to pursue them with firmness and resolution, for accomplishing this end, and gratifying the earnest desire of the palatine.

It was not, however, without some difficulty, and considerable struggles, that the keen opposition raised by dissenters, who now plainly perceived their design, and who had an irreconcilable aversion from episcopacy, could be overcome. This the governor and his party foresaw, and therefore it became necessary first to exert themselves, to secure a majority in the Assembly, in favour of the measure they had in view. Hitherto, the riotous proceedings at the former election had been overlooked, and the rioters, by the countenance and protection of the preceding governor, had escaped prosecution. The grand jury represented this neglect as a grievance to the court ; but the judge told them, " That was a matter which lay before the governor and council, his superiors." When the complaint was made to the governor in council, he replied, " That these irregularities happened before his appointment to the government, but that he would take care to prevent them for the time to come." Notwithstanding this declaration, if we may believe the dissenters, at the following election, still greater irregularities prevailed. By the same undue influence and violence, the governor and his adherents gained their point, and secured a majority in the house ; so that a species of corruption had now infected the great fountain of liberty, the election of representatives.

It would appear, that some of the colonists at this period had distinguished themselves by loose principles and licentious language, and had treated some of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion with the ridicule and contempt of professed infidelity. To bring an odium upon this class of dissenters, and to discourage such licentious practices, a bill was brought into the new Assembly, for the suppression of blasphemy and profaneness ; by which bill, whoever should be convicted of having spoken or written any thing against the Trinity, or the divine authority of the Old or New Testament, by the oath of two or more credible witnesses, were to be made incapable, and disabled in law to all intents and purposes, of being members of Assembly, or of holding any office of profit, civil or military, within the province : and whoever should be convicted of such crimes the

second time, were also to be disabled from suing or bringing any action of information in any court of law or equity, from being guardian to any child, executor or administrator to any person ; and without bail suffer imprisonment for three years. Which law, notwithstanding its pretended motive, savoured not a little of an inquisition, and introduced a species of persecution, ill calculated to answer the end for which it was intended. To punish men guilty of blasphemy and profaneness in this way, instead of bringing their crimes into public disrepute and abhorrence, served rather to render their persons objects of compassion, and induce men to pity them on account of their sufferings.

However, had Sir Nathaniel Johnson stopped here, many reasons might have been urged in his vindication ; but he had other measures in view, much more unpopular and oppressive. He looked upon dissenters of every denomination, as enemies to the constitutions of both church and state, and, therefore, to subvert their power and influence, or compel them to uniformity of sentiment, another bill was brought into the Assembly, framed in such a manner as to exclude them entirely from the house of representatives. This bill required every man who should hereafter be chosen a member of Assembly, to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration appointed by it, to conform to the religion and worship of the church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of that church ; a qualification which dissenters considered as having a manifest tendency to rob them of all their civil rights or religious liberties. To carry this bill through the house, all the art and influence of the governor and his party were requisite. In the lower house, it passed by a majority of one vote, and in the upper house, Landgrave Joseph Morton was refused liberty to enter his protest against it. At this juncture, no bill could have been framed more inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the freemen, and more pernicious to the interest and prosperity of the country. The dissenters, who were a numerous and powerful body of the people, were highly offended, and raised a great outcry against it. Seeing themselves reduced to the necessity of receiving laws from men whose principles of civil and ecclesiastical government they abhorred, and subjected to greater hardships than they suffered in England, many had formed resolutions of abandoning the colony. Loud clamours were not only heard without doors, but jealousies and discontent filled the hearts of many within them, not of dissenters only, but also of those who adhered to the church.

In this distracted state of the colony, the inhabitants of Colleton county, composed chiefly of dissenters, met and drew up a state of their grievous circumstances, which they resolved to transmit to the proprietors, praying their lordships to repeal this oppressive act. John Ash, one of the most zealous men in the opposition, agreed to embark for England, as agent for

the aggrieved party, computed to be at least two-thirds of the whole inhabitants of the colony. The governor and his friends, apprized of this design, used all possible means to prevent him from obtaining a passage in any ship belonging to Carolina. Upon which Ash went to Virginia, to which province his instructions were conveyed to him, and from thence he set sail for England.

After his arrival he waited on Lord Granville, the palatine, acquainting him with the design of his message; but met with a very cold reception. That nobleman was too deeply concerned in bringing about that establishment against which Ash came to complain, favourably to listen to his representations. Accordingly, after staying some time in London, and giving the proprietors all the information in his power relating to public affairs, the only satisfaction he could obtain from the palatine was, that he should cause his secretary to write to the governor an account of the grievances and hardships of which Mr. Ash complained, and require an answer from him with respect to them. Mr. Ash, observing how the palatine stood affected, and despairing of success, immediately began to draw up a representation of their case, which he intended for the press; but before he had finished it he was taken sick, and died, and his papers fell into his enemies' hands. He was a man of a warm and passionate temper, and possessed of all those violent sentiments which ill-usage, disappointment, and oppression naturally kindle in the human breast. His representation, intended as an appeal to the nation in general, for the sufferings of the people under the tyrannical proprietary government, was full of heavy charges against the governor and his party in Carolina, and bitter reflections on their conduct, which he considered as in the highest degree injurious to the colony.

Without doubt, the lords proprietors planned this establishment with a view to the peaceful influence it would have upon the civil government of the country, as the preamble to the act expressly indicates. Their feeble and fluctuating state required the assistance and authority of an established church, and the sanction of religion, to give it more weight and influence with the people. How far the measures adopted served to promote the desired end, and were consistent with prudence and good policy, will afterwards more clearly appear.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson, having advanced so far, was determined to proceed in spite of every obstacle thrown in his way. He instituted what the inhabitants of Carolina took to be a high-commission court, like that of King James II. It was enacted that twenty lay-persons be constituted a corporation for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with full power to deprive ministers of their livings at pleasure, not for immorality only, but also for imprudence, or on account of unreasonable prejudices taken against them. In vain did many persons complain of this institution, as tearing

the ecclesiastical jurisdiction out of the hands of the bishop of London, in whose diocese the whole British colonies in America were included. The governor, bent on carrying into execution the favourite plan of the palatine, paid little regard to the uneasy apprehensions of the people. According to the act for erecting churches, the colony was divided into ten parishes: seven in Berkeley, two in Colleton, and one in Craven counties. Money was provided for building churches; lands were granted for glebes and church yards; and salaries for the different rectors were fixed and appointed, payable from the provincial treasury. When these bills were transmitted to England, to be ratified and confirmed by the proprietors, John Archdale opposed them, and insisted, that the dissenters of Carolina had not yet forgot the hardships they suffered in England from acts of uniformity; that the right of private judgment in religious matters was the birthright of every man; that undisturbed liberty of conscience was allowed to every inhabitant of Carolina by the charter; that acts of conformity, with penalties annexed to them, have in general proved destructive to the cause they were intended to promote, and were utterly inconsistent with Protestant principles; and therefore that these bills, so unpopular and oppressive in Carolina, ought to be repealed, as contrary to sound policy and religious freedom. The majority of the proprietors, however, did not view them in this light, and the debate ran high between them. At length the palatine, equally tyrannical as bigoted, put an end to the dispute by telling Mr. Archdale,—“Sir, you are of one opinion, I am of another; our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for the bills, and this is the party that I will head and support.” In consequence of which the acts were ratified by four proprietors, and the following letter was sent to Sir Nathaniel Johnson:—“Sir, the great and pious work which you have gone through with such unwearied and steady zeal, for the honour and worship of Almighty God, we have also finally perfected on our part; and our ratification of that act for erecting churches, &c., together with duplicates of all other despatches, we have forwarded to you by Captain Flavel.”

The Episcopal party, having now got their favourite form of divine worship established by law in Carolina, began to erect churches in such situations as were most central and convenient for the settlers; and to supply them with clergymen, application was made to the society in England for the propagation of the gospel. The dissenters, despairing of all hopes of redress from the proprietors, became greatly discouraged, and could not brook the thoughts of being again subjected to the same miseries which had compelled them to leave their native country. Some were for transporting their families and effects immediately to Pennsylvania, in order to sit down under Penn's free and indulgent government; others proposed an application to the House of Lords in England, praying them to inter-

cede with her majesty for their relief. For this purpose a petition was drawn up, and carried over by Joseph Boone, to England. Several merchants in London, after Boone's arrival, being convinced of the illegal means by which those grievous acts were brought to pass, and of their pernicious consequence to trade, joined the petitioners.

In the mean time, the distant colonists, though they had heard nothing of what had passed in England relating to those grievous acts, became daily more sensible of their oppressive nature and pernicious consequence. Several settlers had left the country on account of them, and moved to Pennsylvania. Archibald Stobo, a Presbyterian minister in Charleston, who had warmly opposed this establishment from the beginning, had also convinced many who remained, of the severities and hardships the dissenters in England had suffered from the rigours of the Episcopal government. Several circumstances proved favourable to Stobo's opposition; he possessed those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected, and the people that party-zeal which becomes violent from persecution. To his treasures of knowledge and excellent capacity for instruction, he added uncommon activity and diligence in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred function. He had a natural aversion to the Episcopal jurisdiction, and no minister of the colony had engrossed so universally the public favour and esteem. The governor and his adherents found it necessary to sow the seeds of division among his followers, and, from maxims of policy, to magnify his failings, in order to ruin his great power and influence.

But the Presbyterian party were not the only malcontents during these unwarrantable proceedings of the legislature. Many wise and religious men of all denominations condemned them, as grievous and impolitic, and opposed the acts of Assembly. Even the society for propagating the gospel in England disapproved of them, and resolved not to send any missionaries to Carolina, until the clause relating to lay-commissioners was annulled. So that all impartial men, in some measure, condemned the acts, and seemed to detest both the factious men who framed them, and the method by which they had been promoted in the province.

At length, from these domestic troubles the attention of the people was drawn off, and turned towards a more important object, their common defence against foreign enemies. The war between Great Britain, and France, and Spain, still raged in Europe. The governor received advice of a project framed for invading Carolina, and had instructions to put the country in the best posture of defence. The Spaniards pretended a right to it on the foot of prior discovery, considering it as a part of Florida, and had now determined by force of arms to assert their right. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, as a military commander, was well qualified for his duty. No sooner had he received intelligence of the designs of his enemy, than he set all hands to work upon the fortifications, appointed a number of gun-

ners to each bastion, and held frequent musters to train the men to the use of arms. A storehouse was prepared, and a quantity of ammunition laid up in it, to be ready on the first emergency. A small fort, called Fort Johnson, was erected on James's island, and several great guns mounted on it. Trenches were cast up on White Point, and other places where they were thought necessary. A guard was stationed on Sullivan's island, with orders to kindle a number of fires opposite to the town, equal to the number of ships they might spy on the coast. And every prudent regulation was made to prevent a surprise.

Carolina was at this juncture the southern frontier of the British empire in America; but the colony, although it had acquired some degree of strength, was yet in a feeble state to resist an enemy of force and enterprise. From its situation, there was reason to apprehend that the French and Spaniards would attack it, as it would fall an easier conquest than the more populous northern settlements; and before this time a plan had been concerted at the Havanna for invading it. Mons. le Feboure, captain of a French frigate, together with four more armed sloops, encouraged and assisted by the Spanish governor of that island, had already set sail for Charleston. To facilitate the conquest of the province, he had directions to touch at Augustine, and carry from thence such a force as he judged adequate to the enterprise. Upon his arrival at Augustine, he had intelligence of an epidemical distemper which raged at Charleston, and had swept off a vast number of inhabitants. This animated him to proceed with greater expedition. Imagining the town to be in a weak and defenceless state, and that the militia in the country would be averse from coming nigh it, through fear of the fatal infection, he took on board a considerable number of forces at Augustine, and made all the sail he could for Carolina.

Before this time, a Dutch privateer, formerly belonging to New York, by order of the governor of Carolina, had been refitted at Charleston for cruising on the coast. The command had been given to Captain Stool, who was sent out on purpose to intercept the supplies regularly sent to Augustine from the Havanna. After being out a few days he returned, and brought advice of having engaged a French sloop off the bar of Augustine; but upon seeing four more ships advancing, made all the sail he could for Charleston, and thus narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. Scarcely had he delivered the news, when five separate smokes appeared on Sullivan's island, as a signal to the town that the same number of ships were observed on the coast.

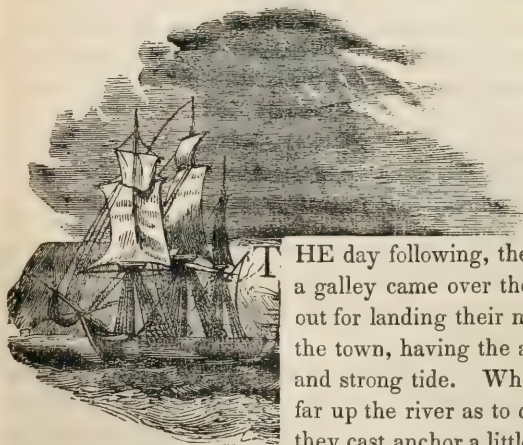
Sir Nathaniel Johnson being at that time at his plantation, several miles from town, Lieutenant-colonel William Rhett, commanding-officer of the militia, immediately ordered the drums to beat, and the whole inhabitants to be put under arms. A messenger was despatched with the news to the governor, and letters to all the captains of the militia in the country, to fire

their alarm-guns, raise their companies, and with all possible expedition march to the assistance of the town.

In the evening, the enemy's fleet came the length of Charleston bar; but as the passage was intricate and dangerous, they did not think it prudent to venture over it while the darkness of the night approached, and therefore hovered on the coast all night within sight of land. Early next morning the watchmen stationed on Sullivan's island observed them a little to the southward of the bar, manning their galleys and boats, as if they intended to land on James's island; but there having come to an anchor, they employed their boats all that day in sounding the south bar: which delay was of great service to the Carolinians, as it afforded time for the militia in the country to march to town.

The same day, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the governor, came to Charleston, and found the inhabitants in great consternation; but he inspired them with fresh confidence and resolution. Martial law was proclaimed at the head of the militia; and the necessary orders were sent to the Indian tribes in alliance with the colony, which brought a number of them to his assistance. As a contagious distemper raged in Charleston, the governor judged it imprudent to expose his men to the infection, and therefore held his headquarters about half a mile distant from town. In the evening a troop of horse, commanded by Captain George Logan, and two companies of foot, under the command of Major George Broughton, reached the capital, and kept diligent watch during the night. The next morning a company from James's island, under the command of Captain Drake, another from Wando, under Captain Fenwick, and five more commanded by Captains Cantey,

Lynch, Hearn, Longbois, and Seabrook, joined the militia of the town; so that the whole force of the province, with the governor at their head, was now collected together in one place.



THE day following, the enemy's four ships and a galley came over the bar, with all their boats out for landing their men, and stood directly for the town, having the advantages of a fair wind and strong tide. When they had advanced so far up the river as to discover the fortifications, they cast anchor a little above Sullivan's island.

The governor, observing the enemy approaching towards the town, marched his men into it to receive them; but finding they had stopped by the way, he

had time to call a council of war, in which it was agreed to put some great guns on board of such ships as were in the harbour, and employ the sailors in their own way, for the better defence of the town. William Rhett, a man possessed of considerable conduct and spirit, received a commission to be vice-admiral of this little fleet, and hoisted his flag on board of the crown galley.

The enemy observing them employed in making all possible preparations for resistance, sent up a flag of truce to the governor, to summon him to surrender. George Evans, who commanded Granville bastion, received their messenger at his landing from the boat, and conducted him blindfolded into the fort, until the governor was in readiness to receive him. In the mean time the governor, having drawn up his men in such a manner as to make them appear to the greatest advantage, received the French officer at their head; and having first shown him one fort full of men, he then conducted him by a different route to another, giving the same men time to go by a shorter way, and be drawn up beforehand: and there, having given him a view of his strength, he demanded the purport of his message. The officer told him, that he was sent by Mons. le Feboure, admiral of the French fleet, to demand a surrender of the town and country, and their persons prisoners of war; and that his orders allowed him no more than one hour for an answer. Governor Johnson replied, that there was no occasion for one minute to answer that message: he told him, he held the town and country for the Queen of England; that he could depend on his men, who would sooner die than surrender themselves prisoners of war; that he was resolved to defend the country to the last drop of his blood against the boldest invader, and he might go when he pleased, and acquaint Mons. le Feboure with his resolution.

The day following, a party of the enemy went ashore on James's island, and burnt the houses on a plantation by the river side. Another party, consisting of a hundred and sixty men, landed on the opposite side of the river, and burnt two vessels in Dearsby's creek, and set fire to his storehouse. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, from such beginnings, perceiving that they were determined to carry fire and sword wherever they went, doubled his diligence for the defence of the town. He ordered Captain Drake and his company, with a small party of Indians, to James's island, to defend their properties on that side. Drake marched against them, but before he could bring up his men, the Indians, whom he could keep under no control, and who ran through the woods with their usual impetuosity, had driven the invaders to their boats. Then advice was brought to town, that the party who landed on Wando Neck had killed a number of hogs and cattle, and were feasting on the plunder. To prevent their further progress into the country, and give them a check, if possible, Captain Cantey, with a hundred chosen men, was ordered to pass the river privately in the night, and watch their motions. Before break of day the captain came up with them



DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH VESSELS.

and finding them in a state of security, with fires lighted around them, surrounded and surprised them with a sharp fire from every quarter; in consequence of which they were put in confusion and fled, and a considerable part being killed, wounded, and drowned, the remainder surrendered prisoners of war.

Having by this blow considerably weakened the force of the enemy, and being encouraged and animated by their success at land, the Carolinians determined also to try their fortune by sea. Accordingly, William Rhett set sail with his fleet of six small ships, and proceeded down the river to the place where the enemy rode at anchor; but the French perceiving this fleet standing towards them, in great haste weighed anchor, and sailed over the bar. For some days, nothing more was heard of them; but, to make sure, the governor ordered Captain Watson, of the *Sea Flower*, out to sea, to examine whether or not the coast was clear. The captain returned without seeing the enemy, but observing some men on shore whom they had left behind, he took them on board and brought them to town. These men assured the governor that the French were gone. In consequence of which, orders were given for the martial law to cease, and the inhabitants began to rejoice at their happy deliverance.

However, before night, certain advice was brought that a ship of force was seen in Sewee bay, and that a number of armed men had landed from her at that place. Upon examination of the prisoners, the governor found that the French expected a ship of war, with Mons. Arbuset, their general, and about two hundred men more to their assistance. The governor or-

ered Captain Fenwick to pass the river, and march against them by land ; while Rhett, with the Dutch privateer, and a Bermuda sloop armed, sailed round by sea, with orders to meet him at Sewee bay. Captain Fenwick came up with the enemy, and briskly charged them, who, though advantageously posted, after a few volleys gave way, and retreated to their ship ; and soon after, Rhett coming to his assistance, the French ship struck, without firing a shot. Rhett, being obliged by contrary winds to remain all that day in Sewee bay, despatched John Barnwell, a volunteer, to the governor, with an account of their success ; and next morning, the wind changing, he returned to Charleston with his prize, and about ninety prisoners.

Thus ended Mons. le Feboure's invasion of Carolina, little to his own honour as a commander, or to the credit and courage of his men. It is probable he expected to find the province in a defenceless situation, and that the governor would instantly surrender on his appearance before the town. But the governor was a man of approved courage and conduct ; the militia acted with the spirit of men who had not only the honour of the province, but also their whole properties at stake, and amazing success crowned their endeavours. Out of eight hundred men who came against this little colony, near three hundred were killed and taken prisoners ; among the latter were Mons. Arbuset, their commander-in-chief by land, with several sea-officers, who, together, offered ten thousand pieces of eight for their ransom. On the other hand, the loss sustained by the provincial militia was incredibly small. The governor publicly thanked them for the unanimity and courage they had shown in repelling the invaders : and received from the proprietors, soon after, the following letter:—"We heartily congratulate you on your great and happy success against the French and Spaniards ; and for your eminent courage and conduct in the defence and preservation of our province, we return you our thanks, and assure you, that we shall always retain a just sense of your merit, and will take all opportunities to reward your signal services."

About this time, the long-projected union between England and Scotland took place in Britain. Among the number of articles which composed this important and beneficial treaty, it was agreed, "That all the subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain should, from and after this union, have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, to and from any port or place in the said united kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging ; and that there should be a communication of all rights, privileges, and advantages which do or may belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these articles." Unfortunately, however, two modes of religious worship were established in the nation, which served to perpetuate differences among the more stiff and rigid partisans of both the Episcopalian and Presbyterian

churches. In respect to the essential principles and doctrines of religion, they are the same in both churches, and the difference between them lies in the modes of worship and government, in usages, vestments, forms, and ceremonies, matters of little consequence. As the greatest part of the emigrants to America carried along with them prejudices against the established modes, and discovered a tendency towards a republican form of church government, they in process of time acquired so much strength, that the various colonial governments, when engaged in support of the established church, were often weakened by it, and rendered unable to answer the ends of their appointment.

About the close of the year 1707, Lord Granville, the palatine, died, and was succeeded in that high dignity by William, Lord Craven. The death of that nobleman, by whose instruction and encouragement the several violent steps for the establishment and support of the church of England, in Carolina, had been taken, was now likely to produce some change in the future state of public affairs. Though the governor and his friends still maintained a majority in the house of Assembly, yet, from the number and temper of the dissenters; they were not without some suspicions of seeing the fabric, which they had with such uncommon industry been erecting, totally overturned. While many Episcopalians in England were terrified with the prospects of danger to their church, the Carolineans took the alarm, and passed an act for its security in that province. The preamble of which was to the following effect: "Whereas, the church of England has of late been so happily established among us, fearing that by the succession of a new governor, this church may be either undermined or wholly subverted, to prevent which calamity falling upon us, be it enacted, That this present Assembly shall continue to sit two years, and for the time and term of eighteen months, after the change of government, whether by the death of the present governor, or the succession of another in his time."

About the end of the year 1708, Colonel Edward Tynte received a commission from Lord Craven, investing him with the government of the colony. About the same time, Charles Craven, brother to the palatine, was made secretary to the province. During the time Sir Nathaniel Johnson had governed the country, it had not only been threatened with a formidable invasion, but also torn to pieces with factions and divisions, which had much retarded its progress and improvement. Great confusion among the people had been occasioned by the violent stretch of power in favour of an ecclesiastical establishment. The new palatine, sensible of those things, instructed Governor Tynte to adopt such healing measures as would be most conducive to the welfare of the settlement. Soon after his arrival, he received a letter from the proprietors to the following effect: "We hope by this time you have entered upon your government of our pro-

vince of Carolina, and therefore we earnestly require your endeavours to reconcile the minds of the inhabitants to each other, that the name of parties, if any yet remains among them, may be utterly extinguished: for we can by no means doubt but their unanimous concurrence with our endeavours for their prosperity will most effectually render Carolina as flourishing a colony as any in America." The late palatine, from a mixture of spiritual and political pride, despised all dissenters, as the enemies of both the hierarchy and monarchy, and believed the state could only be secure, while the civil authority was lodged in the hands of high-churchmen. Lord Craven possessed not the same intolerant spirit, and thought those Carolinians, who maintained liberty of conscience, merited greater indulgences from them; and, though a friend to the church of England, he always was doubtful whether the minds of the people were ripe for the introduction of that establishment; and he therefore urged lenity and toleration.

The expenses incurred by the French invasion, though it terminated much to the honour of the Carolinians, fell heavy on the colony, still in a poor and languishing condition. No taxes as yet had been laid on real or personal estates: the revenues of the colony were all raised by duties laid on spirituous liquors, sugar, molasses, and a few other articles imported; and on deer-skins and furs exported. The amount of these several duties was applied towards defraying the charges of government, such as raising and repairing fortifications, paying the governor's salary, maintaining garrisons, providing military stores, and salaries to ten ministers of the church of England, and sinking bills of credit stamped for answering the extraordinary expenses of the province. Eight thousand pounds had been issued for defraying the public expenses occasioned by the French invasion; and the act laying an imposition on furs, skins, and liquors, was continued, for the purpose of cancelling these bills of credit. From this time forward, there was a gradual rise in exchange and produce, owing, as many thought, to the emission and establishment of paper currency in the province. Before this period, French and Spanish gold and silver, brought into the country by pirates, privateers, and the over-balance of trade with the West Indies, answered all the purposes of internal commerce, and very little English coin was circulating in the country. However, soon after this emission, fifty per cent. advance was given by the merchants for what English money there was; that is to say, for a hundred pounds English coin, they gave a hundred and fifty pounds paper currency of Carolina.

A fierce war still continued between England and France in Europe, and the success which had attended an expedition against Acadia, had encouraged the British administration to enter on bolder undertakings in America. The French in Canada were numerous and strong; and Lord G. dolphin, convinced of the necessity of maintaining a superiority over

them, formed the design of attacking Quebec, of which a sufficient account has already been given on page 369 of this work.

In the year following, the French planted a colony at the mouth of the great river Mississippi. Louis XIV. thought proper to grant a territory of vast extent in that quarter to Secretary Crozat, by which he evidently encroached on lands belonging to the proprietors of South Carolina. Though the Carolineans had not a little to fear from a settlement in such a situation, yet Crozat was allowed to take peaceable possession, without any complaints from the proprietors, or opposition from the British government. From this period a new competitor for the affection and interest of Indian nations arose, more active and enterprising than the Spaniards, whose motions the Carolineans had good reason to watch with a jealous and vigilant eye.

About the same time application was made to the proprietors for lands in Carolina, by a number of palatines harassed in Germany by the calamities of a tedious war, and reduced to circumstances of great indigence and misery. The proprietors wisely judging, that by such acquisitions the value of their lands would increase, and the strength of their settlement would be promoted, determined to give every possible encouragement to such emigrants. Ships were provided for their transportation. Instructions were sent to Governor Tynte, to allow one hundred acres of land for every man, woman, and child, free of quit-rents for the first ten years; but, at the expiration of that term, to pay one penny per acre annual rent for ever, according to the usages and customs of the province. Upon their arrival, Governor Tynte granted them lands in North Carolina, where they settled, and flattered themselves with having found in the dreary wilderness a happy retreat from the storms and desolations of war raging in Europe.

However, like many others, Governor Tynte had scarcely time to learn the real state of the country, in order to establish proper regulations in it, before he died. After his death, a competition arose in the council about the succession. One party declared for Robert Gibbes, and another for Thomas Broughton. Gibbes, however, carried his election, and for a little while stood at the head of the colony. During his time, we know nothing remarkable that happened. An act of Assembly passed for appointing commissioners, empowering them to take subscriptions and collect public contributions for building a church at Charleston. Water passages were carried southward to Port-Royal, for the ease and convenience of passengers by sea; and money was provided for building public bridges, and establishing ferries, for the accommodation of travellers by land.

But, as it appeared to the proprietors, that bribery and corruption had been used by Robert Gibbes to gain his election to the government, he was not permitted to continue long in that office; they forbade their receiver-

general to pay him any salary, and ordered the money due to be transmitted to Richard Shelton, their secretary, in England. A commission was sent out to Charles Craven, a man of great knowledge, courage, and integrity, by his brother, investing him with the government of the colony. His council was composed of Thomas Broughton, Ralph Izard, Charles Hart, Samuel Eveleigh, Arthur Middleton, &c.: all men of considerable property and experience in provincial affairs. The Assembly, in his time, was not elected as formerly, in a riotous and tumultuary manner, but with the utmost quietness and regularity; and proceeded to their deliberations with great temper and mutual friendship. The governor had instructions to defend the province against the French and Spaniards, and for that purpose to form and cultivate the firmest friendship and alliance with the Indians; to promote fisheries and manufactures, which was certainly an absurd and ridiculous instruction: for while they had so much land, agriculture was evidently more profitable and beneficial to both the possessors and proprietors of the province. He was required to overlook the courts, and take special care that justice be equitably administered; and that no interruptions or delays attend the execution of the laws. He was ordered to employ eight men to sound Port-Royal river for the benefit of navigation, and to fix on the most convenient spot for building a town, with a harbour nigh it; and to transmit all acts of Assembly, made from time to time, to England, for the proprietors' approbation or disapprobation; and such other public matters as appeared to him of general concern and utility, he was required carefully to study and promote.

In the year 1712, after Governor Craven had assumed the management of the colony, a dangerous conspiracy was formed by the Indians of North Carolina against the poor settlers in that quarter. The cause of the quarrel we have not been able clearly to find out; probably they were offended at the encroachments made on their hunting-lands. The powerful tribes of Indians called Corees, Tuscaroras, and several more, united, and determined to murder or expel the European invaders. As usual, they carried on their bloody design with amazing cunning and profound secrecy. Their chief town they had, in the first place, surrounded with a wooden breast-work, for the security of their own families. Here the different tribes met together, to the number of twelve hundred bowmen, and formed their horrid plot. From this place of rendezvous they sent out small parties, who entered the settlements under the mask of friendship, by different roads. At the change of the full moon, all of them had agreed to begin their murderous operations, on the same night. When that night came, they entered the planters' houses, demanded provisions, and murdered men, women, and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent the alarm spreading through the settlement, they ran from house to house, spreading slaughter among the scattered families, wherever they went.

None of the colonists, during the fatal night, knew what had befallen their neighbours, until the barbarians had reached their own doors. About Roanoke, one hundred and thirty-seven settlers fell a sacrifice to their savage fury the first night; among whom were a Swiss baron, and almost all the poor palatines who had lately come into the country. Some, however, who had hid themselves in the woods, having escaped, next morning gave the alarm to their neighbours, and prevented the total destruction of that colony. Every family had orders speedily to assemble at one place, and the militia, under arms, kept watch day and night around them, until the news of the sad disaster reached the province of South Carolina.

Happy was it for the distressed North Carolinians, that Governor Craven lost no time in collecting and despatching a force to their assistance and relief. The Assembly voted four thousand pounds for the services of the war. A body of militia, consisting of six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages. Two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, under the command of Captains Harford and Turstons; seventy-nine Creeks, under Captain Hastings; forty-one Catawbas, under Captain Cantey; and twenty-eight Yamassees, under Captain Pierce, being furnished with arms, joined the Carolinians in this expedition. The way was dreadful, at this time, in the wilderness through which Colonel Barnwell had to march. It was not possible for his men to carry a sufficient quantity of provisions, together with arms and ammunition, along with them, or to have these things provided at different stages by the way. There was no road through the woods upon which either horses or carriages could conveniently pass; and his little army had every kind of hardship and danger to encounter. In spite of every difficulty, Barnwell, however, advanced against them, employing his Indian allies to hunt for provisions to his men, by the way. At length, having come up with the savages, he attacked them; and being much better supplied with arms and ammunition than his enemy, he did great execution among them. In the first battle he killed three hundred Indians, and took about one hundred prisoners. After which the Tuscaroras retreated to their town, within a wooden breastwork; there Barnwell surrounded them, and having killed a considerable number, forced the remainder to sue for peace: some of his men being wounded, and others having suffered much by constant watching and much hunger and fatigue, the savages the more easily obtained their request. In this expedition it was computed that Barnwell killed, wounded, and captured near one thousand Tuscaroras. The remainder, who escaped, soon after this heavy chastisement, abandoned their country, and joined a northern tribe of Indians on the Ohio river. Of Barnwell's party, five Carolinians were killed, and several wounded; of his Indians, thirty-six were killed, and between sixty and seventy wounded. In justice to this officer it must be owned. never had any expedition against th

savages in Carolina been attended with such hazards and difficulties, nor had the conquest of any tribe of them ever been more general and complete.

Although the expedition to North Carolina was well conducted, and proved as successful as the most sanguine could have expected; yet the expense the public had incurred by it fell heavy on the province, the revenues of which were inconsiderable, and not at all adapted for such important and extensive enterprises. But as great good feeling at this time subsisted between the governor and Assembly, they were well disposed to concur with him in every measure for the public safety and relief. The stamping of bills of credit had been used as the easiest method of defraying these expenses incurred for the public defence; however, at this time, the legislature thought proper to establish a public bank, and issued forty-eight thousand pounds, in bills of credit, called bank-bills, for answering the exigencies of government, and for the convenience of domestic commerce. This money was to be lent out at interest, on landed or personal security; and, according to the tenor of the act for issuing the same, it was to be sunk gradually by four thousand pounds a year; which sum was ordered to be paid annually by the borrowers, into the hands of commissioners appointed for that purpose. After the emission of these bank-bills, the rate of exchange and the price of produce quickly rose, and in the first year advanced to a hundred and fifty, in the second to two hundred per cent.

With respect to the utility of this paper-money, the planters and merchants, according to their different views and interests, were divided in opinion. The former, who for the most part stood indebted to the latter, found that this provincial currency was not only necessary to answer the exigencies of government, but also very useful and convenient in the payment of private debts. This money being local, in proportion as it increased in quantity, it raised the nominal price of provincial commodities, and became of course prejudicial to creditors, in proportion as it was profitable to debtors; for though it depreciated fifty per cent. in a year, during which time the planters stood indebted to the merchants, the next year such creditors were obliged to take it in payment, or produce, which had advanced in price according to the quantity of money in circulation. By the acts of Assembly which established these bills of credit, the currency was secured, and made a tender, in law, in all payments; so that if the creditor refused this money before witnesses offered to him, the debt was discharged from the minute of his refusal. Besides, the planters knew, that in a trading country gold and silver, by various channels, would make their way out of it, when they answer the purposes of remittance better than produce; paper-money served to remedy this inconvenience, and to keep up the price of provincial commodities, as it could not leave the

colony ; and answered the purpose for paying private debts as well, or rather better, than gold and silver. As the trade of the country increased, no doubt a certain quantity of money was necessary to carry it on with ease and freedom ; but when paper bills are permitted to increase beyond what are necessary for commercial ease and utility, they sink in value ; and in such a case creditors lose in proportion to their depreciation.

In Carolina, as well as in the other British colonies in America, the greatest part of the gold and silver current was foreign coin, and the different Assemblies settled their value from time to time, by laws peculiar to each province. To remedy the inconveniences arising from the different rates at which the same species of foreign coin passed in the several colonies and plantations, Queen Anne, in the sixth year of her reign, had thought fit, by her royal proclamation, to settle and ascertain the current rate of foreign coin in all her colonies. The standard at which currency was fixed by this proclamation, was at £133, 6s. 8d. per cent. ; but this regulation, however convenient and advantageous to trade, was afterwards little regarded in these provinces, and the confusion of current money continued and prevailed.

After the emission of this great quantity of bank-bills in Carolina, and speedy rise of the price of produce in consequence of it, the merchants of London, to whom the colony stood indebted, judging it prejudicial to trade, complained of it to the proprietors. They perceived that the trade of the country, by this means, would be carried on entirely without silver or gold ; and although their factors in Carolina might raise the price of British commodities and manufactures, equal to the advanced price of the produce, yet it might be for their interest, sometimes, to take gold and silver rather than produce in return for their British goods. They considered the issuing of such bank-notes as a violation of the laws of England, and prevailed on the proprietors to write Governor Craven a letter to the following effect : " We have heard complaints from several hands, of an act you have passed, called the Bank Act. We do recommend to you to consider of some expedient for preventing the mischievous consequences of that act, lest, upon further complaints, we be forced to repeal it. The act is exclaimed against by our London merchants, as injurious to trade, as an infringement and violation of the laws of Great Britain, and made almost in opposition to the act of the sixth of Queen Anne. Therefore we expect, for preventing such complaints for the future, that you will endeavour, as much as in you lies, to reduce that paper credit, pretended to be established in your bank act, and that you will strictly put in execution the aforesaid act of Queen Anne."

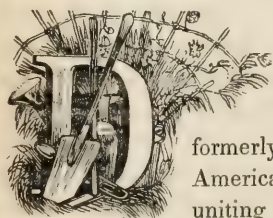
As the trade of the colony had of late years considerably increased, and was almost entirely carried on in British ships, its protection was an object which demanded the attention either of the proprietors or the

British administration. The war in Europe had engrossed the care of the latter, and the former were either unable or unwilling to bear the expense of its protection. They had leased their property in the Bahama islands to a company of merchants, which turning out to little account, the Island of Providence became a receptacle for vagabonds and villains of all nations. From this place of rendezvous, a crew of desperate pirates had been accustomed to push out to sea, and, in defiance of the laws of nations, to obstruct the navigation. The trade of Carolina and that of the West Indies suffered greatly from their depredations. For five years after this period, these lawless robbers reigned as the masters of the Gulf of Florida, plundering and taking ships of every nation. North Carolina, by the conquest of its maritime tribes of Indians, had also become a refuge for those rogues, who carried their prizes into Cape Fear River, or Providence, as best suited their convenience or interest. Their success induced bold and rapacious spirits to join them, and in time they became so formidable that no inconsiderable force was requisite to suppress them.

After a long and expensive war, a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between Britain, France, and Spain, in Europe; and orders were sent to all the colonies to desist from acts of hostility. Governor Craven, deeply interested in the prosperity of Carolina, now turned his attention to improve the blessings of peace, and to diffuse a spirit of industry and agriculture throughout the settlement. The lands in Granville county were found, upon trial, rich and fertile, and the planters were encouraged to improve them. Accordingly, a number of plantations were settled in the neighbourhood of Indian nations, with whom the governor studied to cultivate a friendly correspondence. For the purposes of trade, some men took up their residence in their towns, and furnished them with clothes, arms, and ammunition, in exchange for their furs and deer-skins. An agent was appointed to superintend the affairs of Indian tribes, and to conciliate, by all possible means, their friendship and esteem. Several interior regulations, conducive to the peace and prosperity of the colony, were also established. The colonists, as an eminent writer has observed, in general carry with them so much of the English law as is applicable to their local circumstances and situation; such as, the general rules of inheritance, and of protection from personal injuries. What may be proper to be admitted, and what are necessary to be rejected, is judged and determined, in the first instance, by the provincial judicature, then subject to the approbation or disapprobation of the proprietors; and so far of the British parliament, that nothing may be attempted by them derogatory to the sovereignty and supreme jurisdiction of the mother country. At this time Governor Craven obtained the assent of the General Assembly, to make several English statutes of the same force in Carolina as if they had been enacted in it.

The people regarded him as a wise and indulgent parent, and wished to copy the spirit of their laws from the English original, although they received their obligation and authoritative force from their being the laws of the colony.

About this time Nicholas Trott, the chief justice of the colony, returned from England, where he had been for some time engaged in the settlement of private affairs. During his stay in Britain he had engrossed the favour of the proprietors, who, finding him to be a man of great abilities, professed a high respect for him, and afterwards desired his assistance and advice in every case respecting the future management of their colony. They advanced his salary to one hundred pounds a year, and he agreed to carry on a regular correspondence with their secretary, and to give them the best intelligence with respect to their provincial affairs. Trott having thus secured the confidence of the proprietors in England, soon after he came to Carolina, began to plume himself on his advantageous circumstances, and to treat his former friends in the colony with great arrogance. On the other hand, they watched his conduct with an envious and malignant eye, and seemed to desire nothing more than to humble his pride and destroy his influence. To this fatal difference may be ascribed several future jealousies and disturbances with which the colonists were harassed, and which terminated in the total subversion of the proprietary government.



URING the reign of Anne, the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, from the contentions that prevailed in some of the colonies, had taken occasion to look more narrowly than formerly into the state of proprietary governments in America, in order to form a plan for purchasing and uniting them more closely to the crown. They easily perceived the advantage of beginning this negotiation as soon as possible, for the sooner the purchase was made, the easier it would be obtained. Accordingly, they wrote to the proprietors of each colony, acquainting them, it was her majesty's pleasure and command, that all governors of her foreign plantations to transmit to them frequent and full information of the state of their respective colonies, as well in respect to the administration of government and justice, as to their progress in trade and improvements. The queen, though no friend to non-conformists, had also afforded relief to the distressed dissenters of Carolina, and publicly disapproved of some oppressive acts to which they had been subjected. This served to encourage a spirit of discontent among the Carolinians at the proprietary government, and induced them to turn to the crown at every future period, when they thought themselves aggrieved.

During the same year in which Britain was occupied by a civil contest.

the colony of Carolina was visited with a terrible Indian war, which threatened its total extirpation. The numerous and powerful tribe of Indians called Yamassees, probably at the instigation of the Spaniards at Augustine, were the most active in promoting this conspiracy against the settlement, though every tribe around was more or less concerned in it. The Yamassees possessed a large territory lying backward from Port Royal Island, on the north-east side of Savanna river, which is called Indian Land. By the Carolineans this tribe had long been esteemed as friends and allies, who had admitted a number of traders into their towns, and several times assisted the settlers in their warlike enterprises. Of all other Indians, they were believed to harbour in their minds the most irreconcilable enmity to Spaniards. For many years they had been accustomed to make incursions into the Spanish territories, and to wage war with the Indians within their bounds. In their return from these southern expeditions, it had been a common practice with them to lurk in the woods around Augustine, until they surprised some Spanish prisoners, on whom they exercised the most wanton barbarities; sometimes cutting them to pieces slowly, joint by joint, with knives and tomahawks; at other times burying them up to the neck under ground, then standing at a distance, and marking at their heads with their pointed arrows; and, at other times, binding them to a tree, and piercing the tenderest parts of their bodies with sharp-pointed sticks of burning wood, which last, because the most painful and excruciating method of torture, was the most common among them.

To prevent such barbarities, the legislature of Carolina passed a law, offering a reward of five pounds for every Spanish prisoner these Indians should bring alive to Charleston; which law, though it evidently proceeded from motives of humanity, yet, in the event, it proved very inconsistent with good policy: for, in consequence of this act, the Yamassees brought several Spaniards, at different times, to Charleston, where they claimed the reward for their prisoners, and delivered them up to the governor. Charles Craven, who was no less distinguished for humanity than valour, used to send back such prisoners to Augustine, charging the Spanish government with the expenses of their passage, and the reward to the Yamassees.

For twelve months before the war broke out, the traders among the Yamassees observed that their chief warriors went frequently to Augustine, and returned loaded with presents; but were not apprehensive of any ill consequence from such generosity. John Fraser, an honest Scotch Highlander, who lived among the Yamassees, and traded with them, had often heard these warriors tell with what kindness they had been treated at Augustine. One had received a hat, another a jacket, and a third a coat, all trimmed with silver lace. Some got hatchets, others great knives, and almost all of them guns and ammunition, to prepare them for striking

some great and important blow. These warriors told Fraser, that they had dined with the governor at Augustine, and washed his face, (a ceremony used by Indians as a token of friendship,) and that now the Spanish governor was their king, and not the governor of Carolina. Still, however, the Carolineans remained secure, and, having such confidence in the Indians, dreaded no ill consequences from this new intercourse. They knew the antipathy of the Yamassees to the Spaniards, and their fondness for presents, but suspected no plot against the settlement by their allies.



It was a common thing for the traders who resided among these savages to single out a warrior of authority, and to court his favour with trifling presents. Among the Yamassees, one named Sanute was Fraser's friend, who, with his fellow-warriors, had also been at Florida, and shared the Spaniards' insidious liberality. During his absence, Mr. Fraser had married a fine woman; and Sanute, who had a great regard for him, after his return home came to his house, and brought along with him some sweet herbs, to show the lady a mark of respect, agreeably to an Indian custom. So soon as he entered

the habitation of his friend, he called for a basin of water, in which he bruised the herbs, and first washed Mrs. Fraser's face and hands, and then putting his own hands upon his breast, told her, that, for the future, he would communicate to her all he knew in his heart. She, in return, thanked him, and made him some present. Accordingly, about nine days before hostilities commenced, Sanute came to Mrs. Fraser's house, and told her, that the English were all wicked heretics, and would go to hell, and that the Yamassees would also follow them, if they suffered them to live in their country; that now the governor of Augustine was their king; that there would be a terrible war with the English, and they only waited for the bloody stick to be returned from the Creeks before they began it. He told them, that the Yamassees, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and many other nations, together with the Spaniards, were all to engage in it; and advised them to fly to Charleston, with all they had, and if their own boat was not large enough to carry them, he would lend them his canoe. He added that the Spanish governor told him that there would soon be a war again with the English, and that while they attacked the Carolineans by land, he would send to Spain for a fleet of ships to block up the harbour, so that not a man or woman of them should escape. He also stated that, if they were determined to stay, and run all hazards, he, to prevent torture, would claim the privilege of performing the last friendly office to them, which was to kill them with his own hands. Fraser still entertained some doubts, but his wife being terrified, he resolved at all events to get out of the way, and accordingly, without delay, put his wife, his

child, and most valuable effects into his boat, and made his escape to Charleston.

While the time drew nigh in which this plot was to be put in execution, Captain Nairn, agent for Indian affairs, and many traders, resided at Pocatigo, the largest town belonging to the Yamassees. Fraser, probably either discrediting what he had heard, or from the hurry and confusion which the alarm occasioned, unfortunately, had not taken time to communicate the intelligence he had received to his friends, who remained in a state of false security, in the midst of their enemies. The case of the scattered settlers on the frontiers was equally lamentable, who were living under no suspicions of danger. However, on the day before the Yamassees began their bloody operations, Captain Nairn and some of the traders observing an unusual gloom on their savage countenances, and apparently great agitations of spirit, which, to them, prognosticated approaching mischief, went to their chief men, begging to know the cause of their uneasiness, and promising, if any injury had been done them, to give them satisfaction. The chiefs replied, they had no complaints to make against any one, but intended to go hunting, early the next morning. Captain Nairn accordingly went to sleep, and the traders retired to their huts, and passed the night in seeming friendship and tranquillity. The next morning, about the break of day, being the 15th day of April, 1715, all were alarmed with the cries of war. The leaders were all out under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men flew to their arms, and, in a few hours, massacred above ninety persons in Pocatigo town and the neighbouring plantations; and many more must have fallen a sacrifice on Port Royal Island, had they not been warned of their danger. Mr. Burrows, a captain of the militia, after receiving two wounds, by swimming one mile and running ten, escaped to Port Royal and alarmed the town. A vessel happening fortunately to be in the harbour, the inhabitants in great hurry repaired on board, and sailed for Charleston; only a few families of planters on that island, not having timely notice, fell into their hands, some of whom they murdered, and others they made prisoners of war.

While the Yamassees, with whom the Creeks and Appalachians had joined, were advancing against the southern frontiers, and spreading desolation and slaughter through the province, the Indians on the northern borders also came down among the settlements in formidable parties. The Carolineans had foolishly entertained hopes of the friendship of the Congarees, the Catawbias and Cherokees; but they soon found that they had also joined in the conspiracy, and declared for war. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of above six thousand bowmen, and the northern of between six hundred and one thousand. Indeed every Indian tribe, from Florida to Cape Fear river, had joined in this confede-

race for the destruction of the settlement. The planters, scattered here and there, had no time to gather together in a body sufficiently strong to withstand such numbers ; but each consulting his safety, in great hurry and consternation fled to the capital. Every one who came in brought the governor different accounts of the number and strength of the savages, insomuch that even the inhabitants of Charleston were doubtful of their safety, and entertained the most discouraging apprehensions of their inability to repel a force so great and formidable. In the muster-roll there were no more than twelve hundred men fit to bear arms, but as the town had several forts into which the inhabitants might retreat, the governor, with this small force, resolved to march into the woods against the enemy. He proclaimed martial law, and laid an embargo on all the ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the country. He obtained an act of Assembly, empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they were to be found, to arm such trusty negroes as might be serviceable at a juncture so critical, and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Agents were sent to Virginia and England to solicit assistance ; bills were stamped for the payment of the army, and other necessary expenses ; Robert Daniel was appointed deputy-governor in town, and Charles Craven, at the head of the militia, marched to the country against the largest body of savages.

In the mean time, the Indians on the northern quarter had made an inroad as far as a plantation belonging to John Hearne, about fifty miles from town, and entered his house in a seemingly peaceable and friendly manner ; but afterwards pretending to be displeased with the provisions given them, murdered him and every person in it. Thomas Barker, a captain of militia, having intelligence of the approach of these Indians, collected a party, consisting of ninety horsemen, and advanced against them : but by the treachery of an Indian whom he unluckily trusted, he was led into a dangerous ambuscade in a thicket, where a large party of Indians lay concealed on the ground. Barker having advanced into the middle of them before he was aware of his danger, the Indians sprung from their concealments, and fired upon his men on every side. The captain and several more fell at the first onset, and the remainder in confusion were obliged to retreat. After this advantage, a party of four hundred Indians came down as far as Goose Creek. Every family there had fled to town, except in one place, where seventy white men and forty negroes had surrounded themselves with a breastwork, and resolved to remain and defend themselves in the best manner they could. When the Indians attacked them they were discouraged, and rashly agreed to terms of peace ; and having admitted the enemy within their works, this poor garrison was barbarously butchered : after which the Indians advanced still nigher to town, but at length meeting with Captain Chicken and the whole Goose Creek militia, they were repulsed, and obliged to retreat into the wilderness.

By this time the Yamassees, with their confederates, had spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and advancing downwards as far as Stono, they burned the church at that place, together with every house on the plantations by the way. John Cochran, his wife and four children ; Mr. Bray, his wife, and two children ; and six more men and women, having found some friends among them, were spared for some days ; but, while attempting to make their escape from them, they were retaken and put to death. Such as had no friends among them were tortured in the most shocking manner, the Indians seeming to neglect their progress towards conquest on purpose to assist in tormenting their enemies. We forbear to mention the various tortures inflicted on such as fell into their merciless fangs : none can be pleased with the relation of such horrid cruelties, but the man who, with a smile of satisfaction, can be the spectator of a Spanish *auto de fe*, or such savage hearts as are steeled against every emotion of humanity and compassion.

By this time Governor Craven, being no stranger to the ferocious temper of his enemies, and their horrid cruelty to prisoners, was advancing against them by slow and cautious steps, always keeping the strictest guard round his army. He knew well under what advantages they fought among their native thickets, and the various wiles and stratagems they made use of in conducting their wars ; and therefore was watchful above all things against sudden surprises, which might throw his followers into disorder, and defeat the end of his enterprise. The fate of the whole province depended on the success of his arms, and his men had no other alternative left but to conquer or die a painful death. As he advanced, the straggling parties fled before him, until he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their great camp. Here a sharp and bloody battle ensued from behind trees and bushes, the Indians hooping, hallooing, and giving way one while, and then again and again returning with double fury to the charge. But the governor, notwithstanding their superior number, drove them before him like a flock of wolves. He expelled them from their settlement at Indian-land, pursued them over Savannah river, and rid the province entirely of this formidable tribe of savages. What number of his army he lost, or of the enemy he killed, we have not been able particularly to learn ; but in this Indian war near four hundred innocent inhabitants of Carolina were murdered by these wild barbarians.

The Yamassees, after their defeat and expulsion, went directly to the Spanish territories in Florida, where they were received with bells ringing and guns firing, as if they had come victoriously from the field ; from which circumstance, together with the encouragement afterwards given them to settle in Florida, there is too good reason to believe, that this horrid massacre was contrived by Spaniards, and carried on by their encouragement and assistance. Two prisoners whom they had saved and carried to August-

tine along with them, Mrs. Sisson and Mrs. Macartey, afterwards reported to the Carolinians the news of this kind reception the Indians met with from the Spaniards. On the other hand, though the province of Carolina suffered much at this time, yet the governor had the good fortune to prevent its total destruction. From the lowest state of despondency, Charleston, on the governor's return to it, was raised to the highest pitch of joy. He entered it with some degree of triumph, receiving from all such applauses as his wise conduct and unexpected success justly merited. Indeed, his prosperous expedition had not only disconcerted the most formidable conspiracy ever formed against the colony, but also placed the inhabitants in general, however much exposed individuals might be to small scalping parties, in a state of greater security and tranquillity than they had hitherto enjoyed.

However, from that period in which the Yamassee Indians were compelled to take up their residence in Florida, they harboured in their breasts the most inveterate ill-will and rancour to all Carolinians, and watched every opportunity of pouring their vengeance on them. Being furnished with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they often broke out on small scalping parties, and infested the frontiers of the British settlement. A party of them caught one William Hooper, and killed him by torture, by cutting off one joint of his body after another, until he expired; and another party surprised Henry Quinton, Thomas Simmons, and Thomas Parmenter and also tortured them to death. Dr. Rose afterwards fell also into their hands, whom they cut across his nose with their tomahawk, and having scalped him left him on the spot for dead; but he happily recovered of his wounds. In short the emissaries of St. Augustine, disappointed in their sanguinary design of suddenly destroying the settlers in Carolina, had now no other resource left but to employ the vindictive spirit of the Yamassees against the defenceless frontiers of the province. In these excursions, it must be confessed, they were too successful, for many poor settlers at different times fell a sacrifice to their insatiable revenge.

During the time of this hard struggle with the Indians, the legislature of Carolina had made application to the proprietors, representing to them the weak state of the province, the deplorable dangers which hung over it, and begging their paternal help and protection; but being doubtful whether the proprietors would be inclined to involve their English estates in debt for supporting their property in Carolina, in so precarious a situation, they instructed their agent, in case he failed of success from them, to apply to the king for relief. The merchants entered cordially into the measure for making application to the crown, and considered it as the most effectual expedient for retrieving their credit in England, lost by the danger which threatened the country, and the pirates that infested the coast. They perceived at once the many advantages which would accrue to them

from being taken under the immediate care and protection of the crown. Ships of war would soon clear the coast of sea-robbers, and give free scope to trade and navigation. Forces by land would overawe the warlike Indians, prevent such dreadful attempts for the future, and they would reap the happy fruits of public peace and security. The inhabitants in general were much dissatisfied with living under a government unable to protect them, and what rendered their case still more lamentable, prevented the interposition of the crown for their defence, and therefore were very unanimous in the proposed application to the crown.

About the middle of the year 1715, the agent for Carolina waited on the proprietors, with a representation of the heavy calamities under which their colony laboured from the ravages of barbarous enemies and the depredations of lawless pirates. He acquainted them, that the Yamassees, by the influence of Spanish emissaries, had claimed the whole lands of the country as their ancient possessions, and conspired with many other tribes to assert their rights by force of arms, and therefore urged the necessity of sending immediate relief to the colony. But not being satisfied with the answer he received, he petitioned the House of Commons in behalf of the distressed Carolinians. The Commons addressed the king, praying for his kind interposition and immediate assistance to the colony. The king referred the matter to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations. The lords of trade made an objection, that the province of Carolina was one of the proprietary governments, and were of opinion, that, if the nation should be at the expense of its protection, the government ought to be vested in the crown. Upon which Lord Carteret wrote them a letter to the following effect: "We the proprietors of Carolina having met on this melancholy occasion, to our great grief find, that we are utterly unable of ourselves to afford our colony suitable assistance in this conjuncture, and unless his majesty will graciously please to interpose, we can foresee nothing but the utter destruction of his majesty's faithful subjects in those parts." The lords of trade asked Lord Carteret what sum might be necessary for that service, and whether the government of the colony should not devolve on the crown, if Great Britain should agree to bear the expense of its defence. To which Lord Carteret replied, "The proprietors humbly submitted to his majesty's great wisdom, what sum of money he should be pleased to grant for their assistance; and in case the money advanced for this purpose should not be in a reasonable time repaid, they humbly conceived that then his majesty would have an equitable right to take the government under his immediate care and protection."

The same year, a bill was brought into the House of Commons in England, for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments in America, and of his majesty's plantations there; the chief design of which was, to reduce all charter and proprietary governments into regal

ones. Men of observation had long foreseen the rapid increase of American colonies, and wisely judged, that it would be for the interest of the kingdom to purchase them for the crown as soon as possible. At different times the government, in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, held treaties with the proprietors for this purpose: but some obstacles always came in the way, or some accidents occurred, which prevented a final agreement, and at this time the other colonies being at variance as to the same proposal, the design was for the present abandoned.

It is remarkable, that the proprietors of Carolina, at the time they obtained their charter, as is expressly mentioned in it, were excited to form that settlement by their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith among the Indians of America: yet, to their shame it must be confessed, that they never used any endeavours for this laudable purpose, or they had been utterly fruitless and ineffectual. At this time, indeed, the society incorporated for propagating the gospel maintained several missionaries in Carolina, as well as in the northern provinces. The parishes of St. Helen's, St. Paul's, Christchurch, St. Andrew's, St. James's, and St. John's, were all supplied with ministers from this charitable corporation, who were instructed to use their best endeavours for spreading the gospel among the heathens in their neighbourhood, and received an annual allowance from the society for that purpose; yet we have not been able to learn that these heathens ever reaped the smallest advantage from them. The Spaniards, though they have often made use of the more severe and rough means of conversion, and erected the standard of the cross in a field of blood, yet they have also been exceedingly diligent and assiduous in teaching heathens the principles of the Catholic religion. In point of policy, this zeal was more praiseworthy than English negligence: for such barbarians would certainly have been much easier tamed and civilized by mild instruction than by force of arms. The Tumican and Appalachian Indians, before Governor Moore's inroads among them, had made some advances towards civilization, and paid, by means of instruction from Roman Catholic missionaries, strict obedience to the Spanish government at Augustine. Had the proprietors of Carolina erected schools, for the instruction of young Indians in the language, manners, and religion, of the English nation, such an institution might have been attended with the most beneficial effects. For while the children of such savages were living among the colonists, they would have been like so many hostages to secure the good-will and peaceable behaviour of their parents; and when they returned to the nation to which they belonged, their knowledge of the English language and customs would, for the future, have rendered all commercial treaties and transactions between them easy and practicable. Besides, they would have had all the prejudices of education in favour of the English manners and government, which would have helped both to fortify them against the fatal

influence of Spanish rivals, and to render them more firm and steady to the British interest.

Although the Yamassee war had terminated much to the honour of the Carolinians, yet the fatal effects of it were long and heavily felt by the colony. Many of the planters had no negroes to assist them in raising provisions for their families, and those persons who had negroes could not be spared to overlook them, so that the plantations were left uncultivated, and the produce of the year was very inconsiderable. The men being more solicitous about the safety of their families than the increase of their fortunes, purchased bills of exchange at any price, to send with them to the northern provinces, in order to procure for them there the necessaries of life. The provincial merchants being much indebted to those in London, the latter were alarmed at the dangers which hung over the colony, and pressed them much for remittances.



The Indians, who stood indebted to the merchants of Carolina for ten thousand pounds, instead of paying their debts, had cancelled them, by murdering the traders, and abandoning the province. No remittances could be made, but in such commodities as the country produced, and all hands being engaged in war, rendered them very scarce, and con-

sequently extremely dear. To answer the public exigencies of the province, large emissions of paper currency were also requisite. Hence the rate of exchange arose to an extravagant height. The province was indebted no less than eighty thousand pounds, and at the same time obliged to maintain garrisons on the frontiers for the public defence, which served to increase the debt. While struggling amidst these hardships, the merchants of London complained to the proprietors of the increase of paper money, as injurious to trade; in consequence of which they strictly ordered their governor to reduce it. All which served to aggravate the distress of the poor colonists, and caused them to murmur against their landlords for want of compassion, and to become not a little disaffected to their government.

The next step taken by the legislature of Carolina, served to widen the difference. The Yamassees being expelled from Indian land, the Assembly passed two acts to appropriate those lands gained by conquest for the use and encouragement of such of his majesty's subjects as should come over and settle upon them. Extracts of these acts being sent to England and

Ireland, and published among the people, five hundred men from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina, to take the benefit of them; which influx was a great acquisition at this juncture, and served to strengthen these frontiers against future incursions from barbarians. But the beneficial consequences of these acts were all frustrated by the proprietors, who repealed them, claiming such lands as their property, and insisting on the right of disposing of them as they thought fit. Not long afterwards, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants, and in breach of the provincial faith to them, the proprietors ordered the Indian lands to be surveyed for their own use, and run out in large baronies; by which harsh usage the old settlers, having lost the protection of the new comers, deserted their plantations, and again left the frontiers open to the enemy; as for the unfortunate Irish emigrants, having spent the little money they had, many of them, reduced to misery, perished, and the remainder moved to the northern colonies.

About this time, Governor Craven, having received advice from England of Sir Antony Craven's death, intimated to the proprietors, that the affairs of his family required his presence, and obtained their leave to return to Britain. No governor had ever gained more general and deserved regard from the Carolinians, nor had any man ever left the province whose departure was more universally regretted. Having appointed Robert Daniel deputy-governor, he embarked for England about the end of April, 1716. While the man-of-war rode at anchor near the bar, Mr. Gideon Johnston, with about thirty more gentlemen, went into a sloop to take leave of their much-esteemed governor, and sailed with him over the bar. On their return a storm arose, the sloop was upset, and Mr. Johnston, being lame of the gout and in the hold, was drowned. The other gentlemen, who were upon deck, saved themselves by swimming to the land.

Before Governor Craven arrived in England, John, Lord Carteret, had succeeded to the dignity of palatine. Nicholas Trott, who was chief justice of Carolina, received a warrant from this nobleman, empowering him to sit also as judge of the provincial court of vice-admiralty. William Rhett, who was Trott's brother-in-law, and receiver-general, was likewise made comptroller of his majesty's customs in Carolina and Bahama Islands. The many offices of trust and emolument which these two men held, together with their natural abilities, gave them great weight and influence in the province, especially at the election of members to serve in Assembly. When the provincial Assembly met, a bill was brought into the house for the better regulation of the Indian trade, nominating commissioners, and empowering them to apply the profits arising from it to the public benefit and defence, and passed with little opposition. As the colonists had been accustomed to choose all their members of Assembly at Charleston, at which election great riots and tumults had often happened; to remedy this disorder, another bill was brought into Assembly for regulating elections: in

which, among other things, it was enacted, "That every parish should send a certain number of representatives, in all not exceeding thirty-six; that they should be balloted for at the different parish churches, or some other convenient place, on a day to be mentioned in the writs, which were to be directed to the churchwardens, who were required to make returns of the members elected." This was a popular act, as the inhabitants found it not only allowed them greater freedom, but was more conformable to the practice in England, and more convenient for the settlers than their former custom of electing all members in town.

By this time the struggle between the proprietors and possessors of the soil, which had long subsisted, and in which the officers intrusted with supporting their lordships' power and prerogative always found themselves deeply interested, was become more serious. Those popular acts, but particularly the latter, gave great offence to some members of the council, who plainly perceived its tendency to ruin their influence at elections, and of course the power of the proprietors. Among others, Trott and Rhett strenuously opposed the bills. Though they were not able to prevent their passing in Carolina, yet they took care to send to England such representations of them as could not fail to render them the objects of the proprietors' disapprobation. Indeed the act respecting elections had broke in upon a former law, which had been ratified in England, and never repealed by the same authority. The consequence was, both those bills in a little time were sent back repealed, by an instrument under the proprietors' hands and seals. The colonists, far from being pleased with the former conduct of their landlords, now became outrageous, and spoke boldly of their tyranny, bad policy, and want of compassion for distressed freemen. Being still exposed to incursions from the sanguinary and vindictive Yamassees, furnished with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they were obliged to maintain a company of rangers, to protect the frontiers against them. Three small forts were erected at Congarees, Savanna, and Appalachicola, for the public defence, and money was required for the payment of garrisons. Presents of considerable value were also necessary, to preserve the friendship of other Indian tribes. These public expenses eat up all the fruits of the poor planters' industry. The law appropriating the profits of the Indian trade for the public protection had been repealed; the public credit was at so low an ebb that no man would trust his money in the provincial treasury. None would risk their lives in defence of the colony without pay, and the province, oppressed with a load of debt, was utterly unable to furnish the necessary supplies. The people complained of the insufficiency of that government which could not protect them, and at the same time prevented the interposition of the crown for this purpose. Governor Daniel himself joined them in their complaints, and every one

seemed ardently to wish for those advantages which other colonies enjoyed, under the immediate care and protection of a powerful sovereign.

In this discontented and unhappy state, Robert Johnson found the Carolinians, when he arrived with a commission from Lord Carteret, bearing date April 30, 1717, investing him with the government of the province: to which office a salary of four hundred pounds sterling was now annexed. He was son to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who formerly held the same office, and who had left him an estate in Carolina. This new governor was a man of sense and integrity; but came out with such instructions as were ill adapted to the circumstances and situation of the colony. Soon after his arrival he perceived the disaffection of the people to the proprietary government, and the many difficulties with which he should have to struggle in the faithful discharge of his duty. His council consisted of Thomas Broughton, Alexander Skene, Nicholas Trott, Charles Hart, James Kinloch, Francis Yonge, &c., some of whom were highly dissatisfied with the harsh treatment of the proprietors. After calling an Assembly, the governor, as usual, signified to them his esteem for the people, his love to the province, and his resolutions of pursuing such measures as might be judged most conducive to its peace and prosperity. The Assembly, in answer, expressed great satisfaction with appointing a man of so good a character to that high office; but, at the same time, were not insensible of the oppression of their landlords, nor of the many hardships they had to expect under their weak and contemptible government.

About this time, some merchants and masters of ships, trading to America and the West Indies, having suffered much from the depredations of pirates, complained to the king in council of the heavy losses the trade of the nation had sustained from them. In consequence of which, the king issued a proclamation, promising a pardon to all pirates who should surrender themselves in the space of twelve months, and at the same time ordered to sea a force for suppressing them. As they had made the island of Providence their common place of residence, Captain Woodes Rogers sailed against this island, with a few ships of war, and took possession of it for the crown. Except one Vane, who, with about ninety more, made their escape in a sloop, all the pirates took the benefit of the king's proclamation, and surrendered. Captain Rogers having made himself master of the island, formed a council in it, and appointed officers, civil and military, for the better government of its inhabitants. He built some forts for its security and defence, and so ordered matters, that, for the future, the trade of the West Indies was well protected against this lawless crew.

Though the pirates on the island of Providence were crushed, those of North Carolina still remained, and were equally insolent and troublesome. Vane, who escaped from Captain Rogers, had taken two ships bound from Charleston to London. A pirate sloop of ten guns, commanded by Steed

Bonnet, and another commanded by Richard Worley, had taken possession of the mouth of Cape Fear river, which place was now the principal refuge left for these robbers. Their station there was so convenient for blocking up the harbour of Charleston, that the trade of the colony was greatly obstructed by them. No sooner had one crew left the coast, than another appeared, so that scarcely one ship coming in or going out escaped them. Governor Johnson resolving to check their insolence, fitted out a ship of force, gave the command of it to William Rhett, and sent him out to sea for the protection of trade. Rhett had scarcely got over the bar, when Steed Bonnet perceived him, but finding he was more than match for him, made all the sail he could for his refuge in Cape Fear river. Thither Rhett followed him, took the sloop, and brought the commander, and about thirty men with him, to Charleston. Soon after this, Governor Johnson himself embarked, and sailed in pursuit of the other sloop of six guns, commanded by Richard Worley, which, after a desperate engagement off the bar of Charleston, was also taken. The pirates fought ferociously, until they were all killed or wounded, excepting Worley and another man, who were likewise dangerously wounded. These two men, together with their sloop, the governor brought into Charleston, where they were instantly tried, condemned, and executed, to prevent their dying of their wounds. Steed Bonnet and his crew were also tried, and all, except one man, hanged, and buried on White Point, below high-water mark.



GOVERNOR JOHNSON, formerly a popular man, was now become much more so, by his courage, and the success attending his expedition against the pirates. This check, together with that they received among the islands, served to extirpate these buccaniers, who had declared war against all mankind; and had reduced themselves to a savage state of society. But these two expeditions from Carolina, though crowned with success, cost the provinces upwards of ten thousand pounds, an additional burden which, at this juncture, it was ill qualified to support.

At the same time, Governor Johnson had instructions to reduce the paper currency circulating in the province, of which the mercantile interest loudly complained, as injurious to trade. He recommended to the Assembly to consider of means for sinking it, and told them they were bound in honour and justice to make it good. The Indian war had occasioned a scarcity of provisions; by the large emissions of paper-money it sunk in value, and the price of produce arose to an exorbitant height. As the value of every commodity is what it will bring at market, so the value of paper-money is according to the quantity of commodities it will purchase.

Both rice and naval stores, however high, by doubling the quantity of paper-money, though the commodities remained the same as formerly, became still much higher. The merchants and money-lenders were losers by those large emissions; and the planters indebted to them, on the other hand, were gainers by them. Hence great debates arose in the Assembly about paper-money, between the planting and mercantile interests. At this time the governor, however, had so much influence as to prevail with the Assembly, to pass a law for sinking and paying off their paper-credit in three years, by a tax on lands and negroes. This act, on its arrival in England, gave great satisfaction both to the proprietors and people concerned in trade, and the governor received their thanks for his attention to the commercial interests of the country.

This compliance of the Assembly with the governor's instructions from England, and the good humour in which they at present appeared to be gave him some faint hopes of reconciling them by degrees to the supreme jurisdiction of the proprietors. But their good temper was of short duration, and the next advices from England destroyed all his hopes of future agreement. The planters finding that the tax-act fell heavy on them, began to complain of its injustice, and to contrive means for eluding it, by stamping more bills of credit. The proprietors having information of this, and also of a design formed by the Assembly, to set a price on country commodities, and make them at such a price a good tender in law for the payment of all debts, they strictly enjoined their governor not to give his assent to any bill framed by the Assembly, nor to render it of any force in the colony, before a copy of the same should be laid before them. About the same time, the king, by his order in council, signified to the proprietors, that they should repeal an act passed in Carolina, of pernicious consequence to the trade of the mother country, by which a duty of ten per cent. was laid on all goods of British manufacture imported into that province. Accordingly, this act, together with that for regulating elections, and another for declaring the right of Assembly for the time being, to nominate a public receiver, were all repealed, and sent to Governor Johnson, in a letter, which enjoined him instantly to dissolve the present Assembly, and call another, to be chosen in Charleston, according to the ancient usage and customs of the province. The proprietors considered themselves as the head of the legislative body, who had not only power to put a negative on all laws made in the colony of which they disapproved, but also to repeal such as they deemed of pernicious consequence.

Governor Johnson, sensible of the discontent which prevailed among the people at the proprietary government, and the ill consequences that would attend the immediate execution of his orders, summoned his council, to whom he communicated his orders and instructions from England. They were most of them much surprised at them, but Trott probably knew from

what they derived their origin, and to whose influence the repeal of those laws ought to be ascribed. But as the Assembly were at that time deliberating about the means of paying the provincial debt, contracted by the expedition against the pirates, and other contingent charges of government, it was agreed to postpone the dissolution of the house, until the business then before them should be finished. However, the repeal of the duty-law being occasioned by an order from the king in council, they resolved to acquaint the Assembly immediately with the royal displeasure at that clause of the law, laying a duty on all goods manufactured in Great Britain, and recommended it to them to make a new act, leaving out that clause which had given offence. Meanwhile, though great pains were taken to conceal the governor's instructions from the people, yet by some means they were divulged, and kindled violent flames among them. The Assembly entered into a warm debate about the proprietors' right of repealing laws passed with the assent of their deputies. Many alleged, that the deputation given to them, was like a power of attorney sent to persons at a distance, authorizing them to act in their stead; and insisted, that, according to the charter, they were bound by their assent to acts, as much as if the proprietors themselves had been present, and ratified and confirmed them.

While the colony was thus harassed by rigorous landlords, to enhance their misery, their savage neighbours were again making incursions into their settlements. At this time, a scalping party penetrated as far as the Euhah lands, where, having surprised John Levit, and two of his neighbours, they knocked out their brains with their tomahawks. They then seized Mrs. Borrows, and one of her children, and carried them off with them. The child, by the way, finding himself in barbarous hands, began to cry, upon which they put him to death. The distressed mother, being unable to refrain from tears while her child was murdered before her eyes, was given to understand, that she must not weep, if she desired not to share the same fate. Upon her arrival at Augustine, she would have been immediately sent to prison, but one of the Yamassee kings declared he knew her from her infancy to be a good woman, interceded for her liberty, and begged she might be sent home to her husband. This favour, however, the Spanish governor refused to grant, and the garrison seemed to triumph with the Indians in the number of their scalps. When Mr. Borrows went to Augustine to procure the release of his wife, he also was imprisoned along with her, where he soon after died: but she survived all these hardships to give a relation of her barbarous treatment. After her return to Carolina, she reported to Governor Johnson, that the Huspah king, who had taken her prisoner and carried her off, informed her, he had orders from the Spanish governor to spare no white man, but to bring every negro alive to Augustine; and that rewards were given to Indians for their pri-

soners, to encourage them to engage in such rapacious and murderous enterprises.

The Chief Justice Trott, being suspected of holding a private correspondence with the proprietors, to the prejudice of the Carolinians, had incurred their dislike. Richard Allein, Whitaker, and other practitioners of the law, charged him with many iniquitous practices. No less than thirty-one articles of complaint against him were presented to the Assembly, setting forth, among other things, "That he had been guilty of many partial judgments; that he had contrived many ways to multiply and increase his fees, to the great grievance of the subject, and contrary to acts of Assembly; that he had contrived a fee for continuing causes from one term to another, and put off the hearing of them for years; that he took upon him to give advice in causes depending in his courts, and did not only act as counsellor in that particular, but also had drawn deeds between party and party, some of which had been contested before him as chief justice, and in determining of which he had shown great partialities; with many more particulars; and, lastly, complaining, that the whole judicial power of the province was lodged in his hands alone, of which it was evident he had made a very ill use, he being at the same time sole judge of the courts of Common Pleas, King's Bench, and Vice-Admiralty; so that no prohibition could be lodged against the proceedings of the court, he being obliged, in such a case, to grant a prohibition against himself; he was also, at the same time, a member of the council, and of consequence a judge of the Court of Chancery."

These articles of complaint, though they took their rise from the bar, were well-grounded, and were supported by strong evidence before the Assembly. But as the judge held his commission from the proprietors, he denied that he was accountable to the Assembly for any part of his conduct in his judicial capacity; and declared that he would be answerable nowhere but in England. The Assembly, however, sensible that he held his commission only during good behaviour, sent a message to the governor and council, requesting they would join them in representing his partial and unjust conduct in his office to the proprietors, praying them either to remove him from his seat in the courts of justice, or at least to grant him only one jurisdiction, and the people liberty of appeal from his judgments. The governor, and major part of the council, convinced of the mal-administration of the judge, agreed to join the commons in their representation. But being sensible of the great interest the chief justice had with their lordships, they judged it most prudent to send one of their counsellors to England with their memorial, that it might find greater credit and weight, and the more certainly procure redress; and Francis Yonge, a man of considerable abilities, who had been present at all their debates, was selected, who set sail for England, and arrived in London, early in the year 1719.

Soon after his arrival, he waited on Lord Carteret, the palatine; but as

his lordship was preparing to set out on an embassy to the court of Sweden, he referred him to the other proprietors for an answer to his representations. When the proprietors met, Yonge presented to them a memorial, setting forth, "That he had been appointed by the governor and council of South Carolina, to lay before them, not only several acts of Assembly passed there during their last sessions for their approbation, but also to inform them of the reasons that induced the governor and council to defer the dissolution of the Assembly, in consequence of their lordships' commands; that he was instructed to show their lordships the arguments between the upper and lower houses of Assembly, touching their lordships' right of repealing laws, ratified and confirmed by their deputies; and presented to them a speech made by Chief Justice Trott, at a general conference of both houses, together with the answer of the commons to it, and the several messages that passed between them, which he hoped would show their lordships, that no arguments or endeavours were wanting on their part, to assert the right the proprietors had of repealing laws not ratified by them.

"At the same time, he was desired to request their lordships to augment their secretary's salary, to allow the members of the council so much money for the time and expense of attending the council on their service: to establish custom-house officers, at Beaufort; to grant six thousand acres of land to the three garrisons at Congarees, Savanna Town, and Apalachicola; and liberty of appealing from erroneous judgments in law, which at that time the people had not, the whole judicial power in all the provincial courts being lodged in the hands of one man." He then delivered to them a letter from Governor Johnson, the articles of complaint against Chief Justice Trott, and the joint address of the governor, council, and Assembly, praying to have him removed entirely from the bench, or confined to a single jurisdiction.

This memorial, however, was far from satisfying the proprietors, some of whom inferred from it, that the people were solicitous to search for causes of dissatisfaction, with a view to shake off the proprietary authority. Their letters from Trott served to confirm the truth, which intimated that Yonge, though an officer of the proprietors, by chicanery had assisted the people in forming plausible pretences for that purpose. For three months Yonge attended the palatine's court, to give the board all possible information about the state of affairs in their colony, and to accomplish the ends of his appointment; but, after all, he was given to understand, that the business on which he was sent was extremely disagreeable to them; that the trouble he had taken, and the office he had accepted as agent for the people, were inconsistent with his duty as one of their deputies. They declared their displeasure with the members of the council who had joined the lower house in their complaints against Trott, and removed

them from the board, appointing others in their place, and increasing the number of members; and told Yonge, that he also would have been deprived of his seat but for the high respect they had for Lord Carteret, the absent palatine, whose deputy he was. With respect to Chief-Justice Trott, they had too much confidence in his fidelity and capacity to remove him from his office. On the contrary, they sent him a letter, thanking him for his excellent speech in defence of their right of repealing all laws made in the colony; together with a copy of the articles of complaint brought against him, on purpose to give him an opportunity of vindicating himself: at the same time acquainting him, that it was their opinion and order, that he should withdraw from the council-board whenever appeals from his judgments in the inferior courts shall be brought before the governor and council as a court of chancery.

How far Governor Johnson, in their opinion, had deviated from his duty, in joining the other branches of the legislature in their representation, may be learned from the following letter from the proprietors, brought over to him by Yonge:—

“Sir, we have received and perused your letters and all your papers, delivered us by your agent, Mr. Yonge; and though we are favourably inclined in all our thoughts relating to our governor, yet we must tell you, we think you have not obeyed the orders and directions given you to dissolve that Assembly, and call another forthwith, according to the ancient usage and custom of the province, and to publish our repeals of the acts of Assembly, immediately upon the receipt of our orders aforesaid; but we shall say no more on that subject now, not doubting but our governor will pay more punctual obedience to our orders for the future.

“The lords proprietors’ right of confirming and repealing laws was so particular a privilege granted them by the charter, that we can never recede from it; and we do assure you we are not a little surprised that you have suffered that prerogative of ours to be disputed.

“We have sent you herewith an instruction under our hands and seals, nominating such persons as we think fit to be of the council with you, six of whom and yourself, and no less number, to be a quorum. Upon your receipt of this, we hereby require you to summon the said council, that they may qualify themselves according to law, and immediately sit upon the despatch of business. We also send you the repeal of the acts of Assembly, which we order you to publish immediately upon the receipt of this. We do assure Mr. Johnson, that we will stand by him in all things that relate to the just execution of his office, and we are confident that he will perform his duty to us, and support our power and prerogative to the best of his abilities. If the Assembly chosen according to your pretended late act is not dissolved, as we formerly ordered, and a new Assembly elected, pursuant to the act formerly confirmed by the proprie-

tors, you are forthwith commanded to dissolve that Assembly, and to call another, according to the above-mentioned act ; and so we bid you heartily farewell."

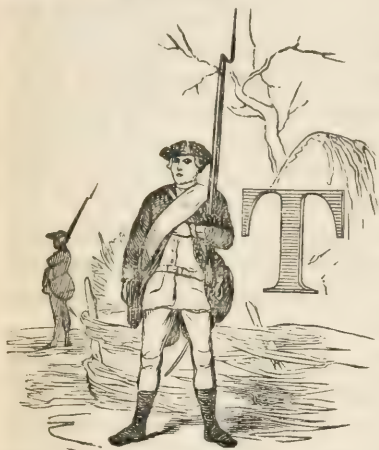
Such was the result of Yonge's negotiation in England. Governor Johnson, who was well acquainted with the prevailing temper and discontented spirit of the people, plainly perceived, upon receiving these new orders and instructions, what difficulties would attend the execution of them. The flame was already kindled, and nothing could be imagined more likely to add fuel to it than such rigour and oppression. The governor indeed had received instructions, but had not sufficient power to enforce them. Determined, however, to comply with their commands, he summoned his council of twelve men whom the proprietors had nominated, who were William Bull, Ralph Izard, Nicholas Trott, Charles Hart, Samuel Wragg, Benjamin de la Consilière, Peter St. Julien, William Gibbons, Hugh Butler, Francis Yonge, Jacob Satur, and Jonathan Skrine, some of whom refused, and others qualified themselves to serve. Alexander Skene, Thomas Broughton, and James Kinloch, members of the former council, being now left out of the new appointment, were disgusted, and joined the people. The present Assembly was dissolved, and writs were issued for electing another in Charleston. The duty act, from which the clergy were paid, the garrisons maintained, and the public debts in general were defrayed, was repealed ; as was the law respecting the freedom of election, by which the colonists were obliged to have recourse to the old, inconvenient, and tumultuous manner of elections in Charleston ; and also the act declaring the right of the commons to nominate a public receiver was declared to be contrary to the usage and custom of Great Britain. All laws respecting the trade and shipping of Great Britain, which any future Assembly might pass, the governor had instructions to refuse his assent to, till approved by the proprietors. The provincial debts incurred by the Indian war, and the expedition against pirates, not only remained unpaid, but no more bills of credit were allowed to be stamped. This council of twelve, instead of seven men, which was appointed, the colonists considered as an innovation in the proprietary government exceeding the power granted their lordships by their charter, and therefore subjecting them to a jurisdiction foreign to the constitution of the province. The complaints of the whole legislature against Chief-Justice Trott were not only disregarded, but that man, whom they considered as an enemy to the country, was privately caressed and publicly applauded. All these things the colonists considered as aggravated grievances, and what rendered them the more intolerable was the circumstance of being deprived of all hopes of redress.

It may be thought somewhat unaccountable and astonishing, that the proprietors should have persisted in measures so disagreeable and oppres-

sive of themselves, and so manifestly subversive of their authority and power. Many were the hardships from the climate, and the danger from savages, with which the poor colonists had to struggle; yet their landlords, instead of rendering their circumstances as easy and comfortable as possible, seemed rather bent on crossing their humours and doubling their distress. The people could now no longer regard them as concerned for the welfare of their colony, but as tyrannical legislators. But, perhaps the miseries the colonists suffered ought to be ascribed to their lordships' shameful inattention to provincial affairs, rather than to their tyrannical disposition. Lord Carteret, the palatine, held high offices of trust under the crown, which occupied his chief study and attention. Some of the proprietors were minors, others possessed estates in England, the improvement of which engrossed their whole care and delight. Having reaped little or nothing from their American possessions, and finding them every year becoming more troublesome and expensive, it is probable they trusted the affairs of their colony to subordinates who were noways interested in their prosperity and success. With these Chief-Justice Trott had established a correspondence, of whose wisdom and abilities the proprietors entertained the highest opinion, and in whose integrity and fidelity they placed unlimited confidence. He held of them many offices of trust and emolument, which, together with his haughty and overbearing conduct, rendered him the object of popular envy and clamour. The colonists needed indulgence from their circumstances and situation; Trott, being totally dependent on the proprietors, for the tenure of his office and the payment of his salary, strongly supported their power and prerogative; and hence arose those struggles between the proprietors and people, which were daily growing more serious and violent.

About this time a rupture having taken place between the courts of Great Britain and Spain, a project for attacking South Carolina and the Island of Providence was formed at Havanna, and preparations were making there for the expedition. Governor Johnson, having received advice from England of this design, resolved immediately to put the province in a posture of defence. For this purpose he summoned a meeting of council, and proposed a voluntary subscription, beginning with a generous offer himself, as an example to others. He declared that one day's delay might prove fatal to the province, and recommended unanimity and despatch. The Assembly replied, that a subscription was needless, as the income of the duties would be sufficient to answer the purpose intended. The governor objected, that the duty law had been repealed, and none other yet framed in its place. To which the Assembly answered, they had resolved to pay no regard to those repeals, and that the public receiver had orders from them to sue every man that should refuse to pay as that law directed. Chief-Justice Trott told them, if any action or suit should be

brought into his courts on that law, he would give judgment for the defendant. In short, the contest between the two houses at this meeting was so warm, that the conference broke up before any thing was concluded with regard to the public safety. The Assembly were obstinate, and seemed determined to hazard the loss of the province to the Spaniards, rather than yield to the council, and acknowledge the proprietors' right of repealing their laws.



HE Governor, Johnson, however, at such a juncture, judging it prudent to be always in the best posture of defence, for uniting the strength of the province called a meeting of the field-officers of the militia, ordered them to review their regiments, and fixed a place of general rendezvous. Indeed, such was the uneasy and distracted state of the colony, that the Spaniards could scarcely have attacked it at a time more seasonable for obtaining an easy conquest. At this meeting the field-officers of the militia received their orders with their

usual submission, and called together the different regiments, on pretence of training the men to expert use of arms. But before this time the members chosen to serve in Assembly, though they had not met in their usual and regular way at Charleston, had, nevertheless, held several private meetings in the country, to concert measures for revolting from their allegiance. They had drawn up a form of an association for uniting the whole province in opposition to the proprietary government, which was proposed to the people at this public meeting of the militia, as an opportunity the most favourable for procuring a general subscription. The people, oppressed and discontented, with eagerness embraced the proposal, and, almost to a man, subscribed the association, promising to stand by each other in defence of their rights and privileges, against the tyranny of the proprietors and their officers. This confederacy was formed with such secrecy and despatch, that before it reached the governor's ears, almost the whole inhabitants were concerned in it. The Assembly, after having thus brought the people in general to back them, had then nothing to do but to proceed, in taking such bold and vigorous steps as seemed best calculated for accomplishing their end.

The discontent, long fermenting, broke out openly on a report of invasion from the Havanna. In this emergency the Assembly refused to vote any supplies; a bond of union was drawn up, and signed by almost all the in-

habitants. They transmitted a proposal to Johnson that he should continue to hold his office in the name of the king; but as he declined the offer, Colonel Moore was elected. The other made some attempts to compel submission, but found his force inadequate. The issue of the whole transaction, however, depended on the view which might be taken by the crown, always disposed to favour any arrangement that might extend its prerogative. The king, being absent in Hanover, had left the government in the hands of a regency, who, on examining the case, decided that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered proceedings to be instituted for its dissolution. Acting certainly with great promptitude, as if this were already effected, they named Sir Francis Nicholson governor, under a commission from his majesty. That person, distinguished in other stations for his active talents, had been accused of arbitrary maxims: but in Carolina he seems to have laid these aside, and rendered himself extremely acceptable. He made great exertions to provide for religious instruction and for the diffusion of education. Through an alliance with the Creeks and Cherokees, he secured the frontier, which had been considerably harassed by Indian incursions.

In 1729, the transactions of the proprietors were finally closed by a deed surrendering all their rights into the hands of the crown. They received in return seventeen thousand five hundred pounds, with five thousand for arrears of rent amounting to nine thousand pounds; but Lord Carteret, while resigning all political power, preferred to retain his claim to property in the soil, of which an ample portion was assigned to him. The colonists were gratified by the entire remission of their quit-rents. In 1694, the captain of a vessel from Madagascar, having touched at Carolina, had presented the governor with a bag of rice, which being distributed among several farmers, thrived so remarkably, that it had already become a staple of the settlement; and the privilege was now granted of exporting this article direct to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre. North and South Carolina, too, which in point of fact had always been distinct, and their occupied parts even distant from each other, were now finally declared to be two colonies, each to have its separate governor.

From this era their affairs held a pretty uniform course, diversified only as the character of the successive governors was popular or otherwise. They continued to draw numerous bodies of emigrants; and their career, both of agriculture and commerce, was extremely prosperous. This, it is painful to add, was in a great measure effected by large importations of negro slaves, which enabled the wealthy to cultivate plantations on an extensive scale and without personal labour. It appears also that reproach was incurred by the harshness with which these captives were treated; and serious alarms of insurrection were entertained. To guard against this danger, they petitioned, in 1742, to be allowed to raise and maintain three

independent companies ; a boon which, though refused at first, was finally granted. These colonies derived a considerable accession from the rebellion of 1745, at the close of which many adherents of the vanquished cause were allowed to seek shelter in the western plantations, and induced by various circumstances to prefer the Carolinas. The discovery of indigo, as a native production, afforded, in addition to rice, another article for which a sure demand would be found in Europe. About the middle of the eighteenth century, too, when the other colonies began to have at least their best lands appropriated, this, which was still comparatively unoccupied, drew settlers from them, especially from Pennsylvania. Although estates along the coast were become scarce, valuable tracts remained in the interior, to which these American emigrants were pleased to resort.





GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA.



ABOUT the year 1731, for the relief of the poor and indigent people of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the further security of Carolina, the settlement of a new colony between the rivers Altamaha and Savanna was projected in England. This large territory, situated on the south-west of Carolina, yet lay waste, without an inhabitant, except its original savages. Private compassion and public spirit conspired towards promoting the excellent design. Several persons of humanity and opulence having observed many families and valuable subjects oppressed with the miseries of poverty at home, united, and formed a plan for raising money, and transporting them to this part of America. For this purpose they applied to

the king, obtained from him letters-patent, bearing date June 9th, 1732, for legally carrying into execution what they had generously projected. They called the new province Georgia, in honour of the king, who likewise greatly encouraged the undertaking. A corporation, consisting of twenty-one persons, was constituted, by the name of trustees, for settling and establishing the colony of Georgia; which was separated from Carolina by the river Savanna. The trustees having first set an example themselves, by largely contributing towards the scheme, undertook also to solicit benefactions from others, and to apply the money towards clothing, arming, purchasing utensils for cultivation, and transporting such poor people as should consent to go over and begin a settlement. They, however, confined not their views to the subjects of Britain alone, but wisely opened a door also for oppressed and indigent Protestants from other nations. To prevent any misapplication or abuse of charitable donations, they agreed to deposit the money in the Bank of England, and to enter in a book the names of all the charitable benefactors, together with the sums contributed by each of them; and to bind themselves and their successors in office, to lay an account of the money received and expended before the lord chancellor of England, the lord chief justice of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, the master of the Rolls, and the chief baron of the Exchequer.

The benevolent founders of the colony of Georgia perhaps may challenge the annals of any nation to produce a design more generous and praiseworthy than that they had undertaken. They voluntarily offered their money, their labour, and time, for promoting what appeared to them the good of others, having no other reward but the satisfaction of doing good. Among other great ends they had also in view the conversion and civilization of Indian savages. If their public regulations were afterwards found improper and impracticable; if their plan of settlement proved too narrow and circumscribed; praise, nevertheless, is due to them. Human policy at best is imperfect; but, when the design appears so evidently disinterested, the candid will make many allowances for them, considering their ignorance of the country, and the many defects that adhere to all codes of laws, even when framed by the wisest legislators.

About the middle of July, 1732, the trustees for Georgia held their first general meeting, when Lord Percival was chosen president of the corporation. After all the members had qualified themselves, agreeably to the charter, for the faithful discharge of the trust, a common seal was ordered to be made. The device was, on one side, two figures resting upon urns, representing the rivers Alatomaha and Savanna, the boundaries of the province; between them the genius of the colony seated, with a cap of liberty on his head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other, with inscription, "Colonia Georgia Aug.:" on the other side was a representa-

tion of silk-worms, some beginning, and others having finished their web, with the motto, "Non Sibi sed Aliis:" a very proper emblem, signifying that the nature of the establishment was such, that neither the first trustees nor their successors could have any views of interest, it being entirely designed for the benefit and happiness of others.

In November following, one hundred and sixteen settlers embarked from England at Gravesend for Georgia, having their passage paid, and every thing requisite for building and cultivation furnished them by the corporation. They could not properly be called adventurers, as they ran no risk but what arose from the change of climate, and as they were to be maintained until by their industry they were able to support themselves. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, embarked along with them, and proved a zealous and active promoter of the settlement. In the beginning of the year following, Oglethorpe arrived in Charleston, where he was received by the governor and council in the kindest manner, and treated with every mark of civility and respect. Governor Johnson, sensible of the great advantage that must accrue to Carolina from this new colony, gave all the encouragement and assistance in his power to forward the settlement. Many of the Carolineans sent them provisions and hogs, and cows, to begin their stock. William Bull, a man of knowledge and experience, agreed to accompany Mr. Oglethorpe, and the rangers and scout-boats were ordered to attend him to Georgia. After their arrival at Yamacraw, Oglethorpe and Bull explored the country, and having found a high and pleasant spot of ground, situated on a navigable river, they fixed on this place as the most convenient and healthy situation for the settlers. On this hill they marked out a town, and from the Indian name of the river which ran past it, called it *Savanna*. A small fort was erected on the banks of it as a place of refuge, and some guns were mounted on it for the defence of the colony. The people were set to work in felling trees and building huts for themselves, and Oglethorpe animated and encouraged them, by exposing himself to all the hardships which the poor objects of his compassion endured. He formed them into a company of militia, appointed officers from among themselves, and furnished them with arms and ammunition. To show the Indians how expert they were at the use of arms, he frequently exercised them; and as they had been trained beforehand by the serjeants of the guards in London, they performed their various parts in a manner little inferior to regular troops.

Having thus put his colony in as good a situation as possible, the next object of his attention was to treat with the Indians for a share of their possessions. The principal tribes that at this time occupied the territory, were the Upper and Lower Creeks; the former were numerous and strong, the latter, by diseases and war, had been reduced to a smaller number: both tribes together were computed to amount to about twenty-five thou

sand men, women, and children. These Indians, according to a treaty formerly made with Governor Nicolson, laid claim to the lands lying southwest of Savanna river; and, to procure their friendship for this infant colony, was an object of the highest consequence. But as the tribe of Indians settled at Yamacraw was inconsiderable, Oglethorpe judged it necessary to have the other tribes also to join with them in the treaty. To accomplish this union, he found an Indian woman named Mary, who had married a trader from Carolina, and who could speak both the English and Creek languages; and perceiving that she had great influence among Indians, and might be made useful as an interpreter, in forming treaties of alliance with them; he therefore first purchased her friendship with presents, and afterwards settled a hundred pounds yearly on her, as a reward for her services. By her assistance he summoned a general meeting of the chiefs, to hold a congress with him at Savanna, in order to procure their consent to the peaceable settlement of his colony. At this congress fifty chieftains were present, when Oglethorpe, of course, represented to them the great power, wisdom, and wealth of the English nation, and the many advantages that would accrue to Indians in general, from a connection and friendship with them; and after having distributed some presents, an agreement was made, and then Tomochichi, in the name of the Creek warriors, addressed him; and, giving him a buffalo's skin adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, desired him to accept it, because the eagle was an emblem of speed, and the buffalo of strength. He told him that the English were as swift as the bird and as strong as the beast, since, like the former, they flew over vast seas to the uttermost parts of the earth; and, like the latter, they were so strong that nothing could withstand them. He said, the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love; the buffalo's skin was warm, and signified protection; and therefore he hoped the English would love and protect their little families. Oglethorpe accordingly accepted the present, and after having concluded this treaty of friendship with the Indians, and placed his colony in the best posture of defence, he returned to Britain, carrying with him Tomochichi, his queen, and some more Indians.

On their arrival in London, these Indian chiefs were introduced to his majesty, while many of the nobility were present; when Tomochichi, overpowered with astonishment, addressed the king in the following words: "This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people; I am come in my old days, though I cannot expect to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Lower and Upper Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flieth round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been

carried from town to town, there. We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a token of everlasting peace. O great king! whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations." To which his majesty replied:—"I am glad of this opportunity, of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you came; and I am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them, and accept very gratefully of this present, an indication of their good dispositions to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between the Creeks and my subjects; and shall be glad on any occasion to show you a mark of my particular friendship."

During the whole time these Indians were in England, nothing was neglected that might serve to engage their affections, and fill them with just notions of the greatness and power of the British nation. The nobility, curious to see them and observe their manners, entertained them magnificently at their tables. Wherever they went, multitudes flocked around them, shaking hands with the rude warriors of the forest, giving them little presents, and treating them with every mark of friendship and civility. Twenty pounds a week were allowed them by the crown while they remained in England; and when they returned, it was computed they carried presents with them to the value of four hundred pounds. After staying four months, they were carried to Gravesend in one of his majesty's carriages, where they embarked for Georgia, highly pleased with the generosity of the nation, and promising perpetual fidelity to its interest.



It is said that James Oglethorpe, when he came out to settle this colony in Georgia, brought along with him Sir Walter Raleigh's manuscript journals; and by the latitude of the place, and the traditions of the Indians, it appeared to him that Sir Walter had landed at the mouth of Savanna river. Indeed, during his wild and chimerical attempts for finding out a golden country, it is not improbable that he visited many different places.

The Indians acknowledged that their fathers once held a conference with a warrior who came over the great waters; and at a little distance from Savanna, there is a high mount of earth, under which, they said, the Indian king was interred, who talked with the English warrior; and that he desired to be buried in the same place where this conference was held. But having little authority with respect to this matter, we cannot vouch for its correctness.

James Oglethorpe, having brought a number of great guns with him

from England, now began to fortify Georgia, by erecting strongholds on its frontiers, where he judged they might be useful for its safety and protection. At one place, which he called Augusta, a fort was erected on the banks of Savanna river, which was excellently situated for protecting the Indian trade, and holding treaties of commerce and alliance with several of the savage nations. At another place, called Frederica, on an island near the mouth of the river Alatomaha, another fort, with four regular bastions, was erected, and several pieces of cannon were mounted on it. Ten miles nearer the sea a battery was raised, commanding the entrance into the sound, through which all ships of force must come that might be sent against Frederica. To keep little garrisons in these forts, to help the trustees to defray the expenses of such public works, ten thousand pounds were granted by the parliament of Great Britain.

While James Oglethorpe was thus employed in strengthening Georgia, he received a message from the governor of Augustine, acquainting him that a Spanish commissioner from the Havanna had arrived there, in order to make certain demands of him, and would meet him at Frederica for that purpose. At the same time he had advice, that three companies of foot had accompanied him to that Spanish settlement. A few days afterwards this commissioner came to Georgia by sea; and Oglethorpe, unwilling to permit him to come to Frederica, despatched a sloop to bring him into Jekyl Sound, where he intended to hold a conference with him. Here the commissioner had the modesty to demand, that Oglethorpe and his people should immediately evacuate all the territories to the southward of St. Helena Sound, as they belonged to the King of Spain, who was determined to maintain his right to them; and if he refused to comply with his demand, he had orders to proceed to Charleston, and lay the same before the governor and council of that province. Oglethorpe endeavoured to convince him that his Catholic majesty had been misinformed with respect to those territories, but to no purpose; his instructions were peremptory, and the conference broke up without coming to any agreement. After which Oglethorpe embarked with all possible expedition, and sailed for England.

During his absence, the strict law of the trustees, respecting the rum trade, had like to have created a quarrel between the Carolinians and Georgians. The fortification at Augusta had induced some traders of Carolina to open stores at that place, so conveniently situated for commerce with Indian nations. For this purpose, land-carriage being expensive, they intended to force their way by water, with loaded boats, up Savanna river to their stores at Augusta. But as they passed the town of Savanna, the magistrates rashly ordered the boats to be stopped, the packages to be opened, the casks of rum to be staved, and the people to be confined. Such injurious treatment was not to be suffered; the Carolinians determined to give a check to their insolence, and for that purpose deputed two

persons, one from the council and another from the Assembly, to demand of the Georgians by what authority they presumed to seize and destroy the effects of their traders, or to compel them to submit to their code of laws. The magistrates of Georgia, sensible of their error, made great concessions to the deputies, and treated them with the utmost civility and respect. The goods were instantly ordered to be returned, the people to be set at liberty, and all manner of satisfaction was given to the deputies they could have expected. Strict orders were sent to the agents of Georgia among Indians, not to molest the traders from Carolina, but to give them all the assistance and protection in their power. The Carolineans, on the other hand, engaged not to smuggle any strong liquors among the settlers of Georgia, and the navigation on the river Savanna was declared equally open and free to both provinces.

By this time the colonists of Georgia, after a sufficient experience, had become fully convinced of the impropriety and folly of that plan of settlement framed by the trustees, which, however well intended, was ill adapted to their circumstances, and ruinous to the settlement. In the province of Carolina, which lay adjacent, the colonists discovered that there they could obtain lands not only on better terms, but also liberty to purchase negroes to assist in clearing and cultivating them. They found labour in the burning climate intolerable, and the dangers and hardships, to which they were subjected, insurmountable. Instead of raising commodities for exportation, the Georgians, by the labour of several years, were not yet able to raise provisions sufficient to support themselves and families. Under such discouragements, numbers retired to the Carolina side of the river, where they had better prospects of success, and the magistrates observed the infant colony sinking into ruin, and likely to be totally deserted. The freeholders in and round Savanna assembled together, and drew up a state of their deplorable circumstances, and transmitted it to the trustees, in which they represented their success in Georgia as a thing absolutely impossible, without the enjoyment of the same liberties and privileges with their neighbours in Carolina. In two respects they implored relief from the trustees; they desired a fee-simple or free title to their lands, and liberty to import negroes under certain limitations, without which they declared they had neither encouragement to labour, nor ability to provide for their posterity. But the colony of Highlanders, instead of joining in this application, most sensibly and nobly remonstrated against the introduction of slaves. As they lay contiguous to the Spanish dominions, they were apprehensive that these enemies would entice their slaves from them in time of peace, and in time of war instigate them to raise against their masters. Besides, they considered perpetual slavery as shocking to human nature, and deemed the permission of it as a grievance, and which in some future



HOUSE OF AN EARLY SETTLER

day might also prove a scourge, and make many feel the misery of that oppression they so earnestly desired to introduce.

Few persons who are acquainted with the country will wonder at the complaints of the early settlers in Georgia; for if we consider the climate to which they were sent, and the labours and hardships they had to undergo, we may rather be astonished that any of them survived the first year after their arrival. When James Oglethorpe took possession of this wilderness, the whole was a thick forest, excepting savannas, which are natural plains where no trees grow, and a few Indian fields, where the savages planted maize for their subsistence. In the province there were the same wild animals, fish, reptiles and insects, which were found in Carolina. The country in the maritime parts was likewise a spacious plain, covered with pine trees, where the lands were barren and sandy; and with narrow slips of oaks, hickory, cypress, cane, &c., where the lands were of a better quality. Rains, thunder-storms, hurricanes, and whirlwinds, were equally frequent in the one province as in the other. Little difference could be perceived in the soil, which in both was barren or swampy; and the same diseases were common to both. The lands being covered with wood, through which the sea-breezes could not penetrate, there was little agitation in the air, which at some seasons was thick, heavy, and foggy, and at others clear, close, and suffocating, both which were most pernicious to health. The air of the swampy land was pregnant with innumerable noxious qualities, insomuch that a more unwholesome climate was not perhaps to be found in the universe. The poor settlers considered this wilderness to which they were brought, to have been designed by nature rather for the habitation of wild beasts than human creatures. They found that diseases, or even misfortunes were in effect equally fatal: for though neither of them might prove suddenly

mortal, yet either would reduce them to a state in which they might more properly be said to perish than to die.

Nothing retarded the progress and improvement of these southern settlements more than the inattention shown to the natural productions of the soil, and the preference which has commonly been given to articles transplanted from Europe. As Georgia lay so convenient for supplying the West Indies with maize, Indian peas, and potatoes, for which the demand was very great, perhaps the first planters could scarcely have turned their attention to more profitable articles, but without strength of hands little advantage could be reaped from them. It is true the West Indian islands would produce such articles, yet the planters would never cultivate them, while they could obtain them by purchase: the lands there suited other productions more valuable and advantageous. Abundance of stock, particularly hogs and black cattle, might have been raised in Georgia for the same market. Lumber was also in demand, and might have been rendered profitable to the province, but nothing could succeed there under the foolish restrictions of the trustees. European grain, such as wheat, oats, barley, and rye, thrived very ill on the maritime parts; and even silk and wine were found upon trial by no means to answer their expectations. The bounties given for raising the latter were an encouragement to the settlers, but either no pains were taken to instruct the people in the proper methods of raising them, or the soil and climate were ill adapted for the purpose. The poor and ignorant planters applied themselves to those articles of husbandry to which probably they had been formerly accustomed, but which poorly rewarded them, and left them, after all their toil, in a starved and miserable condition.

The complaints of the Georgians, however ignorant they might be, ought not to have been entirely disregarded by the trustees. Experience suggested those inconveniences and troubles from which they implored relief. The hints they gave certainly ought to have been improved towards correcting errors in the first plan of settlement, and framing another more favourable and advantageous. The honour of the trustees depended on the success and happiness of the settlers, and it was impossible for the people to succeed and be happy without those encouragements and privileges absolutely necessary to the first state of colonization.

It must be acknowledged, for the credit of the benevolent trustees, that they sent out these emigrants to Georgia under several very favourable circumstances. They paid the expenses of their passage, and furnished them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and instruments of husbandry. They gave them lands, and bought for some of them cows and hogs to begin their stock. They maintained their families during the first year of their occupancy, or until they should receive some return from their lands. So that if the planters were exposed to hazards from the climate, and

obliged to undergo labour, they certainly entered on their task with several advantages. The taxes demanded, comparatively speaking, were a mere trifle; and for their encouragement they laboured entirely for themselves, and for some time were favoured with a free and generous maintenance.

For several years before an open rupture took place between Great Britain and Spain, no good understanding subsisted between those two different courts, neither with respect to the privileges of navigation on the Mexican seas, nor to the limits between the provinces of Georgia and Florida. On one hand, the Spaniards pretended that they had an exclusive right to some latitudes in the bay of Mexico; and, on the other, though the matter had never been clearly ascertained by treaty, the British merchants claimed the privilege of cutting logwood on the bay of Campeachy. This liberty, indeed, had been tolerated on the part of Spain for several years, and the British merchants, from avaricious motives, had begun a traffic with the Spaniards, and supplied them with goods of English manufacture. To prevent this illicit trade, the Spaniards doubled the number of ships stationed in Mexico for guarding the coast, giving them orders to board and search every English vessel found in those seas, to seize on all that carried contraband commodities, and confine the sailors. At length, not only smugglers, but fair traders were searched and detained, so that all commerce in those seas was entirely obstructed. The British merchants complained to the ministry, of depredations committed and damages sustained, which produced one remonstrance after another to the Spanish court; all which were answered only by evasive promises and delays. The Spaniards flattered the British minister by telling him, they would inquire into the occasion of such grievances, and settle all differences by way of negotiation. Sir Robert Walpole, fond of pacific measures, and trusting to such proposals of accommodation, for several years suffered the grievances of the merchants to remain unredressed, and the trade of the nation to suffer great losses.

In the year 1738, Samuel Horsley was appointed governor of South Carolina, but he dying before he left England, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull, a man of good natural abilities, and well acquainted with the state of the province. The garrison at Augustine having received a considerable reinforcement, it became the business of the people of Carolina, as well as those of Georgia, to watch the motions of their neighbours. As the Spaniards pretended a right to that province, they were pouring in troops into Augustine, which gave the British colonists some reason to apprehend they had resolved to assert their right by force of arms. William Bull despatched advice to England of the growing power of Spain in East Florida, and at the same time acquainted the trustees, that such preparations were making there as evidently portended approaching hostilities. The British ministers were well acquainted with

the state of Carolina, from a late representation transmitted by its provincial legislature. The trustees for Georgia presented a memorial to the king, giving an account of the Spanish preparations, and the feeble and defenceless condition of Georgia, and imploring assistance. In consequence of which, a regiment of six hundred effective men was ordered to be raised, with a view of sending them to Georgia. And James Oglethorpe being appointed major-general of all the forces of the two provinces, had the command of this regiment.

About the middle of the same year, the *Hector* and *Blandford*, ships of war, sailed to convoy the transports which carried General Oglethorpe and his regiment to that province. Forty supernumeraries followed the general to supply the place of such officers or soldiers as might suffer by the change of the climate. Upon the arrival of this regiment, the people of Carolina and Georgia testified their grateful sense of his majesty's paternal care in the strongest terms. The Georgians, who had been for some time harassed with frequent alarms, now found themselves happily relieved, and placed in such circumstances as enabled them to bid defiance to the Spanish power. Parties of the regiment were sent to the different garrisons, and the expense the trustees had formerly been at in maintaining them, of course ceased. The general held his head-quarters at Frederica, but raised forts on some other islands lying nearer the Spaniards, particularly in Cumberland and Jekyl islands, in which he also kept garrisons to watch the motions of his enemies.

While these hostile preparations were going on, it behoved General Oglethorpe to cultivate the firmest friendship with the Indian nations, that they might be ready on every emergency to assist him. During his absence, the Spaniards had made several attempts to seduce the Creeks, who were much attached to Oglethorpe, by telling them he was at Augustine, and promised them large presents in case they would pay him a visit at that place. Accordingly, some of their leaders went down there, but not finding him, they were highly offended, and resolved immediately to return to their nation. The Spanish governor, in order to cover the fraud, or probably with a design of conveying those leaders out of the way, that they might the more easily corrupt their nation, told them that the general lay sick on board of a ship in the harbour, where he would be extremely glad to see them: but the savages were suspicious of some evil design, and refused to go, and even rejected their presents and offers of alliance. When they returned to their nation, they found an invitation from General Oglethorpe, to all the chieftains to meet him at Frederica, which plainly discovered to them the insidious designs of the Spaniards, and helped not a little to increase his power and influence among them. A number of their chief warriors immediately set out to meet him at the place appointed, where the general thanked them for their fidelity, made them many valuable presents,

and renewed the treaty of friendship and alliance with them. At this congress, the Creeks seemed better satisfied than usual, and agreed to march a thousand men to the general's assistance, whenever he should demand them, and invited him up to see their towns. But as he was then busy, he excused himself, by promising to visit them next summer, and accordingly dismissed them no less pleased with his kindness than incensed against the Spaniards for their falsehood and deceit.

By this time, England had resolved to maintain the right of the territories in Georgia, together with the freedom of commerce and navigation in the Mexican seas. The pacific system of Sir Robert Walpole had drawn upon him the displeasure of the nation, particularly of the mercantile part; and that amazing power and authority he had long maintained began to decline. The spirit of the nation was roused, insomuch that the administration could no longer connive at the depredations and cruelties of Spain. Instructions were sent to the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, to demand, in the most absolute terms, a compensation for the injuries of trade, which, upon calculation, amounted to two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and at the same time a squadron of ten ships of the line, under the command of Admiral Haddock, was sent to the Mediterranean sea. This produced an order from the Spanish court to their ambassador, to allow the accounts of the British merchants, upon condition that the Spanish demand on the South Sea Company be deducted: and that Oglethorpe be recalled from Georgia, and no more employed in that quarter, as he had there made great encroachments on his Catholic majesty's dominions. These conditions were received at the court of Britain with that indignation which might have been expected from an injured and incensed nation. In answer to which, the Spanish ambassador was given to understand, that the king of Great Britain was determined never to relinquish his right to a single foot of land in the province of Georgia; and that he must allow his subjects to make reprisals, since satisfaction for their losses in trade could in no other way be obtained; and in this unsettled situation matters remained for a time.

In the meanwhile, preparations were making both in Georgia and Florida, by raising fortifications on the borders of the two provinces, to hold each other at defiance. The British soldiers finding themselves subjected to a number of hardships in Georgia, to which they had not been accustomed in Britain, several of them were discontented and ungovernable. At length, a plot was discovered in the camp for assassinating their general. Two companies of the regiment had been drawn from Gibraltar, some of whom could speak the Spanish language. While stationed on Cumberland island, the Spanish outposts on the other side could approach so near as to converse with the British soldiers, one of whom had even been in the Spanish service, and not only understood their language, but also had so

much of a Roman Catholic spirit, as to harbour an aversion to Protestant heretics. The Spaniards had found means to corrupt this villain, who debauched the minds of several of his neighbours, insomuch that they united and formed a design first to murder General Oglethorpe, and then make their escape to Augustine. Accordingly, on a certain day, a number of soldiers under arms came up to the general, and made some extraordinary demands; which being refused, they instantly set up a shout, and one of them discharged his piece at him; and being only at the distance of a few paces, the ball whizzed over his shoulder, but the powder singed his clothes, and burnt his face. Another presented his piece, which flashed in the pan; a third drew his hanger, and attempted to stab him, but the general parrying it off, an officer standing by ran the ruffian through the body, and killed him on the spot. Upon which the mutineers fled, but were caught and laid in irons. A court-martial was called to try the ring-leaders of this desperate conspiracy, some of whom were found guilty, and were shot.



Nor was this the only concealed effort of Spanish policy; another of a more dangerous nature soon followed in Carolina, which might have been attended with much more bloody and fatal effects. At this time, there were above forty thousand negroes in the province, a fierce and strong race, whose constitutions were adapted to the warm climate, whose nerves were braced with constant labour, and who could not be expected to be contented with the oppression under which they groaned. For a long time, liberty and protection had been promised to them by the Spaniards at Augustine, and at different times Spanish emissaries had been found secretly tampering with them, and persuading them to fly from slavery to Florida, and several had made their escape to that settlement. Of these negro-refugees, the governor of Florida had formed a regiment, appointing officers from among themselves, allowing them the same pay and clothing as the regular Spanish soldiers. The most sensible part of the slaves in Carolina were not ignorant of this Spanish regiment, for whenever they ran away from their masters, they constantly directed their course to this quarter. To no place could negro serjeants be sent for enlisting men, where they could have a better prospect of success. Two Spaniards were caught in Georgia, and committed to jail for enticing slaves to leave Carolina, and join this regiment; and five negroes, who were cattle-hunters at Indian Land, some of whom belonged to Captain McPherson, after wounding his son, and killing another man, made their escape. Several more attempting to get away, were taken, tried, and hanged at Charleston.

In the mean time, matters were hastening to a rupture in Europe, and a war between England and Spain was thought unavoidable. The plenipotentiaries, appointed for settling the boundaries between Georgia and Florida, and other differences and misunderstandings subsisting between the two crowns, had met at Pardo, in convention, where preliminary articles were drawn up; but the conference ended to the satisfaction of neither party. Indeed, the proposal of a negotiation, and the appointment of plenipotentiaries, gave universal offence to the people of Britain. The merchants had lost all patience under their sufferings, and became clamorous for letters of reprisals, which at length they obtained. Public credit arose, and forwarded their hostile preparations. All officers of the navy and army were ordered to their stations, and with the unanimous voice of the nation, war was declared against Spain, on the 23d of October, 1739.

While Admiral Vernon was sent to take the command of a squadron in the West India station, with orders to act offensively against the Spanish dominions in that quarter, to divide their force, General Oglethorpe was ordered also to annoy the subjects of Spain, in Florida, by every method in his power. In consequence of which, the general immediately projected an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustine. He communicated his design by letter to Lieutenant-governor Bull, requesting the support of Carolina. Mr. Bull laid his letter before the provincial Assembly, recommending to them to raise a regiment, and give him all possible assistance in an enterprise of such interesting consequence. The Assembly, sensible of the vast advantages that must accrue to them from getting rid of such troublesome neighbours, resolved that so soon as the general should communicate to them his plan of operations, together with a state of the assistance requisite, at the same time making it appear that there was a probability of success, they would most cheerfully assist him. The Carolinians, however, were apprehensive, that as that garrison had proved such a painful thorn in their side in time of peace, they would have more to dread from it in time of war; and although the colony had been much distressed by the small-pox and the yellow fever for two years past, which had cut off the hopes of many flourishing families; the people, nevertheless, lent a very favourable ear to the proposal, and earnestly wished to give all the assistance in their power towards dislodging an enemy so malicious and cruel.

In the mean time, General Oglethorpe was industrious in picking up all the intelligence he could, respecting the situation and strength of the garrison, and finding it in great straits for want of provisions, he urged the speedy execution of his project, with a view to surprise his enemy before a supply should arrive. To concert measures with the greater secrecy and expedition, he went to Charleston himself, and laid before the legislature of Carolina an estimate of the force, arms, ammunition, and provisions,

which he judged might be requisite for the expedition; and, in consequence, the Assembly voted a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, Carolina money, for the service of the war. A regiment, consisting of four hundred men, was raised, partly in Virginia, and partly in North and South Carolina, with the greatest expedition, and the command was given to Colonel Vanderdussen. Indians were sent for from the different tribes, in alliance with Britain. Vincent Price, commander of the ships of war on that station, agreed to assist with a naval force, consisting of four ships of twenty guns each, and two sloops, which proved a great encouragement to the Carolinians, and induced them to enter with double vigour on military preparations. General Oglethorpe appointed the mouth of St. John's river, on the Florida shore, for the place of rendezvous, and having finished his preparations in Carolina, set out for Georgia, to join his regiment, and make all ready for the expedition.

On the 9th of May, 1740, the general passed over to Florida with four hundred select men of his regiment, and a considerable party of Indians; and on the day following invested Diego, a small fort about twenty-five miles from Augustine, which after a short resistance surrendered by capitulation. In this fort he left a garrison of sixty men, under the command of Lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment and a company of Highlanders, under the command of Captain McIntosh. But by this time six Spanish half-galleys, with long brass nine-pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions, had got into the harbour at Augustine; and a few days afterwards, the general marched with his whole force, consisting of above two thousand men, regulars, provincials, and Indians, to Fort Moosa, situated within two miles of Augustine, which on his approach the Spanish garrison evacuated, and retired into the town. He immediately ordered the gates of this fort to be burnt, three breaches to be made in its walls, and then proceeded to reconnoitre the town and castle.

Notwithstanding the despatch of the British army, the Spaniards, during their stay at Fort Diego, had collected all the cattle in the woods around them, and driven them into the town; and the general found, both from a view of the works and the intelligence he had received from prisoners, that more difficulty would attend this enterprise than he at first expected. Indeed, if he intended a surprise, he ought not to have stopped at Fort Diego, for by that delay the enemy had notice of his approach, and time to gather their whole force, and put themselves in a posture of defence. The castle was built of soft stone, with four bastions; the curtain was sixty yards in length; the parapet nine feet thick; the rampart twenty feet high, casemated underneath for lodgings, arched over, and newly made bomb-proof. Fifty pieces of cannon were mounted, several of which were twenty-four pounders. Besides the castle, the town was intrenched with ten salient

angles, on each of which some small cannon were mounted. The garrison consisted of seven hundred regulars, two troops of horse, four companies of armed negroes, besides the militia of the province, and Indians.

The general now plainly perceived that an attack by land upon the town, and an attempt to take the castle by storm, would cost him too much, and therefore changed his plan of operations. With the assistance of the ships of war, which were now lying at anchor off Augustine-bar, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and try to shut up every channel by which provisions could be conveyed to the garrison. For this purpose he left Colonel Palmer with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians at Fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods around the town, and intercept all supplies of cattle from the country by land; and, for the safety of his men, he at the same time ordered him to encamp every night in a different place, to keep strict watch around his camp, and by all means avoid coming to any action. This small party was the whole force the general left for guarding the land side. He then sent Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment over a small creek, to take possession of a neck of land called Point Quartel, above a mile distant from the castle, with orders to erect a battery upon it; while he himself, with his regiment, and the greatest part of the Indians, embarked in boats, and landed on the island of Anastatia. In this island the Spaniards had a small party of men stationed for a guard, who immediately fled, and as it lay opposite to the castle from this place, the general resolved to bombard the town. Captain Pierce stationed one of his ships to guard the passage by way of the Metanzas, and with the others blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that the Spaniards were cut off from all supplies by sea. On the island of Anastatia batteries were soon erected, and several cannon mounted by the assistance of the active and enterprising sailors. Having made these dispositions, General Oglethorpe then summoned the Spanish governor to a surrender; but the haughty Spaniard, secure in his stronghold, sent him for answer, that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle.

The opportunity of surprising the place being now lost, the English general had no other method left but to attack it at a distance: for which purpose he opened his batteries against the castle, and at the same time threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit, both from the Spanish fort and from six half-galleys in the harbour, but so great was the distance, that though they continued the cannonade for several days, little execution was done on either side. Captain Warren, a brave naval officer, perceiving that all efforts in this way for demolishing the castle were ineffectual, proposed to destroy the Spanish galleys in the harbour by an attack in the night, and offered to go himself and head the attempt. A council of war was held to consider of and concert a plan for that service; but upon sounding the bar, it was found it

would admit no large ship to the attack, and with small ones it was judged rash and impracticable, the galleys being covered by the cannon of the castle, and therefore that design was dropped.

In the mean time, the Spanish commander, observing the besiegers embarrassed, and their operations beginning to relax, sent out a detachment of three hundred men against Colonel Palmer, who surprised him at Fort Moosa, and, while most of his party lay asleep, cut them almost entirely to pieces. A few that accidentally escaped, went over in a small boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. Some of the Chickasaw Indians coming from that fort, having met with a Spaniard, cut off his head, agreeably to their savage manner of waging war, and presented it to the general in his camp: but he rejected it with abhorrence, denouncing them as barbarous, and bidding them be gone. At this disdainful behaviour, however, the Chickasaws were offended, declaring, that if they had carried the head of an Englishman to the French, they would not have treated them so: and perhaps the general discovered more humanity than good policy by it, for those Indians, who knew none of the European customs and refinements in war, soon after deserted him. About the same time, the vessel stationed at the Metanzas being ordered off, some small ships from the Havanna with provisions, and a reinforcement of men, got into Augustine by that narrow channel, to the relief of the garrison. A party of Creeks having surprised one of their small boats, brought four Spanish prisoners to the general, who informed him that the garrison had received seven hundred men and a large supply of provisions; by which all prospects of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender; and the Carolinean troops, enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season of hurricanes approaching, the commander judged it imprudent to hazard the ships by remaining longer on that coast; and last of all, the general himself, sick of a fever, and his regiment worn out with fatigue, and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with sorrow and regret followed, and reached Frederica about the 10th of July, 1740.

Thus ended the unsuccessful expedition against Augustine, to the great disappointment of both Georgia and Carolina. Many reflections were afterwards thrown out against General Oglethorpe for his conduct during the whole enterprise; and perhaps the only chance of success he had from the beginning, was by surprising this garrison by some sudden attempt. He was blamed for remaining so long at Fort Diego, by which means the enemy had full intelligence of his approach, and time to prepare for receiving him. He was charged with timidity afterwards, in making no bold attempt on the town. He indeed used great caution to save his men, for excepting those who fell by the sword in Fort Moosa, he lost more men by

sickness than by the hands of the enemy. Though the disaster of Colonel Palmer, in which many brave Highlanders were massacred, was perhaps occasioned chiefly by want of vigilance and a disobedience of orders; yet many were of opinion that it was too hazardous to have left so small a party on the main land, exposed to sallies from a superior enemy, and entirely cut off from all possibility of support and assistance from the main body. The general, on the other hand, declared he had no confidence in the firmness and courage of the provincials; for that they refused obedience to his orders, and at last abandoned his camp, and retreated. The truth was, the place was so strongly fortified both by nature and art, that probably the attempt must have failed, though it had been conducted by the ablest officer, and executed by the best disciplined troops. The miscarriage, however, was particularly ruinous to Carolina, having not only subjected the province to a great expense, but also left it in a worse situation than it was previous to the attempt.



Several leagues to the southward of Port-Royal, Savanna river empties itself into the ocean, which is also navigable for ships that draw not above fourteen feet water. At the southern boundary of Georgia the great river Alatamaha falls into the Atlantic sea, about sixteen leagues north-east of Augustine, which lies in $29^{\circ} 50'$. This river admits ships of large burden as far as Frederica, a small town built by General Oglethorpe, on an eminence in Simons' island. The island on the west end is

washed by a branch of the river Alatamaha, before it empties itself into the sea at Jekyl Sound. At Frederica, the river forms a kind of bay. The fort General Oglethorpe erected here for the defence of Georgia, had several eighteen-pounders mounted on it, and commanded the river both upwards and downwards. It was built with four bastions, surrounded by a quadrangular rampart, and a palisadoed ditch, which included also the king's stores, and two large buildings of brick and timber. The town was surrounded with a rampart, in the form of a pentagon, with flankers of the same thickness with that at the fort, and a dry ditch. On this rampart several pieces of ordnance were also mounted. In this situation General Oglethorpe had pitched his camp, which was divided into streets, distinguished by the names of the several captains of his regiment. Their little huts were built of wood, and constructed for holding each four or five men. At some distance from Frederica was the colony of Highlanders, situated on the same river, a wild and intrepid race, living in a state of rural freedom and independence. Their settlement being near the fron-

tiers, afforded them abundance of scope for the exercise of their warlike temper; and having received one severe blow from the garrison at Augustine, they seemed to long for an opportunity of revenging the massacre of their friends.

The time was fast approaching for giving them what they desired. For although the territory granted by the second charter to the proprietors at Carolina extended far to the south-west of the river Alatomaha, the Spaniards had never relinquished their pretended claim to the province of Georgia. Their ambassador at the British court had even declared that his Catholic majesty would as soon part with Madrid as his claim to that territory. The squadron, commanded by Admiral Vernon, had for some time occupied their attention in the West Indies so much that they could spare none of their forces to maintain their supposed right; but no sooner had the greatest part of the British fleet left those seas, and returned to England, than they immediately turned their eyes to Georgia, and began to make preparations for dislodging the English settlers in that province. Finding that threats could not terrify General Oglethorpe to a compliance with their demands, an armament was prepared at the Havanna to go against him, and expel him by force of arms from their frontiers. With this view two thousand forces, commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked at the Havanna, under the convoy of a strong squadron, and arrived at Augustine in May, 1742.

But before this formidable fleet and armament had reached Augustine, they were observed by Captain Haymer, of the *Flamborough* man-of-war, who was cruising on that coast; and advice was immediately sent to General Oglethorpe, of their arrival in Florida. Georgia now began to tremble in her turn. The general sent intelligence to Governor Glen, at Carolina, requesting him to collect all the forces he could with the greatest expedition, and send them to his assistance; and at the same time to despatch a sloop to the West Indies, to acquaint Admiral Vernon with the intended invasion.

Carolina, by this time, had found great advantage from the settlement of Georgia, which had proved an excellent barrier to that province, against the incursions of Spaniards and Spanish Indians. The southern parts being rendered secure by the regiment of General Oglethorpe in Georgia, the lands backward of Port-Royal had become much in demand, and rose to four times their former value. But though the Carolinians were equally interested with their neighbours in the defence of Georgia, having little confidence in General Oglethorpe's military abilities, since his unsuccessful expedition against Augustine; the planters, struck with terror, especially those on the southern parts, deserted their habitations, and flocked to Charleston with their families and effects. Many of the inhabitants of Charleston, being prejudiced against the general, declared against sending

him any assistance ; and determined rather to fortify their town, and stand upon their own grounds in a posture of defence.

In the mean time, General Oglethorpe was making all possible preparations at Frederica, for a vigorous defence. Message after message was sent to his Indian allies, who were greatly attached to him, and crowded to his camp. A company of Highlanders joined him on the first notice, and seemed joyful at the opportunity of retorting Spanish vengeance on their own heads. With his regiment and a few rangers, Highlanders, and Indians, the general fixed his head-quarters at Frederica, never doubting a reinforcement from Carolina, and expecting their arrival every day ; but in the mean time determined, in case he should be attacked, to sell his life as dear as possible in defence of the province.

About the end of June, 1742, the Spanish fleet, amounting to thirty-two sail, and carrying above three thousand men, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, came to anchor off Simons' bar. Here they continued for some time, sounding the channel, and after finding a depth of water sufficient to admit their ships, they came in with the tide of flood into Jekyl Sound. General Oglethorpe, who was at Simons' fort, fired at them as they passed the sound, which the Spaniards returned from their ships, and proceeded up the river Alatamaha, out of the reach of his guns. There the enemy, having hoisted a red flag at the mizen top-mast head of the largest ship, landed their forces upon the island, and erected a battery, with twenty eighteen-pounders mounted on it. Among their land-forces they had a fine company of artillery, under the command of Don Antonio de Rodondo, and a regiment of negroes. The negro commanders were clothed in lace, bore the same rank with white officers, and with equal freedom and familiarity walked and conversed with their commander-in-chief. Such an example might justly have alarmed Carolina. For, should the enemy penetrate into that province, where there were such numbers of negroes, they would soon have acquired such a force as must have rendered all opposition fruitless and ineffectual.

General Oglethorpe having found that he could not stop the progress of the enemy up the river, and judging his situation at Fort Simons too dangerous, nailed up the guns, burst the bombs and cohorns, destroyed the stores, and retreated to his head-quarters at Frederica. So great was the force of the enemy, that he resolved to act only on the defensive. On all sides he sent out scouting parties to watch the motions of the Spaniards, while the main body were employed in working at the fortifications, making them as strong as circumstances would admit. Day and night he kept his Indian allies ranging through the woods, to harass the outposts of the enemy, who at length brought in five Spanish prisoners, who informed him of their number and force, and that the governor of Augustine was commander-in-chief of the expedition. The general, still expecting a rein-

forcement from Carolina, used all his address in planning measures for gaining time, and preventing the garrison from sinking into despair. For this purpose he sent out the Highland company also, to assist the Indians, and obstruct, as much as possible, the approach of the enemy, till he should obtain assistance and relief. His provisions for the garrison were neither good nor plentiful, and his great distance from all settlements, together with the enemy keeping the command of the river, cut off entirely all prospects of a supply. To prolong the defence, however, he concealed every discouraging circumstance from his little army, which, besides Indians, did not amount to more than seven hundred men; and, to animate them to perseverance, exposed himself to the same hardships and fatigues with the meanest soldier in his garrison.

While Oglethorpe remained in this situation, the enemy made several attempts to pierce through the woods, with a view to attack the fort; but met with such opposition from the morasses and thickets, which were lined with fierce Indians and wild Highlanders, that they honestly confessed that the devil himself could not pass through them to Frederica. Don Manuel de Monteano, however, had no other prospect left, and these difficulties must either be surmounted, or the design dropped; and therefore one party after another was sent out to explore the thickets, and to take possession of every advantageous post to be found in them. In two skirmishes with the Highlanders and Indians, the enemy had one captain and two lieutenants killed, with above one hundred men taken prisoners. After which the Spanish commander changed his plan of operations, and keeping his men under cover of his cannon, proceeded with some galleys up the river with the tide of flood, to reconnoitre the fort and draw the general's attention to another quarter. To this place Oglethorpe sent a party of Indians, with orders to lie in ambuscade in the woods, and endeavour to prevent their landing. About the same time an English prisoner escaped from the Spanish camp, and brought advice to General Oglethorpe of a difference subsisting in it, insomuch that the forces from Cuba and those from Augustine encamped in separate places. Upon which the general resolved to attempt a surprise on one of the Spanish camps; and taking the advantage of his knowledge of the woods, marched out in the night with three hundred chosen men, the Highland company, and some rangers. Having advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp he halted, and went forward with a small party to take a view of the posture of the enemy. But while he wanted, above all things, to conceal his approach, a Frenchman fired his musket, ran off, and alarmed the enemy. Upon which, Oglethorpe finding his design defeated, retreated to Frederica; and being apprehensive that the deserter would discover his weakness, began to study by what device he might most effectually defeat the credit of his informations. For this purpose he wrote a letter, addressing it to the

deserter, in which he desired him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and how easy and practicable it would be to cut him and his small garrison to pieces. He begged him, as his spy, to bring them forward to the attack, and assure them of success ; but if he could not prevail with them to make that attempt, to use all his art and influence to persuade them to stay at least three days more at Fort Simons ; for within that time, according to the advice he had just received from Carolina, he would have a reinforcement of two thousand land-forces, and six British ships of war, with which he doubted not he would be able to give a good account of the Spanish invaders. He entreated the deserter to urge them to stay, and above all things cautioned him against mentioning a single word of Vernon coming against Augustine, assuring him that for such services he should be amply rewarded by his Britannic majesty. This letter he gave to one of the Spanish prisoners, who, for the sake of liberty and a small reward, promised to deliver it to the French deserter ; but instead of that, as Oglethorpe expected, he delivered it to the commander-in-chief of the Spanish army.

Various were the speculations and conjectures which this letter occasioned in the Spanish camp ; and the commander, among others, was not a little perplexed what to infer from it. In the first place he ordered the French deserter to be put in irons to prevent his escape, and then called a council of war, to consider what was most proper to be done in consequence of intelligence so puzzling and alarming. Some officers were of opinion that the letter was intended to deceive, and to prevent them from attacking Frederica ; others thought that the things mentioned in it appeared so feasible, that there were good grounds to believe the English general wished them to take place ; and therefore gave their voice for consulting the safety of Augustine, and dropping a plan of conquest attended with so many difficulties, and which, in the issue, might perhaps hazard the loss of both army and fleet, if not of the whole province of Florida. While the Spanish leaders were employed in these deliberations, and much embarrassed, fortunately three ships of force, which the governor of South Carolina had sent out, appeared at some distance on the coast. This corresponding with the letter, convinced the Spanish commander of its real intent, and struck such a panic into the army, that they immediately set fire to their fort, and in great hurry and confusion embarked, leaving behind them several cannon, and a quantity of provisions and military stores. The wind being contrary, the English ships could not, during that day, beat up to the mouth of the river, and before next morning the invaders got past them, and escaped to Augustine.

In this manner was the province of Georgia delivered, when brought to the very brink of destruction by a formidable enemy. Fifteen days had Don Manuel de Monteano been on the small island on which Frederica

was situated, without gaining the smallest advantage over a handful of men, and in different skirmishes lost some of his bravest troops. What number of men Oglethorpe lost, we have not been able to learn; but it must have been very inconsiderable. In this resolute defence of the country, he displayed both military skill and personal courage, and an equal degree of praise was due to him from the Carolinians as from the Georgians. It is not improbable that the Spaniards had Carolina chiefly in their eye, and had meditated an attack where rich plunder could have been obtained, and where, by an accession of slaves, they might have increased their force in proportion to their progress. Never did the Carolinians make so bad a figure in defence of their country. When union, activity, and despatch were so requisite, they ingloriously stood at a distance; and suffering private pique to prevail over public spirit, seemed determined to risk the safety of their country, rather than General Oglethorpe, by their help, should gain the smallest degree of honour and reputation. Money, indeed, they voted for the service, and at length sent some ships; but by coming so late, they proved useful rather from the fortunate co-operation of an accidental cause, than from the zeal and public spirit of the people. The Georgians with justice blamed their more powerful neighbours, who, by keeping at a distance in the day of danger, had almost hazarded the loss of both provinces. Had the enemy pursued their operations with vigour and courage, the province of Georgia must have fallen a prey to the invaders, and Carolina had every thing to dread in consequence of the conquest. Upon the return of the Spanish troops to the Havanna, the commander was imprisoned, and ordered to take his trial for his conduct during this expedition, the result of which proved so shameful and ignominious to the Spanish arms. Though the enemy threatened to renew the invasion, yet we do not find that after this repulse they made any attempts, by force of arms, to gain possession of Georgia.

The Carolinians having had little or no share of the glory gained by this brave defence, were also divided in their opinions with respect to the conduct of General Oglethorpe. While one party acknowledged his signal services, and poured out the highest encomiums on his wisdom and courage, another shamefully censured his conduct, and meanly detracted from his merit; and no one took any public notice of his services, except the inhabitants in and about Port-Royal, who presented him with a congratulatory address.

But at the same time reports were circulating in Charleston to his prejudice, insomuch that both his honour and honesty were called in question. Such malicious rumours had even reached London, and occasioned some of his bills to return to America protested. Lieutenant-Colonel William Cook, who owed his preferment to the general's particular friendship and generosity, and who, on pretence of sickness, had left Georgia before this



GENERAL OGLETHORPE IN HIS OLD AGE

invasion, had filed no less than nineteen articles of complaint against him, summoning several officers and soldiers from Georgia to prove the charge. As the general had, in fact, stretched his credit, exhausted his strength, and risked his life for the defence of Carolina in its frontier colony, such a recompense must have been equally mortifying as it was unmerited. The charges brought by envy and malice he might have treated with contempt; but to vindicate himself against the attacks of an inferior officer, he thought himself bound in honour to return to England.

Soon after his arrival there, a court-martial of general officers was called, who sat two days at the Horse-Guards, and after the most mature deliberation, the board adjudged the charge to be false, malicious, and groundless, and reported the same to his majesty. In consequence of which, Lieutenant-colonel Cook was dismissed from the service, and declared incapable of serving his majesty in any military capacity whatever.

After this period General Oglethorpe never returned to the province of Georgia, but upon all occasions discovered in England an uncommon zeal for its prosperity and improvement. From its first settlement, the colony had hitherto been under a military government, executed by the general and such officers as he thought proper to nominate and appoint. But now the trustees established a kind of civil government, and committed the charge of it to a president and four assistants, who were to act by certain instructions which they should receive from them, and to be accountable

to that corporation for their public conduct. William Stephens was made chief magistrate, and Thomas Jones, Henry Parker, John Fallowfield, and Samuel Mercer, were appointed assistants. They were instructed to hold four general courts at Savanna every year, for regulating public affairs, and determining all differences relating to private property. No public money could be disposed of but by a warrant under the seal of the president and major part of the assistants in council assembled, who were enjoined to send monthly accounts to England of money expended, and of the particular services to which it was applied. All officers of militia were continued, for the purpose of holding musters, and keeping the men properly trained for military services; and Oglethorpe's regiment was left in the colony for its defence.

By this time the trustees had transported to Georgia, at different times, above fifteen hundred men, women, and children. As the colony was intended as a barrier to Carolina, by their charter the trustees were at first laid under several restraints with respect to the method of granting lands, as well as the settlers with respect to the terms of holding and disposing of them. But it was now found expedient to relieve both the former and latter from these impolitic restrictions. Under the care of General Oglethorpe the infant province had surmounted many difficulties, yet still it promised a poor recompense to Britain for the vast sums of money expended for its protection. The indigent emigrants, especially those from England, having little acquaintance with husbandry, and less inclination to labour, made bad settlers; and as greater privileges were allowed them on the Carolina side of the river, they were easily decoyed away to that colony. The Highlanders and Germans indeed, being more frugal and industrious, succeeded better, but hitherto had made very small progress, owing partly to wars with the Spaniards, and to severe hardships attending all kinds of culture in such an unhealthy climate and woody country. The staple commodities intended to be raised in Georgia were silk and wine, which were indeed very profitable articles; but so small was the improvement made in them, that they had hitherto turned out to little account. The most industrious and successful settlers could as yet scarcely provide for their families, and the unfortunate, the sick and indolent part remained in a destitute condition.

The trustees of Georgia finding that the province languished under their care, and weary of the complaints of the people, in the year 1752 surrendered their charter to the king, and it was made a royal government. In consequence of which, his majesty appointed John Reynolds, an officer of the navy, governor of the province, with a legislature similar to that of the other royal governments in America. Although the expense which the mother country had already incurred, besides private benefactions, for supporting this colony had been very great, yet the returns had been very

small. The vestiges of cultivation were scarcely perceptible in the forest, and in England all commerce with it was neglected and despised. At this time the whole annual exports of Georgia did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling: and although the people were now favoured with the same privileges enjoyed by their neighbours under the royal care, yet several years elapsed before the value of the lands in Georgia was known, and that spirit of industry broke out in it which afterward diffused its happy influence over the country.

In the annals of Georgia the famous George Whitfield may not be unworthy of some notice, especially as the Orphan-house built by him there has been so celebrated. Actuated by religious motives, Whitfield several times passed the Atlantic to convert the Americans, whom he addressed in such a manner as if they had been all equal strangers to the privileges and benefits of religion with the original inhabitants of the forest. However, his zeal never led him beyond the maritime parts of America, through which he travelled, spreading what he called the true evangelical faith among the most populous towns and villages. It might have been expected that the heathens, or at least those who were most destitute of the means of instruction, would have been the chief objects of his zeal and compassion; but this was far from being the case. However, wherever he went in America, as in Britain, he had multitudes of followers. When he first visited Charleston, Alexander Garden, a man of some sense and erudition, who was the episcopal clergyman of that place, to put the people upon their guard, took occasion to point out to them the pernicious tendency of Whitfield's wild doctrines and irregular manner of life. He represented him as a religious impostor or quack, who had an excellent knack of setting off to advantage his poisonous tenets. On the other hand Whitfield, who had been accustomed to bear reproach and face opposition, recriminated with double acrimony and greater success. While Alexander Garden, to keep his flock from straying after this strange pastor, expatiated on the words of Scripture, "Those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." Whitfield, with all the force of humour and wit for which he was so much distinguished, by way of reply, enlarged on these words, "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil, the Lord reward him according to his works." In short, the pulpit was perverted by both into the mean purposes of personal controversy, and every one catching a share of the infection, spoke of the clergymen as they were differently affected.

In Georgia, Whitfield having obtained a tract of land from the trustees, erected a wooden house two stories high, the dimensions of which were seventy feet by forty, upon a sandy beach near the sea-shore. This house, which he called the Orphan-house, he began to build about the year 1740, and afterwards finished it at a great expense. It was intended to be a lodging

for poor children, where they were to be clothed and fed by charitable contributions, and trained up in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion. The design, beyond doubt, was humane and laudable ; but, perhaps, had he travelled over the whole earth, he could scarcely have found out a spot of ground upon it more improper for the purpose. The whole province of Georgia could not furnish him with land of the same extent more barren and unprofitable. To this house poor children were to be sent from at least a healthy country, to be supported partly by charity, and partly by the produce of this land cultivated by negroes. Nor was the climate better suited to the purpose than the soil, for it is certain, before the unwholesome marshes around the house were fertilized, the influences of both air and water must have conspired to the children's destruction.

However, Whitfield having formed his chimerical project, determined to accomplish it, and instead of being discouraged by obstacles and difficulties, gloried in despising them. He travelled through the British empire, persuaded the ignorant and credulous part of the world of the excellence of his design, and obtained from them money, clothes, and books, to forward his undertaking, and supply his poor orphans in Georgia. About thirty years after this wooden house was finished it was burned to the ground ; without, according to all accounts, having repaid its benevolent, though eccentric founder, for his anxiety and labours. After his death he was brought from New England, above eight hundred miles, and buried at this Orphan-house. Lady Huntingdon became his executrix, and the funds of the land, negroes, &c., were appropriated to the support of dissenting ministers.





WASHINGTON WRITING HIS JOURNAL

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—RISE OF WASHINGTON—CONQUEST OF CANADA.



WE have seen the American colonies of France and England repeatedly involved in wars, which originated between their respective parent states, and of which the causes were ministered by European interests and quarrels. It seemed on these occasions, that the colonial hostilities were but secondary movements, accessory and subordinate to the main current of affairs in a distant channel; and that the repose of America depended chiefly on the temper and relations subsisting between the governments and the nations of Europe. We are now to enter upon a different scene, representing a war which was kindled by collisions arising in America, and of which the flames, first breaking forth in this region, progressively extended to Europe, and were not quenched till their devouring rage had been felt in every quarter of the globe. [1752.] Even in the previous scenes of warfare which occurred in North America, it was manifest that the French and British colonists were animated by stronger passion than mere dutiful sympathy with the contemporary quarrels of the distant empires to which they were politically attached. Both the last war, and the preceding one, in the reign of Queen Anne, though in formal semblance but the extensions of European strife, were preceded and prepared by disputes of American birth; and the intervening contest between New England and the Indian allies of France was substantially a war carried on between the French and English colonists, at a time when peace subsisted

between their respective parent states. The causes of enmity, dispute, and collision, which had been multiplying for many years between the two European races by which the colonization of North America was principally shared, were now hastening to a complete maturity, and threatened this great continent with a signal revolution of empire, as the result of a decisive struggle of France and England for its sole dominion. Of this struggle, the power which had introduced despotic monarchy and hereditary nobility into America was fated to be the victim. But had the rival state been gifted with more political foresight, she would hardly have suffered either ambition or resentment to precipitate her upon a conquest, of which the manifest effect was to convert France from the interested supporter of the ascendancy of Europe over America, into the vindictive patron of American independence. Had either or both of the contending monarchs perceived how injurious their collision must prove to the interests of royalty, surely the war which we are now approaching would never have broken out, and human prudence would have intercepted that mighty stream of events, which, commencing with the conquest of Canada, and issuing in the independence of North America, and the impulse thereby communicated to the spirit of liberty and revolution throughout all the world, has so wonderfully displayed the dominion of Supreme Wisdom and Beneficence over the senseless, selfish, and malignant passions of men.

When we consider the vast extent of the North American continent, even now but partially replenished with inhabitants and subdued by cultivation, we are led to inquire with surprise how it was possible that so early as the middle of the eighteenth century, a practical collision should have arisen between the pretensions of the French and English colonists. That two colonial societies, which had not yet existed a hundred and fifty years,—which formed but an inconsiderable fraction of the total population of the empires to which they respectively belonged, and yet possessed territories far exceeding the dimensions of the parent states, and utterly disproportioned to any power of cultivation which for centuries they could hope to exert,—that these colonies, I say, during the course of their brief existence, should have been repeatedly engaged in sanguinary wars, and should already, from conflicting schemes of policy, have reached a crisis at which the conquest of the one was deemed requisite to the security of the other, is not the least remarkable instance recorded in history of the boundless range of human ambition, and of the total inadequacy of the largest possessions to impart contentment or satiate cupidity. Another instance, illustrative of these considerations, has been already exhibited to our view in the history of the Dutch and Swedish colonists of New York and Delaware. While these territories respectively possessed but a handful of inhabitants, and afforded an almost boundless scope to the peaceful and profitable labours of colonization, the two infant communities regarded each

other with jealous hatred and fear, and plunged into hostilities of which the aggressor was the victim. But in addition to considerations applicable to every portion and community of the human race, there are others derived from the national character, sentiments, and temper of the French and English, which contribute to account for the early and violent collision between their colonial establishments in America.

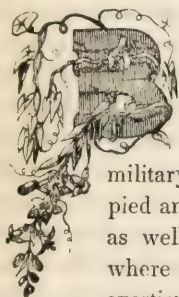
The claim preferred by Edward the Third of England to the throne of France, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, seems to have given the first occasion to that mutual animosity between the French and English people, which, nourished by a succession of national disputes, broke forth into numberless wars, and produced a greater effusion of blood than attended the rivalry of the Greeks and Persians, or of the Romans and Carthaginians. It has been affirmed by a great philosophic historian, that this antipathy was cherished in a far stronger degree by the English than by the French, whose position in the middle of Europe involved them in a greater variety of hostile relations than the English, and mitigated the force of national hatred by multiplying the channels in which it flowed. Perhaps a juster consideration will account that the reciprocal animosities of the two nations were substantially much less disproportioned than this writer has been willing to suppose. More sincerity and consistent principle mingled with the sentiments of the English; more politic address and artifice regulated the passions of the French. The English were the most apt to suspect and to threaten injury; the French were the least prompt to profess enmity, and the least restrained by honour and good faith from indulging in it. But even supposing this estimate erroneous, as perhaps it is, and that an unequal degree of animosity subsisted between the subjects of France and England in Europe, their relative position in America was calculated to restore at once the balance of mutual dislike, and to fortify every unfriendly sentiment which they imported from their respective parent states. The English now became the nearest and the most formidable neighbours of the French, whose passions, discharged from participation in the politics of Europe, had leisure to unite their strength in a single channel; while, to the British colonists in general, and especially to the people of New England, who were most approximated to Canada and Nova Scotia, the religious faith and civil policy of the French, were objects of greater aversion than to any class of the domestic population of Great Britain.

Institutions more purely democratical subsisted, and liberty flourished with greater vigour, in the British colonies than in Britain; while a stricter system of despotism prevailed in the French colonies than in France. The English colonists stigmatized the French as idolaters, and the French denounced the English as heretics. The English despised the French as slaves; while the French, attached to arbitrary power, and sharing all its

prejudices, regarded with aversion the rival principle of liberty which was cherished by the English. The mutual enmity of the French and English colonists was farther promoted by their competitions to gain a monopoly of the trade and good-will of a variety of Indian tribes, all of which were engaged in frequent wars, and expected that their quarrels should be espoused by their friends; and some of which had the sagacity to perceive that the mutual jealousy and estrangement of the two European races would be favourable to the independence and authority of the Indians. The seeds of controversy between the French and English colonies were thus sown with the earliest settlements which they formed in America; and between two nations so strongly prepossessed against each other, the actual collision was rather hastened than retarded by the prodigious extent of vacant territory which surrounded their settlements, and naturally prevented an early and amicable adjustment of boundaries. Conflicting pretensions and territorial disputes were prepared from the first by the indefinite and extravagant charters or grants of land, which the French and English monarchs, ignorant or regardless of each other's proceedings, severally conferred on their subjects; and these disagreements, which various occasions had already partially developed, were now brought to an early but full maturity by the progress of that ambitious system of colonial enterprise which for many years the French had actually pursued.

The models of conduct and policy exhibited in the settlements of the two races of colonists differed as widely as their local position in America, and strikingly illustrated the distinctive traits in the characters of the parent nations from which they were respectively derived. The English were in possession of the seacoast of North America, of the harbours and the mouths of rivers; and some, but only a very few, of their settlements were actually extended as far as a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles into the interior of the country. The French were not in possession of any part of the seacoast, or of any harbours on the continent, but had made settlements on the banks of the two great rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, of which the sources are not far apart, and which, running respectively north-east and south, formed a line almost parallel to the seaward position of the English. These settlements of the two nations afforded an extent of territory sufficient to absorb for centuries the most copious emigrations from France and England; and if the two races of planters had confined their enterprises to the avowed purpose and reasonable process of colonization—to the culture and subjugation of those uncultivated wastes and forests which they either appropriated as vacant, forcibly seized, or fairly purchased from the savage proprietors—we should still have been separated by a long interval from the time when their interests could possibly have clashed or interfered with each other. The natural employment of the colonists of America was agriculture, with the addition of a confined range of commerce; and this wa

the line of action which the English pursued. Their main object was to plant and cultivate, to subdue the land by the axe, to rule it by the plough, and to clothe it with flocks; and they never removed from the sea-coasts to the interior of the country, but when they were straitened for room in the situations which they had primarily adopted. They occupied no remote or distant posts, and made no settlements but such as were capable of being maintained and supported by the natural condition of their affairs and intercourse of their people. Adhering to this policy, it was impossible that they could ever be justly charged with encroachments on the possessions of the French; and had the conduct of the latter people been regulated by the same maxims, many centuries must have elapsed before the two nations could have been, properly speaking, even neighbours to each other in these vast and desert regions.



UT quite the reverse of this was the procedure of the French. The favourite object of their policy was rather extended dominion than industrious settlement and improved plantation; and they were less attentive to the erection of agricultural or mercantile habitations than of military forts. With an ambitious latitude of grasp, they occupied and fortified posts at a prodigious distance from each other, as well as from the two provincial capitals, and in situations where they could be maintained only by elaborate and unnatural exertions of power and policy, and were but little subservient to the purposes of commerce, and still less of agriculture. The British colonists were peaceable farmers and traders; and the progress of their settlements was the natural growth of diligent and continuous cultivation. The French conducted themselves rather as roving and ambitious adventurers than as industrious settlers; and the aggrandizement of their domains was the effect of aspiring, irregular, and impetuous enterprise. Beholding with alarmed rivalry the slow but sure and steady progress of the British colonies in culture, population, and commerce, and instigated by envy and ambition to dread already the increase of a power which was likely to be the more confirmed and stable because it employed no violent or irregular means of accelerating its advancement, the French had long pursued measures of which the object was to intercept the farther growth of the British settlements, and to confine them within a narrow range, extending only a few leagues from the sea-coast. With this object, they combined the design of gaining possession of one of the English harbours on the Atlantic ocean, for the commercial benefit of the vast interior districts to which they laid claim, and which possessed no other maritime communication but the mouths of two rivers, neither of which afforded a convenient navigation. In prosecution of their politic views, they studied to connect their two colonies of Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts from Quebec to New

Orleans—an operation, which, though quite inappropriate to the ends of colonization, might yet have been accounted justifiable, had the new positions they assumed been restricted to the banks of the two great rivers, or the territory immediately adjacent to them. But, not contented with this, they advanced their military settlements so near the English frontier, and (with still more significant indication of their purpose) to so great a distance from any of their own colonies, with such vast tracts of land, either desert or inhabited by hostile savages, intervening between them, that a bare inspection of the map of America is sufficient to demonstrate the aggrandizing aim of this people, and the spirit of hostile encroachment by which they were actuated.

The design of the French to restrict the growth of the British settlements was penetrated, as we have seen, by Spottiswoode, the governor of Virginia, as early as the year 1715; and but a few years later was distinctly perceived by Burnet, the governor of New York. But the representations of these politicians were disregarded by their countrymen, till experience demonstrated what sagacity had anticipated in vain. The purpose of deliberate encroachment on the British settlements was manifested, in the year 1731, by the decisive measure of erecting the fort of Crown Point upon Lake Champlain, at a great distance from any other French establishment, and within the territory of the Six Nations, who were recognised by treaty as the allies and under the protection of Britain. This daring intrusion upon the province of New York excited hardly any attention at the time, except from the government of Massachusetts, whose jealousy had been sharpened by many previous collisions with the French, and was kept alive by the nearer danger with which New England was menaced, of encroachment in the quarter of Nova Scotia. Before this province was finally conquered by Britain, or rather by the British colonists, during Queen Anne's War, the French endeavoured, by the extension of its boundaries, to check the advance of the settlements of New England; and even after it was surrendered to Britain, at the peace of Utrecht, they pursued the same policy, by instigating the neighbouring Indians to assert pretensions opposed to the claims of the English, and by raising disputes with regard to the real meaning and extent of the cession which had been extorted from themselves. They still pretended right to a part of that territory of which the English reasonably understood that the whole was ceded; and these pretensions were rendered the more dangerous by their concurrence with the sentiments of the French inhabitants of the territory confessedly ceded, and of the neighbouring Indians, as well as by the establishment which France was permitted to retain in the island of Cape Breton.

The hostile attitude which the French force in America thus progressively assumed would long before the present period have provoked a

decisive struggle for the sole dominion of this continent, if a corresponding spirit had been manifested by the rival power and people. But the British colonists, devoted to the pursuits of peaceful industry, were not easily aroused to military enterprise; and their political views and solicitudes, as well as those of the parent state, were divided by the jealousies which they reciprocally entertained,—on the one hand, of encroaching sovereignty,—on the other, of relaxing submission and dependence. If the French, from the unready resistance and languid retorts which they experienced, reaped the political advantage of improving their military positions, they incurred the moral disadvantage of rendering themselves more palpably the aggressors in an inevitable quarrel; while the British colonists derived all the benefit arising from the increase of their resources in peace, and from a sense of justice in the final appeal to arms. The British settlements far exceeded those of France in wealth and population; and if the two races of colonists had engaged with equal vigour and determination in general hostilities, unaided by their respective parent states, the issue of the contest could not long have been doubtful. But various circumstances tended to equalize the martial force which these rival colonies were capable of exerting, or, rather, to transfer the preponderance of active power to the French. The British were divided into a variety of commonwealths, separated from each other by religious diversities, as well as by distinct political constitutions, of which the independence was guarded with a vigilance of apprehension incident to the spirit of liberty; and the only principle of union among them was their common jealousy of the parent state—a sentiment which perplexed their politics, and tended rather to make the subjugation of their French neighbours appear additionally desirable, than to induce them to expend their own strength and resources upon this object. It was difficult to collect the force and energy of a people so circumstanced into one compact mass. In the French settlements no such principles of disunion had existence; but a vigorous concert and simplicity of purpose and action prevailed—the result of a despotic regimen congenial to the temper and sentiments of the people.

No religious or political distinctions divided the several portions of the French provincial commonwealth from each other; and no encroachments upon charter privileges, nor opposition to the exercise of disputed prerogative, relaxed the protecting and auxiliary energy of the sovereign, or the common ardor of the colonists for the promotion of his wishes and the enlargement of his empire and renown. The French colonists relied on, and received, much more liberal aid from their parent state than did the English; and at the same time were more ready (generally speaking) to make adventurous exertions of their own unaided force in the national cause, with which all their political ideas and sentiments were blended. Accustomed to prompt and implicit obedience to despotic power, the conformity between

their civil habits and the system of military discipline rendered them always capable of being easily moulded into armies and employed as efficient instruments of war and conquest. Undistracted either by internal jealousies and emulations, or by the nurture and defence of domestic liberty, their political ambition was confined to the single object of French glory and aggrandizement ; while, from their local situation, opposition to the colonial empire of England was the only sphere of action in which the political enmity and national prejudice of which they were susceptible could be exerted. The governors of Canada were generally soldiers of reputation, and were intrusted with the absolute regulation and superintendence of Indian affairs ; whereas the English governors frequently owed their appointments to court favour, parliamentary interest, or aristocratical patronage, and abandoned the province of Indian affairs to private traders, who were indifferent to the public welfare, and actuated only by the most sordid motives and considerations. With the exception of the Six Nations and their tributaries, the French, from their first settlement in America, had been remarkably successful in conciliating the affections and gaining the adherence of the Indian tribes ; and, in this respect, their priests proved far more useful political instruments than the clergymen and missionaries of the English. While unity of design and promptitude of decision invigorated the counsels and conduct of the French, the most judicious projects entertained by the English were often endangered or rendered abortive by the jealous caution and protracted deliberations of their numerous representative assemblies. Governor Shirley, we have seen, when he undertook the conquest of Louisbourg, found it more difficult to overcome the doubt and hesitation of his people than to overpower the resistance of their enemy ; and lost the time in defending his measure, which a French governor would have employed in improving its chances of success. Hence, though the actual force of the French settlements was indisputably inferior to that of the English, it was in artificial structure more nimble, compact and disposable, and was capable of being directed with more celerity upon any given point,—an advantage that has often counterpoised, and even outweighed, disparity of bulk and numerical superiority.



F the various points in dispute between France and England, not one was adjusted by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: The boundaries of the British empire in North America, and the disputed property of Tobago and other islands in the West Indies, were left to be settled by the negotiation of commissaries,—a procedure in which it is easy for either party, by cunning and chicanery, to perplex the discussion, and indefinitely to protract its issue. This policy the French were fully prepared to pursue ; and, in unison with it, they pushed with redoubled vigour their system of

territorial encroachment. Even previous to the appointment of commissaries on either side, and very soon after the conclusion of the peace, they attempted to make an establishment in Tobago ; but, warned by the violent expression of indignation which was provoked from the merchants of Britain by this measure, they receded from a pretension which seemed likely too soon to precipitate matters to an extremity, and, on the first complaint of the British government, consented to abandon the undertaking. Their conduct on this occasion, which admits of no cavil or disguise, justifies a presumption very unfavourable to their good faith in the other contemporary collisions and disputes, of which the merits, whether by artifice or accident, have been involved in greater doubt and obscurity. Eagerly resuming possession of Cape Breton, restored to them by the treaty of peace, the French speedily perceived that some of the advantages which they might hope to derive from this possession were likely to be counteracted by the establishment of the colonists despatched from Britain under Cornwallis to Nova Scotia ; and though they had no pretence for disputing the legitimacy of this enterprise, they employed the most active endeavours to render it ineffectual. Their Indian allies attacked the English settlements in Nova Scotia ; and, in the commencement of the year 1750, a band of two thousand five hundred French troops, detached by the governor of Canada, and reinforced by Indian auxiliaries, took possession of the whole tract of country from Chignecto, along the north side of the Bay of Fundy, to Kennebec river, which they declared to be still the property of the most Christian King, and to which they invited all the French neutrals, as they were called, to repair from the district confessedly ceded to Britain. Various skirmishes ensued between the forces of Cornwallis and the French and Indians ; a number of forts were built, and some were taken and destroyed on both sides ; but the French continued to maintain their position and fortify their interest. Cornwallis urgently solicited assistance from the government of Massachusetts, and would probably have obtained it, but for the absence of the popular and enterprising Shirley, who had repaired to Europe in order to act as one of the commissaries of Britain in the approaching discussions with France. Spencer Phipps, the lieutenant-governor, whose influence was not proportioned to his merit, recommended an expedition to Nova Scotia ; but the Assembly declared that their own province was likely to need all its forces for its own protection. They had just received intelligence of an encroachment on the territory of Massachusetts, by a settlement which the French were reported to have commenced on the river Lechock, about five leagues eastward of Penobscot : and Clinton, the governor of New York, had communicated to them the alarming tidings, that the French authorities in Canada were diligently endeavouring to seduce the Six Nations from the British interest, and had urged the New England governments to unite their counsels with his, in opposition

to these dangerous intrigues. Thus, before the peace announced by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was fully established, the French engaged in measures which plainly tended to a renewal of the war.

These collisions demonstrated the necessity of an immediate change in the relative posture of the two nations, and hastened the appointment of the commissaries, whose conferences accordingly commenced at Paris in the close of the year 1750, but, as might easily have been foreseen, produced only increased disagreement, perplexity and irritation. Memorials and documents were compiled on both sides, till they attained a bulk more fitted to confuse than elucidate the points and merits of the controversy; and not the slightest approach had been made to the adjustment of any one article of dispute, when the negotiation was finally abandoned in despair of an amicable issue. From the voluminous length of the discussion, the variety and intricacy of the details which it embraced, and the opposite views which the commissaries entertained of the state of facts and the authority of documents, it was not difficult for either party, in its report of the proceedings, to fix a plausible imputation of blame upon the other; and it is not surprising that a controversy which issued in such memorable events and signal revolutions of empire should have been regarded ever since through the medium of the strongest national prejudice and partiality. Doubtless some part, and probably no inconsiderable part, of the difficulties by which a conventional adjustment of the pretensions of the two parties was obstructed, arose from the conflicting terms of titular writs on which they respectively reposed a fair and entire reliance. And, indeed, this appears no less a concession due to candor and liberality than a conclusion unavoidably suggested by the nature of the object in dispute, which was a vast extent of country to which two nations preferred claims founded on grants and charters of their respective monarchs, who, at the very time when they executed these deeds, were ignorant of the dimensions and boundaries of the region which they pretended to describe and bestow. It was impossible that such charters should not frequently clash and contradict each other; and while both parties referred to them, reasoned from them, and accounted them of equal force and validity, an amicable adjustment of the differences to which they administered support was rendered a matter of the greatest difficulty. Even the most sincere and zealously Christian politicians have accounted themselves exempted, as the representatives of their countrymen, from the obligations of generous concession and magnanimous forbearance, which, as individuals, they would have readily acknowledged.

We have remarked various disputes that were engendered between the several English provinces by the vague and inconsistent definitions of territory contained in their charters; and when such collisions occurred between members of the same common empire, it is not wonderful that they

sprung up and were maintained with greater keenness and obstinacy between two nations long accustomed to regard each other with sentiments of rivalry and dislike. Yet, with the amplest allowance for these considerations, we should postpone substantial truth to fanciful candor and affected impartiality, in hesitating to pronounce that the obstructions to an amicable issue of the controversy were not only magnified, but rendered absolutely insuperable, by the disregard of honour, good faith, and moderation, with which the pretensions of France were advocated. The policy which had been exemplified by the French colonists in America was now espoused and defended by the French politicians in Europe. Not only did the commissaries on behalf of France reject the authority of maps which had been published and revised by the ministers of their own country, but they refused to abide by the definition of the boundaries of Nova Scotia for which the French cabinet formerly contended, when the region designated by this name was acknowledged to form a part of the dominion of France. Governor Shirley, one of the British commissaries, during the progress of the negotiation, committed the folly of marrying, at the age of sixty, a young and lovely French girl, the daughter of his landlord at Paris,—a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule in England, and aroused in America some angry suspicions of his defection to the interests, or, at least, of his relaxed opposition to the pretensions of France. But the injustice of these suspicions was demonstrated on his return to Massachusetts, [1753,] when he plainly showed that neither the endearments of conjugal affection nor the arts of the French commissaries had been able to bias his sentiments or baffle his penetration; and openly proclaimed that an accommodation with France was hopeless, that only martial arbitrament could now terminate the controversy, and that the interests of Britain demanded that this inevitable appeal should no longer be deferred.



MEANWHILE, in addition to the previous controversies and the increasing hopelessness of a peaceful adjustment of them, new subjects of dispute arose between the two nations. The extension of the Virginian settlements to the banks of the river Ohio, and especially the occupation of a part of this region by the English Ohio Company, were calculated to bring to a decisive test the long prevalent suspicion of the purpose of the French to render the line of forts which they had been erecting subservient not merely to the communication between their own colonies, but to the confinement of the British settlement, and the obstruction of their advances into the interior of the country. Nor did the French hesitate a moment to afford unequivocal proof of their entire purpose, and to resist the first attempt of their rivals to overleap the boundaries within which they were resolved to enclose them. A menace of the governor of Canada, that he would treat as enemies any of the subjects of Britain

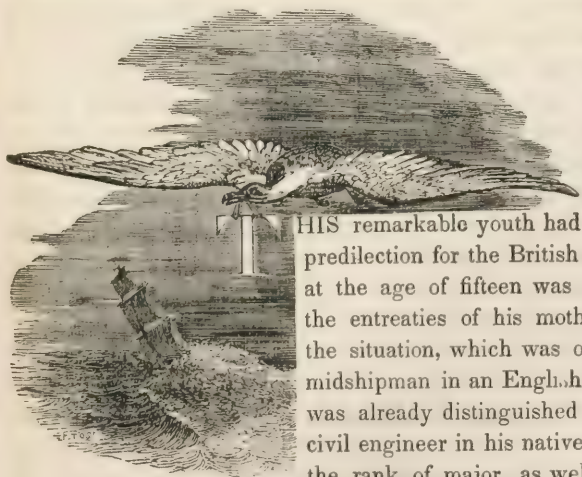
who should settle near the Ohio, or presume even to trade with the Indian inhabitants of this region, having been disregarded, was promptly enforced by the seizure of a number of British traders, who were carried as prisoners to a fort which the French were erecting at Presque Isle on Lake Erie. Other British traders, and servants of the Ohio Company, retreated in alarm from the stations which they had begun to occupy ; and the French, perceiving that the critical juncture was come, when their ambitious system of policy, now plainly disclosed, must either be defended by force or completely abandoned, proceeded with augmented diligence to supply whatever was yet defective in its subsidiary arrangements and preparations. A fort was built at Niagara, within the dominions of the Indian allies of Britain ; and, in addition to the fort on Lake Erie, two others were built at commanding positions on the banks of the Ohio. Thus at length the French succeeded in completing their long-projected communication between the mouth of the Mississippi and the river St. Lawrence.

The complaints against these measures transmitted from America to Britain, concurring with the failure of the negotiations at Paris, and seconded by the influence and activity of the British merchants who were interested in the scheme of the Ohio Company, excited more attention in the parent state than colonial wrongs and quarrels had usually obtained ; and a memorial was accordingly presented this year by Lord Albemarle, the British ambassador to the court of France, requiring, in peremptory terms, that satisfaction should be afforded to the injured subjects of Britain ; that the fort erected at Niagara should be evacuated and destroyed : and that positive orders should be issued to the French commanders in America to desist from farther encroachments and attacks upon the British settlements and colonists. The French court, not yet prepared for an open rupture, or at least willing to defer it as long as possible, returned to this application an answer, of which the tone was compliant, though the terms were evasive. Some Englishmen, who had been sent prisoners from America to France, were instantly set at liberty ; and assurances were given of the transmission of such orders to the governor of Canada as would infallibly prevent all future cause of complaint. These assurances produced the effect of amusing the British government a little longer ; but although public orders in conformity with them were actually sent to America, it is probable that they were nullified by private instructions ; for they were violated without scruple by the French provincial authorities. Jonquière, the governor of Canada, not only continued to multiply and strengthen the fortifications along the line which his countrymen now pretended right to regard as the limit of the English territory, but openly encouraged the Indians, and permitted the French, to attack the English settlers and traders both in Nova Scotia and on the Ohio. The pretensions of France to withstand the British settlements on the Ohio indicated such a devouring ambition, and disclosed a

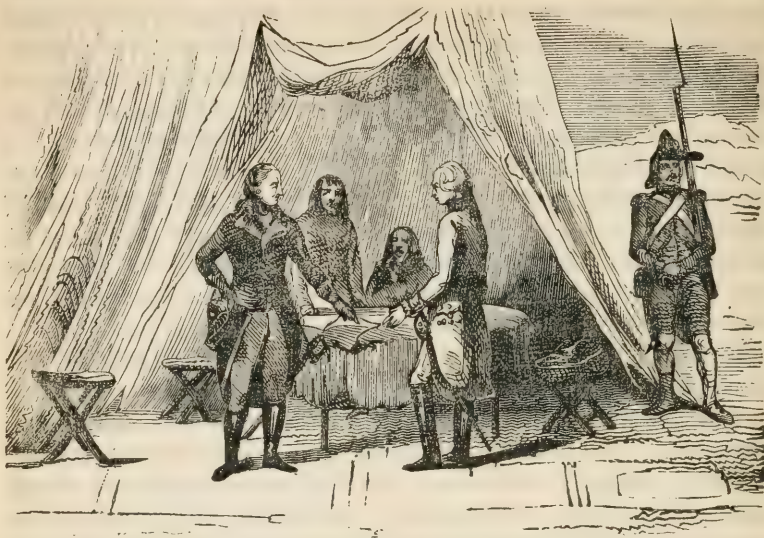
policy so manifestly calculated to arrest the growth and diminish the security of the colonial dominions of Britain, that they would probably have provoked more general and efficient opposition in America, but for the indiscretion and rapacity which we have already remarked in the conduct of the Ohio Company. Hamilton, the governor of Pennsylvania, strongly represented to the Assembly of this province the expediency of erecting forts as well as barter-houses for the use of the Pennsylvania traders with the Indians on the Ohio; but though a majority of the Pennsylvanian Assembly relished the proposal and passed a resolution in conformity with it, yet the interests of individuals, who regarded the monopoly of the Ohio Company with jealous aversion, prevailed so far as to prevent either this, or any other defensive measure, from being carried into execution.

An attempt which was made in the same year, by the governor of Virginia, to resist the encroachments of France, led to the first appearance of the illustrious George Washington on the scene of American affairs. It is interesting to mark the earliest dawn of a career of such exalted and unsullied glory. Robert Dinwiddie, who now arrived in Virginia with the appointment of governor of this province, was quickly made sensible of the critical state that the relations between the French and English had attained on its frontiers. Perceiving the necessity of instant and resolute interference in behalf of his countrymen who were expelled from their settlements, and desirous to gain more distinct information in regard to the region which was the subject of these conflicting pretensions, he was induced to commit this important task, which the approach of a rigorous

winter rendered still more arduous, to Washington, a young Virginian planter, only twenty-one years of age.



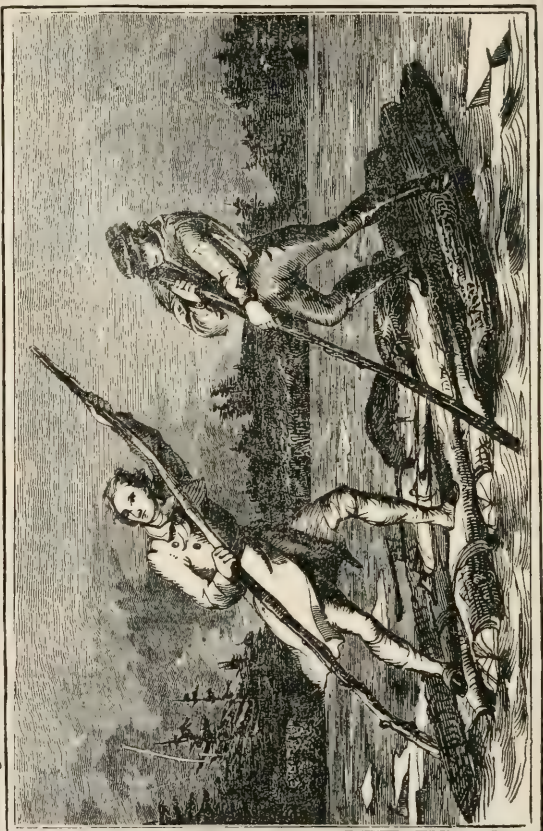
HIS remarkable youth had conceived a strong predilection for the British naval service, and at the age of fifteen was prevented only by the entreaties of his mother from accepting the situation, which was obtained for him, of midshipman in an English ship of war. He was already distinguished as a surveyor and civil engineer in his native province, and held the rank of major, as well as the office of adjutant-general of its militia. Undaunted by the toil and danger of a winter journey, of which two hundred miles lay through a trackless desert inhabited by Indians, some of whom were open enemies, and others doubt-



WASHINGTON RECEIVING THE ANSWER OF ST. PIERRE.

ful friends, the youthful envoy cheerfully undertook the mission ; and, with a single attendant, surmounted all the peril and foulness of the way, and succeeded in penetrating to a French fort erected on the river *Le Bœuf*, which falls into the Ohio. To the commander of this fort, he carried a letter from Governor Dinwiddie, requiring the evacuation of the place, and a relinquishment of the other recent encroachments on the British dominion in the same quarter. St. Pierre, the French commandant on the Ohio, returned for answer to this application, that it belonged not to him to arbitrate the conflicting claims of France and England, and that he had acted and must still continue to act in implicit obedience to the directions of the governor of Canada. Washington performed the duties of his mission with vigour and ability ; and after a painful and laborious expedition, which occupied more than two months, regained in safety the capital of Virginia. [January 16, 1754.] A journal, in which he recorded the particulars of his travel and the fruits of his observation, was published soon after, and impressed his countrymen with a high respect for the solidity of his judgment, and the calm, determined fortitude of his character. The following extract from Washington's journal affords a specimen of the personal dangers which he encountered in this expedition :

“Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy, (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require,) that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and



others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing: therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his honour the governor, I determined to prosecute my journey, the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

"Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient despatch in travelling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch-coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering town, (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shanapin's town,) we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start, so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued travelling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shanapins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole day's work: we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off; but before we were halfway over, we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

"The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers, and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and

went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war; but coming to a place on the head of the great Kanawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped, (all but one woman with very light hair,) they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians of the Ottawa nation, &c., who did it.

"As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of Yohogany, to visit queen Alliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum which latter was thought much the best present of the two.

"Tuesday, the first of January, we left Mr. Frazier's house, and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the second, where I bought a horse, saddle, &c. The sixth, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day, we arrived at Wills' Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the first day of December to the fifteenth, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey, we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

"On the eleventh, I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest; and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the sixteenth, when I waited upon his honour the governor, with the letter I had brought from the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings. This I beg leave to do by offering the foregoing narrative, as it contains the most remarkable occurrences which happened in my journey."

Governor Dinwiddie, finding that nothing was to be gained by amicable negotiation, projected the construction of forts at various places which had been surveyed and selected by Washington; and the Assembly agreeing to defray the expense of these operations, materials were procured and the works commenced without delay. Unfortunately, no means were taken to gain the consent of the natives to this measure, which accordingly served only to increase the jealousy and malevolence with which they had begun to regard the English. A regiment was raised at the same time by the Virginia government, and Washington, who was its lieutenant-colonel, marched with two companies, in advance of the main body, to the Great Meadows, situated within the disputed territory. [April, 1754.] Here he learned from some friendly Indians, that the French, with a force of six

hundred men and eighteen pieces of cannon, having attacked and destroyed a fort which the Virginians had been erecting, were themselves engaged in completing another fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, one of the spots which was especially recommended in his own journal to the occupation of his countrymen; and that a detachment of French troops from this place was then on its march towards the Great Meadows, and had encamped for the night in the bosom of a retired valley at a short distance. Convinced that this was a hostile movement, Washington availed himself of the proffered guidance of the Indians, and, advancing with his troops on a dark and rainy night, effectually surprised the French encampment. The Virginians, rousing the enemy by a sudden discharge of firearms, completely disconcerted them by rushing forward to close attack, and compelled them instantly to surrender.

Washington, after this success, erected at the Great Meadows a small stockade fort, which received the name of Fort Necessity, and then advanced with his troops, which, by the accession of two companies, one from New York, and the other from North Carolina, now amounted to four hundred men, towards the new French fort called Duquesne, with the intention of dislodging the enemy. But learning on his march that the French had been reinforced, and were approaching with a great body of Indian auxiliaries to attack him, he retreated to Fort Necessity, and endeavoured to strengthen its defences by the construction of a ditch around the stockade. Before this operation was completed, the fort was attacked, on the fourth of July, by a very superior force, under the command of De Villiers. The garrison made a vigorous defence from ten in the morning till a late hour at night, when De Villiers having sounded a parley and tendered a capitulation, they at first refused, but finally consented to surrender, or, more properly speaking, to evacuate the fort, on condition that they should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, to retain their arms and baggage, and to retire without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia,—and that the French themselves, instead of advancing farther at present, or even retaining the evacuated fort, should retreat to their previous station at Monongahela. Fifty-eight of the Virginians, and two hundred of the French, were killed and wounded in the encounter. Such a capitulation was by no means calculated either to damp the spirit of the Virginians, or to depress the reputation of their commander. It was violated, however, with unscrupulous barbarity by the Indians, who were united to the forces of De Villiers, and who, hovering round the Virginians during the whole of their retreat, harassed them with frequent attacks, and killed and wounded a considerable number of them. At the close of this unsuccessful expedition, the Virginian Assembly, with equal justice and magnanimity, expressed by a vote of thanks its approbation of the conduct of Washington and his troops.

Early in the spring of this year, and before the expedition from Virginia to the Great Meadows, the British ministers signified to the provincial governments the desire of the king that they should oppose the French encroachments by force of arms; together with a recommendation from his majesty that they should send delegates to a general convention at Albany, both in order to form a league with the Six Nations, and to concert among themselves a plan of united operations and defence against the common enemy. Seven of the colonies, consisting of Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and the New England States, agreed to comply with this recommendation: and the Assembly of Massachusetts at the same time [April 10, 1754] presented an address to Governor Shirley, desiring him "to pray his majesty that affairs which relate to the Six Nations and their allies may be put under such general direction as his majesty shall judge proper; and that the several governments may be *obliged* to bear their proportions of defending his majesty's territories against the encroachments of the French, and the ravages and incursions of the Indians." Shirley, sensible, probably, of the jealousy which any measure founded on this suggestion would provoke among the colonists in general, unless it originated with themselves, proposed to the governors of the several colonies, that the delegates elected to the convention should be authorized by their constituents to deliberate on a plan of united operation of all the states for their common safety and defence. Instructions to this effect were accordingly communicated to the delegates, who, assembling at Albany in the month of June, were met by a numerous deputation from the tribes of the Six Nations. After an explanatory and pacific treaty with the Indians, who very willingly accepted the presents that were tendered to them, but yet plainly betrayed, by their negligent demeanour, the success with which the French had intrigued to weaken their regards for the English,—the convention undertook the more important subject which was committed to its deliberations; and it was unanimously resolved that a union of the colonies was essential to the general safety, and ought to be forthwith accomplished. But here the unanimity of the delegates ended. Probably all the inhabitants of all the colonies would have united in approving the foregoing resolution. The difficulty, or rather the impossibility, was to devise a plan for carrying it into execution, which would be satisfactory at once to the colonists and the parent state.

Among various individuals considerable for their talents and reputation who were assembled in this convention, the most popular and remarkable person was Benjamin Franklin, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania. This great man, who now sustained a conspicuous part in the most important national council that had ever been convoked in North America, had already signalized himself as a provincial patriot and philosopher, and afterwards as an enterprising and successful votary of science. In the year 1736, which



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

was the thirtieth year of his age, a matter nowise extraordinary in its nature gave occasion to the earliest display of his genius and capacity as a politician. He had previously established a club or society in Philadelphia, of which the associates were limited in number to twelve, and of which the main object was to promote the exercise and efficacy of patriotic, philosophic, and republican virtue. By a fundamental rule of this institution, which received the name of *The Junto*, its existence and transactions were kept secret from the public; in order to prevent applications for admission from persons whose character and sentiments might render them unmeet associates, and whose influence and connections might at the same time make it painful and inconvenient to reject them. Some of the members having proposed to render the society more numerous by introducing their friends into it,—“I was one of those,” says Franklin, “who were against any addition to our number; and instead of it, I made, in writing, a pro-

posals that every member, separately, should endeavour to form a subordinate club with the same rules, but without any hint or information of its connection with the Junto. The advantages proposed were the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the Junto member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the Junto what passed in his separate club; the promotion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation; and the increase of our influence in public affairs, and our power of doing good, by spreading through the several clubs the sentiments of the Junto. Five or six clubs were thus completed, which were called by different names, as the *Vine*, the *Union*, the *Band*, &c.: they were useful to themselves, and afforded us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction, besides answering, in a considerable degree, our views of influencing the public on particular occasions."

Here we behold the theory and primitive model of that engine of party purpose and power which was afterwards employed with tremendous efficacy by the Jacobin Club of Paris during the earlier stages of the French Revolution. In the year 1753, Franklin, who for some time had held a subordinate appointment in the post-office, was promoted to the function of postmaster-general of America,—a situation which he retained till about twenty years after, when he was displaced by the British court. Of humble parentage and narrow fortune, in a young and dependent commonwealth, unfriended by the gale of patronage, the captivation of brilliant qualities, or the opportunities afforded by revolutionary change, self-educated and self-aided, this man achieved at once the highest civic pre-eminence, and the most splendid and imperishable renown. At the period at which we have now arrived, he had already distinguished himself by grand discoveries in science, and by useful projects in economics, and had been for a number of years a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, where he spoke rarely, but sententiously, concisely, and with convincing force and propriety, when the occasion was at length presented of exhibiting his genius on a wider theatre. It was now that he proposed to his fellow-delegates in the Albany convention, that memorable scheme of a federal league between the American colonies, which has received the name of *The Albany Plan of Union*, and which, though little more than the transcript of a design suggested by another politician about thirteen years before, has been celebrated with far higher praise than his more ingenious and original idea of a ramification of clubs in Pennsylvania has attracted. This was the purport of the plan which he suggested. Application was to be made for an act of parliament to establish in the colonies a general government, to be administered by a president appointed by the crown, and by a grand council, consisting of members chosen by

the several provincial assemblies, the number of representatives from each province being directly proportioned to the amount of its contributions to the general treasury,—with this restriction, however, that no colony should have more than seven, or fewer than two representatives. The whole executive authority of the general government was committed to the president. The power of legislation was lodged jointly in the grand council and president; the consent of the latter functionary being requisite to the advancement of bills into laws. The functions and prerogatives of the general government were, to declare war and make peace; to conclude treaties with the Indian nations; to regulate trade with them, and to make purchase of vacant lands from them, either in the name of the crown or of the Union; to settle new colonies, and to exercise legislative authority over them until they should be erected into separate provincial governments; and to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels, and pursue all other measures requisite for the general defence. To defray the expenses of this establishment and its various operations, the president and grand council were empowered to frame laws enacting such duties, imposts, and taxes, as they might deem at once necessary and least burdensome to the people. These legislative ordinances were to be transmitted to England for the approbation of the king; and unless disallowed within three years after their enactment, they were to remain in force. All officers in the naval and military service of the United Colonies were to be nominated by the president, and approved by the council; civil officers were to be nominated by the council, and approved by the president.

This plan, though recommended to the approbation of a majority of the convention, both by its own merits and by the reputation, talent, and address of the author, was opposed with warm and inflexible determination by the delegates of Connecticut, who objected to the authority conferred on the president, and to the power of general taxation [July 4, 1754]: and insisted that a government of this description would prove dangerous in the highest degree to the liberties of the colonists, and utterly unfit to conduct, with vigour or economy, a defensive war along their extended frontier. Of all the members of the convention, these delegates alone had the satisfaction to find that their sentiments were in unison with those of their constituents. No sooner was the plan communicated to the various provincial assemblies, than it was condemned and rejected by every one of them; and resolutions were formed to oppose the expected attempts of the British court to obtain an act of parliament for carrying it into effect. But the apprehensions of the colonists on this score were groundless; for, by a singular coincidence, the plan proved as unacceptable to the ministers of the crown as to themselves. In America it was accounted too favourable to the royal prerogative; in England it was, contrariwise, censured as savouring too strongly of democracy, and conceding too much power to

the representatives of the people. Although thus rejected by all parties, the project of Franklin was attended with important consequences in America. The discussion of it served to familiarize the idea of a federal league, a general government, an American army; and prepared the minds of the people for the very form of confederacy which was afterwards resorted to in their revolutionary contest with Britain.



HE mutual distrust and ill-humour which thus contributed to perplex the councils and enfeeble the operations of England and her colonies, was proportionably favourable to the views and policy of France, which continued vigorously to extend her encroachments, reinforce her garrisons, and strengthen her position in America. In aid of her designs, she endeavoured, with the utmost assiduity of hostile intrigue, to multiply the enemies of England, and particularly to involve that country in a quarrel with Spain. In this instance, indeed, she was for the present disappointed; for Wall, the minister of the king of Spain, succeeded in convincing his master that peace with England was essential to the real interests of the Spanish monarchy. In America the French intrigues were more successful; and by the influence of the governor of Canada and his Indian allies, a tribe of Indians with whom New England had no previous quarrel were induced to invade and ravage the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Massachusetts had of late been the scene of violent altercations, provoked by the introduction of an excise law, which, however, in spite of the threats of its opponents and the fears of its supporters, was peaceably carried into execution. In the course of the present year, the Assembly of this province caused some new forts to be erected, renewed a pacific treaty with the Eastern Indians, and ascertained that the tidings which had been formerly communicated to them of a French settlement on the Kennebec were destitute of foundation.

The British ministers, on receiving intelligence of the defeat of Washington, and of the establishment of French posts on the Ohio, perceived plainly that a war between France and England had begun. Even with a view to the speedy restoration of peace, it was expedient that they should exert more vigour and promptitude of hostility, and demonstrate more active and determined concern for the dignity of the British empire and the safety of its colonial adjuncts or dependencies. Finding that their complaints to the court of Versailles were answered only by a repetition of former evasions, and learning that the French were making active preparations for the enlargement of their naval and military force in America, they determined to send a detachment of the standing army maintained in England to the defence of the British possessions and pretensions in the same quarter. In conformity with this determination, and early in the following year, [January, 1755,] General Braddock was despatched from

Ireland with two regiments of infantry commanded by Halket and Dunbar, which were destined to the service of America, and especially to the protection of the Virginian frontier. On the arrival of this armament at its destination, the provinces seemed to forget alike their disputes with each other, and their jealousies of the parent state, and a vigorous offensive campaign against the French was projected. A convention of the provincial governors, at the request of the British commander, assembled at Annapolis, in Maryland, to settle the plan of military operations, and resolved that three simultaneous expeditions should be undertaken. The first, directed against Fort Duquesne, was to be conducted by Braddock with his British troops; the second, which was to attempt the reduction of the French fort at Niagara, was committed to the American regulars and Indians, commanded by Governor Shirley, who now received the rank of a British general from the king; and the third, an expedition against Crown Point, was to be undertaken by militia drawn from the northern colonies.

The French court, apprized of Braddock's departure for America, now made one more attempt to prolong the inactivity of the British government, by reiterating assurances of its pacific purposes and earnest desire of accommodation. But when the Marquis de Mirepoix, the ambassador of France at London, a truly honourable man, tendered these assurances, in full reliance on their truth, to the British ministers, they exhibited to him such incontestible proofs of the insincerity of his court, that he was struck with astonishment and mortification, and, repairing to Versailles, upbraided the ministers of Louis the Fifteenth with the indignity to which they had exposed him as the tool of their dissimulation. By them he was referred to the king, who commanded him to return to London with fresh protestations of his royal intention to preserve peace; but the conduct of this monarch corresponded so ill with his professions, that his ambassador had scarcely obtained an audience to communicate them, when indubitable assurance was received that a powerful squadron was ready to sail for America from Brest and Rochefort. In effect, it sailed soon after, and transported a great quantity of military stores, and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau. Roused by this intelligence, the British government despatched a small fleet, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, and afterwards, on learning the superior strength of the enemy, a few more vessels under Admiral Holborne, to watch the motions of the French squadron. But no additional land forces were sent by Britain to America; nor yet did she think fit to declare war against France. The French monarch was still more bent on avoiding or at least postponing this extremity; and although a part of the fleet which he had despatched to America was attacked off Newfoundland and captured by Admiral Boscawen, he still refrained from any nearer approach to a declaration of

war than the recall of his ambassador from England. [April 25, 1755.] The British king, in his speech to parliament, asserted the sincerity of his wishes and endeavours, and still expressed a hope of his ability, to preserve peace; but withal declared that he would not purchase even this blessing at the expense of submitting to encroachments upon his dominions. An act of parliament was passed, extending the provisions of the British *Mutiny Act* to North America; and declaring that all troops, raised by any of the colonial governors or assemblies, should, whenever they acted in conjunction with the British soldiers, be subject to the same system of martial law and discipline which obtained in the British army. A communication, addressed some time before to the provincial governments, signified the king's commands, that officers commissioned by his majesty, or by his commander-in-chief in North America, should take precedence of all those whose commissions were derived from the provincial governors or assemblies; "and that the general and field-officers of the provincial troops should have no rank, when serving with the general and field-officers commissioned by the crown." This regulation proved exceedingly unpalatable to the Americans. Washington, in particular, resenting it as injurious to the merit of his countrymen, and calculated to depress their spirit and character, resigned his commission. Happily, however, for his own fame and his country's interest, he was persuaded to accept the appointment of aid-de-camp to General Braddock.

While preparations were making for the prosecution of the military schemes devised in the convention at Annapolis, an expedition, which the New England States had previously agreed to undertake on condition of being reimbursed of the expense of it by the British government, was despatched against the forts and settlements recently established by the French in Nova Scotia. The main body of the forces thus employed consisted of about three thousand men, raised in New England, principally in Massachusetts, and conducted by Colonel Winslow, one of the most popular and considerable inhabitants of this province, and the representative of one of the old Puritan families which were the pride of New England, and had gathered the respect of successive generations. Arriving at the British settlement in Nova Scotia, [May 25, 1755.] the New England forces were joined by three hundred regular troops and a small train of artillery; and the command of the whole was assumed by Colonel Monckton, an English officer of respectable talents and experience. This enterprise was pursued with skill and vigour, and crowned with entire success. Beau Séjour, the principal fort which the French possessed at Chignecto, after a hot siege of a few days, was compelled to surrender, and received from the victors the new name of Fort Cumberland. [June 16, 1755.] The garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war, and, having engaged not to bear arms for six months, were transported to Louis-

burg. The other fortresses of the French in this quarter surrendered shortly after, on the same terms.

The forces by which the conquest of Nova Scotia was thus completed incurred no greater loss, during the whole expedition, than that of twenty men killed and about as many wounded. Winslow and his troops, on their return to New England, expressed much disgust at the distinctions which were studiously enforced during the campaign between them and the British regulars, and which the disproportion between the British and the provincial contingents to the combined army rendered peculiarly striking and offensive. But the success of the enterprise, occurring in this early stage of the war, diffused a general animation through the colonies, and was hailed as the omen of farther triumph. There needed not this influence, indeed, to exalt the confident expectation that prevailed of a victorious issue of the greater enterprise which Braddock was to conduct against the French settlements on the Ohio. It was known that the garrison of Fort Duquesne did not exceed two hundred men; and the British regulars, united with a body of Virginian rangers and a troop of friendly Indians, seemed more than a match for any additional force that the French could assemble in this quarter. Braddock might have entered upon action early in the spring, had he not been delayed by the inability of the Virginian contractors to fulfil their engagements to furnish a sufficient quantity of provisions and carriages for his army. That this accident, which might easily have been foreseen, was not prevented by the British government, implies the most culpable ignorance or disregard on their part of the actual condition of the American provinces. The Virginians, engrossed with the culture of tobacco, did not raise corn enough for their own subsistence; and being amply provided with the accommodation of water conveyance, they employed but few wheel-carriages or beasts of burden; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounded in corn and all other sorts of provisions, enjoyed but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where the inhabitants possessed great numbers of carts, wagons, and horses. The British troops should therefore have been landed in Pennsylvania, and their supplies contracted for with the planters there, who could have easily performed their engagements; and if their commander had pitched his camp near Frankstown, or elsewhere upon the south-west borders of this province, he would have had less than eighty miles to march from thence to Fort Duquesne, instead of one hundred and thirty miles, which he had to traverse from Will's Creek, on the frontiers of Virginia, where his encampment was actually formed. The road to Fort Duquesne from the one place was not better or more practicable than from the other.

When Braddock and his officers discovered the incompetence of the Virginians to fulfil the contract, which only an injudicious preference had obtained for them, they exclaimed against the blundering ignorance of the

British ministers in selecting a scene so unsuitable to their operations, and declared that the enterprise was rendered impracticable. It was, indeed, retarded for many weeks, and must have been deferred till the following summer if a supply of carriages and provisions had not been seasonably procured from Pennsylvania, by the influence and exertions of Dr. Franklin and some other popular and public-spirited inhabitants of this province. Notwithstanding the blunder by which the progress of the expedition was thus delayed, it would still, in all probability, have been attended with complete success, if a more fatal error had not been committed, in the choice of its commander. Braddock was a man of courageous and determined spirit, and expert in the tactics and evolutions of European regiments and regular warfare. But, destitute of real genius, and pedantically devoted to the formalities of military science, he was fitter to review than to command an army; and scrupled not to express his contempt for any troops, however efficient in other respects, whose exercise on a parade did not display the same regularity and dexterity which he had been accustomed to witness, and unfortunately to overvalue, in a regiment of English guards in Hyde Park. Rigid in enforcing the nicest punctilios and in inflicting the harshest severities of military discipline; haughty, obstinate, presumptuous, and difficult of access, he was unpopular among his own troops, and excited the disgust both of the Americans and the Indians. There are two sorts of vulgarity of mind; to the one of which it is congenial timidly to overrate, and to the other presumptuously to underrate, the importance of scenes and circumstances remote from the routine of its ordinary experience. The latter of these qualities had too much place in the character of Braddock, who, though totally unacquainted with American warfare, and strongly warned by the Duke of Cumberland that ambush and surprise were the dangers which he had chiefly to apprehend in such scenes, scorned to solicit counsel adapted to the novelty of his situation from the only persons who were competent to afford it. Despising the credulity that accepted all that was reported of the dangers of Indian warfare, he refused, with fatal skepticism, to believe any part of it. It seemed to him degrading to the British army to suppose that it needed the directions of provincial officers, or could be endangered by the hostility of Indian foes.

Filled with that pride which goes before destruction, Braddock commenced his march from Will's Creek, on the 10th of June, at the head of about two thousand two hundred men. The advance of the army, unavoidably retarded by the natural impediments of the region it had to traverse, was additionally and unnecessarily obstructed by the stubborn adherence of Braddock, amidst the boundless woods and tangled thickets of America, to the system of military movements adapted to the open and extensive plains of Europe. He was roused at length to greater vigour and activity by the intelligence that the French at Fort Duquesne expected a reinforce-



WASHINGTON ADVISING BRADDOCK TO SEND FORWARD SCOUTS.

ment of five hundred regular troops; whereupon, at the head of twelve hundred men whom he selected from the different corps, and with ten pieces of cannon and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he resolved to press forward to the point of destination,—leaving the residue of the army, under the command of Colonel Dunbar, to follow with all the heavy baggage, by easy and leisurely marches. After a laborious progress, which was still unnecessarily retarded, and yet unaccompanied by the precaution of reconnoitring the woods, Braddock arrived at the Monongahela on the eighth of July, and encamped within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Though Dunbar was now forty miles behind him, and the proximity of the enemy increased the danger of instantaneous attack, he prepared to advance the next day in his usual style of march, and expected to invest the French fortress without opposition. Sir Peter Halket and others of his officers now vainly entreated him to proceed with greater caution, to convert the column of march into an order of battle, and to employ the friendly Indians, who attended him, as an advance guard, to explore and anticipate the probabilities of ambuscade. Not less vainly did Washington represent that the profound silence and apparent solitude of the gloomy scenes around them afforded no security in American warfare against deadly and imminent danger, and offered with the provincial troops to scour and occupy the woods in the front and on the flanks of the main body. Braddock treated with equal contempt the idea of aid and of hostility from Indian savages: and disdainfully rejecting the proposition of Washington, ordered the provincials to form the rear-guard of the British force.

On the following day, this infatuated commander resumed his march, [July 9, 1755,] without having made the slightest attempt to gain intelligence of the situation or dispositions of the enemy. Three hundred British regulars, conducted by Colonel Gage, composed his van; and Braddock himself followed at some distance with the artillery and main body of the army, divided into small columns. Thus incautiously advancing and having arrived about noon within seven miles of Fort Duquesne,—in an open wood undergrown thickly with high grass, his troops were suddenly startled by the appalling sound of the Indian war-cry; and in the same moment a rattling shower of musketry was poured on their front and left flank from an enemy so artfully concealed that not a man of them could be descried. The vanguard, staggered and daunted, fell back upon the main body; and the firing being repeated with redoubled fury and without yet disclosing either the numbers or the position of the assailants, terror and confusion began to spread among the British troops; and many of them sought safety in flight, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, to recall and rally them. Braddock himself, if he ever possessed any of the higher qualities of a soldier, was in this emergency deserted of them all, and exhibited only an obstinate and unavailing bravery. Instead of raking the thickets and bushes whence the fire was poured with grape-shot from the ten pieces of cannon which he had with him, or pushing forward flanking parties of his Indians against the enemy, he confined his attention exclusively to the regular infantry. To them the only command which he should have addressed was either an instant retreat, or a rapid charge without regard to methodical order and regularity. He adopted neither of these expedients; but, remaining on the ground where he was first attacked, under an incessant and galling fire, he directed the brave officers and men who continued with him to form in regular line and advance. Meanwhile his troops fell fast beneath the iron tempest that hissed around them, and almost all his officers were singled out one after another and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take deliberate and particular aim when they fire, and aim preferably at the officers, easily distinguished them by their dress. After an action of three hours, Braddock, under whom three horses were killed, and whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, received a shot through the right arm and the lungs, and was carried off the field by Colonel Gage. All the officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, were now killed or wounded, and the residue of the troops by whom the conflict had been maintained abandoned it in dismay and disorder. The provincials, who were among the last to leave the field, were rallied after the action by the skill and presence of mind of Washington, and covered the retreat of the regulars. The defeat was complete.

About seven hundred of the British were killed or wounded, including a

considerable proportion of the Virginian troops, and sixty-four out of eighty-five officers. Sir Peter Halket fell by the first fire, at the head of his regiment; and the general's secretary, son to Governor Shirley, was killed soon after. The artillery, ammunition and baggage were abandoned to the enemy; and the defeated army fled precipitately to the camp of Dunbar, where Braddock expired of his wounds. Although no pursuit was attempted by the French, who afterwards gave out that their numbers, including Indian auxiliaries, had amounted only to four hundred men, and, with greater probability, that their loss in action was perfectly insignificant, Dunbar, struck with astonishment and alarm, and finding that his troops were infected with the panic and disarray of the fugitives, hastily reconducted them to Will's Creek. Here letters were brought to him from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, beseeching him to assist in defending the frontiers of these provinces, while they would endeavour to raise from the inhabitants reinforcements that might enable him yet to resume the enterprise against Fort Duquesne. But, diffident of his safety, he declined to accede to their desire; and abandoning his position at Will's Creek, pursued a hasty retreat to Philadelphia. Since their arrival in America, and especially during this retreat, the conduct of the British soldiers toward the American colonists was marked by licentious rapine and insolence; and it was generally declared of them that they were much more formidable to the people whom they had been commissioned to defend, than to the enemy whom they had undertaken to conquer.



THE issue of this expedition, and the different circumstances and result of the prior campaign in Nova Scotia, could not fail to awaken in the minds of the colonists impressions no less flattering to American genius and valour, than unfavourable to British ascendancy. Nothing, indeed, could be more injurious to the dignity and influence of Britain, than that, at the very time when she first offended and mortified the colonists by the superiority which she arrogated to her own soldiers, these soldiers, commanded by a British general, should have incurred a disgraceful defeat by neglecting the advice of the provincial officers, and should have been saved from total destruction only by the firmness and valour of the provincial troops. But the Virginians at present had little leisure for such considerations, amidst the calamitous consequences which immediately resulted from the defeat on the Ohio. Their frontiers were now exposed to the hostilities of a foe roused by a formidable attack, inflamed by a surprising victory, and additionally incited by the timidity displayed by Dunbar and his troops. A large addition to the militia of the province was decreed by the Assembly; and the command of this force was bestowed on Colonel Washington, with the unusual privilege of appointing

his own field-officers. But, whether from a misdirected economy, or from the jealousy which they entertained of Governor Dinwiddie, the measures of the Virginian Assembly were quite inadequate to the purpose of effectual defence. The skilful and indefatigable exertions of Washington, seconded by his militia with an admirable bravery and warmth of patriotic zeal, proved unavailing to stem the furious and desolating incursions of the French and Indians, who, dividing themselves into small parties, and actively pursuing a system of predatory hostility, rendered the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania a scene of carnage, terror, and desolation. In the scenes of this desultory warfare, unattended with glory, but replete with action, danger, and enterprise, did Washington qualify himself to sustain the greater and more arduous part which his destiny reserved for him.

The defeat sustained on the Ohio produced a very unpropitious effect on the enterprise which had been projected against Niagara, under the conduct of Shirley, whom Braddock's death had advanced to the chief command of the British forces in North America. The troops destined both for this expedition and for the attack on Crown Point were ordered to assemble at Albany. Those whom Shirley was personally to lead consisted of certain regiments of regulars, furnished by New England, New York, and New Jersey, and of a band of Indian auxiliaries. Various causes conspired to retard the commencement of his march; and while he was advancing to Oswego, the tidings of Braddock's defeat overtook him, and spread consternation through his army. Many of the boatmen and sledgesmen who were hired to transport the stores and provisions now began to desert; and the Indians discovered such backwardness to follow him, or even to adhere longer to the declining fortunes of England, that prudence induced him to consume a great deal of time in efforts but partially successful to restore their confidence and regain their good-will. On his arrival at Oswego, [August 21, 1755,] his forces were so much reduced by desertion, and the fidelity of the Indians appeared so precarious, that farther delay was rendered inevitable; and though he finally attempted to press forward with vigour to Niagara, he was compelled to abandon this design by a succession of heavy rains, the sickness of his troops, and the dispersion of the few Indians whose constancy endured somewhat longer than that of the rest of their countrymen. Leaving Colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and instructions to build two additional forts for the security of the place, Shirley reconducted his unsuccessful army to Albany.

The forces which were to proceed from Albany against Crown Point consisted of militia regiments, amounting to between five and six thousand men, supplied by the New England states and New York. By the advice of Shirley, the command of this expedition was intrusted to Wil-

liam Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had emigrated to New York, and was now a member of the council of this province. Johnson was distinguished by uncommon strength of body, and possessed a hardy, coarse, and vigorous mind, united with an ambitious and enterprising temper. He began life as a common soldier, and in the parent state could hardly have emerged above the level of this condition; but in the colonies his genius and good fortune advanced him to wealth, title, and fame. For several years he had resided on the banks of the Mohawk river; and, studiously cultivating the friendship of the Six Nations, had acquired a more powerful ascendancy over them than any of his countrymen ever before enjoyed. In conformity with the expectation to which he owed his appointment, he prevailed with Hendrick, one of the chiefs of that confederacy, to join the expedition against Crown Point, at the head of three hundred warriors of his tribe. Johnson, who received separate commissions from every American province which contributed to the enterprise, had never before witnessed a military campaign; and his troops, except a few of the New Englanders who had shared in the reduction of Louisburg, were equally inexperienced. While Johnson was collecting his artillery and military stores, General Lyman, the second in command, advanced with the troops to the *carrying-place* between Hudson's river and Lake George, about sixty miles from Albany, and began to build a fortress, which received the name of Fort Edward, on the east side of the Hudson. Having joined his army, Johnson left a part of it as a garrison to Fort Edward, and towards the end of August proceeded with the main body to the southern extremity of Lake George. Here he learned from his Indian scouts that a party of French and Indians had established a fort at Ticonderoga, which is situated on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern shore of Lake Champlain, about fifteen miles from Crown Point. As the fortifications at Ticonderoga were reported to be incomplete, Johnson, deeming that the conquest of the place would be attended with little difficulty, and regarding it as a key to the main object of his enterprise, was preparing to advance against it, when he was suddenly reduced to act on the defensive, by the motions of the enemy, and the unexpected tidings that reached him of the force which they possessed.

Baron Dieskau, an able and experienced officer, had now arrived in Canada with a strong reinforcement of troops from France; and having collected a considerable army both of French and Indians, was advancing against the British settlements with the purpose of striking an important blow. Johnson hastened to transmit this alarming intelligence to the provinces whose troops he commanded, and especially to the government of Massachusetts,—together with an urgent request for further assistance, which he reckoned indispensable to the success of his enterprise, and even to the safety of his army. The issue of this application affords another

instance of that unconquerable spirit which distinguished the people of New England. Massachusetts had supplied the greatest part of the force which Johnson already commanded, and by her various military exertions incurred an expense disproportioned to her resources, and of which she anxiously solicited a reimbursement from the parent state. The reputation of Dieskau, and the advantage which he possessed in commanding disciplined troops, contrasted with the inexperience of Johnson and the American militia, gave rise to apprehensions, which, combining with the depression occasioned by Braddock's defeat, produced a general despair of the success of the expedition against Crown Point. But this was a favourite enterprise with the people of New England, and they were determined to persist in it as long as possible, and to support to the utmost of their power the brave men who were engaged in conducting it. A large subsidiary force was raised in Massachusetts, and despatched with the hope of at least extricating Johnson and his army from the danger of being compelled to surrender to the superior power of the enemy. But the danger was over before this reinforcement reached the scene of action. Dieskau had been ordered to direct his first effort to the reduction of the British post at Oswego, of the importance of which the French government was fully aware; and he had already commenced his march for this purpose, when the tidings of Johnson's expedition induced him to reserve his force for the defence of Crown Point. Finding that Johnson's army, which was inferior both in number and experience, did not venture to approach, he determined to advance against it; and expecting an easy victory and the consequent fall of Fort Edward, proposed, as an ulterior measure, to invade Albany, to ravage the neighbouring settlements, and deprive the British of all communication with Oswego. His purpose would have succeeded, if the fate of the two armies had depended on the comparative skill of their commanders. But victory, though commonly, is not indefeasibly, the prize of either the skilful or the strong.



JOHNSON was apprized of Dieskau's approach, but ignorant both of his position and of his force; for the Indians, who were his scouts, had no words or signs for expressing any large number, and customarily pointed to the hair of their heads, or to the stars in the firmament, when they meant to denote any quantity which exceeded their reckoning. It was impossible to collect from their reports whether the French fell short of a thousand, or exceeded ten thousand in number. Yet, notwithstanding this uncertainty, Johnson, who had fortified his camp at Lake George, committed the rashness of detaching a thousand men, under the

command of a brave officer, Colonel Ephraim Williams, together with Hendrick and the Indian auxiliaries, to attack the enemy. [September 6, 1755.] This detachment had hardly advanced three miles beyond the camp, when it found itself almost entirely surrounded by the French army, and, after a gallant but hopeless conflict, was defeated with some loss and put to flight. Williams fell in this encounter; and Hendrick, with several of his Indians, who fought with heroic bravery, were also among the slain. The French, whose loss was not inferior, pursued the fugitives to their camp, and, had they made an instantaneous attack, they would probably have carried it; but, fortunately for its defenders, a pause took place, which, though short, gave time for their panic and confusion to subside. Dieskau had learned a few days before that Johnson had no cannon at his camp; and he was not aware, that, in the interim, a number of these engines had been seasonably transported to it from Fort Edward. Dismayed by the unexpected fire of this artillery, the Canadian militia and their Indian auxiliaries fled into the woods, whence the discharges of their musketry against a fortified camp produced little effect. The French regulars, however, maintained their ground, and with them, Dieskau, in an engagement which was prolonged for several hours, conducted a vigorous assault upon Johnson's position. Johnson displayed a firm and intrepid spirit during his brief participation in the commencement of the action; but having soon received a painful wound, he was compelled to retire to his tent and abandon the command to Lyman. Under the conduct of this American officer, his countrymen defended their camp with such resolution and success that the French were finally repulsed with the loss of nearly a thousand men. Dieskau was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; and his discomfited forces, assembling at some distance and preparing to refresh themselves with food, were suddenly attacked by a small party of New York and New Hampshire militia, commanded by Captains Folsom and McGinnes, and, flying in confusion, left the whole of their baggage and ammunition a prey to the victors. In the various conflicts by which this important day was signalized, there were killed, or mortally wounded, about a hundred and thirty of the British provincials, and among others Captain McGinnes, by whom the success was completed, and Colonel Titcomb, of Massachusetts, who had previously gained the praise of distinguished bravery at the siege of Louisburg.

Now was the time for the British to improve the advantage they had won, and reap the full fruit of their victory, by a vigorous pursuit of the flying enemy and by investing Crown Point, which, from the smallness of its garrison, and the impression produced by the defeat of Dieskau, would have probably afforded them an easy conquest. But Johnson was less desirous of extending the public advantage, than of reaping and securing his own personal share in it; and sensible of the claim he had acquired on

royal favour, he was averse to expose it, while yet unrewarded, to the hazard of diminution. He directed his troops to strengthen the fortifications of his camp, in utter disregard of the spirited counsel of Shirley, who pressed him to resume active operations, and at least to dislodge the French from Ticonderoga, before they had time to fortify this post and recover from their surprise and consternation. Whether from negligence or from a politic deference to the sentiments of the British court, he maintained scarcely any communication with the New England governments, and sent the French general and the other prisoners to New York,—although Massachusetts had claimed the distinction of receiving them, as due to the preponderance of her interest in the army by which they were taken. With the additional troops lately raised in this province, and which were now united to Johnson's original and victorious army, it was not doubted that he would still attempt some farther enterprise before the close of the year. But he suffered the opportunity to pass by, and consumed the time in lingering and irresolute deliberation, till, by the advice of a council of war, the attack of Crown Point, and all other active operations, were abandoned for the present season. [October, 1755.] His army was then disbanded, with the exception of six hundred men, who were appointed to garrison Fort Edward, and another strong fort which was erected at the southern extremity of Lake George, and received the name of Fort William Henry.



HE French, taking advantage of Johnson's remissness, exerted themselves to strengthen Ticonderoga; while their Indian allies, provoked by the conflict at Lake George, and encouraged by the seeming timidity or incapacity of the victor, indulged their revenge and animosity in furious and destructive ravages on the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The British colonists, though at first highly elated with the victory

over Dieskau, perceived with chagrin and disappointment that the advantages of it were entirely thrown away, and that the issue of an enterprise which began with a signal defeat of the enemy, had been to render the chief object of it more difficult of attainment than it was before. Nor

was their dissatisfaction abated by perceiving that Johnson alone derived any substantial benefit from the victory, and that to him exclusively was the gratitude of Britain expressed for the first battle in which the honour of her arms had been vindicated, since the commencement of hostilities with France. In Johnson's reports of the action at Lake George, he assumed the whole merit of it to himself; and while the superior claims of Lyman, and other native Americans were unknown, or at least unnoticed, in England, Johnson received from the king the dignity of a baronet, together with the office of royal superintendent of Indian affairs, and from the parliament a grant of five thousand pounds, which was in fact paid by the colonies, as it was deducted from the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, voted this year by the House of Commons to New England, New York, and New Jersey, in consideration of the burdens entailed upon them by the war.

While the British colonies were thus balked of the fruits which might have been reaped from the victory at Lake George, the French, w^h politic and assiduous exertion, were cultivating the advantage they obtained at Fort Duquesne. They were particularly successful in improving the favourable impression of their genius and good fortune which the defeat of Braddock produced on the Indian tribes inhabiting the territory adjacent to the river Ohio; and in the course of this year, some of their emissaries, united with envoys deputed by these tribes, made their first attempt to seduce the Cherokees, who had been hitherto the firmest Indian allies of Britain. This nation differed in some respects from all the other branches of the Indian race, and especially from those roving tribes who possessed no fixed or constant habitations. From time immemorial they had occupied the territory which they still inhabited; and, in speaking of their forefathers, customarily affirmed that "they sprung from that ground," or that "they descended from the clouds upon those hills." They termed the Europeans, *Nothings*, and themselves, *the beloved people*. Hitherto they had regarded the French with especial aversion, and contemptuously remarked of them, that they were light as a feather, fickle as the wind, and deceitful as serpents; and valuing themselves on the grave and stately decorum of their own manners, they resented the sprightly levity of French deportment as an unpardonable insult. But now the chief warrior of the Cherokees sent in haste a message to Glen, the governor of South Carolina, acquainting him with the intrigues of the French and their Indian partisans, and advising him to hold a general conference with the Cherokee tribes, and to renew the former treaties of his countrymen with them. Glen, sensible of the importance of securing the favour of these powerful tribes, who at this time could bring about three thousand warriors into the field, willingly acceded to the proposition of a conference, and met the chiefs of the Cherokees in their own country, at a place two hundred miles

distant from Charleston. The conference that ensued, lasted about a week, and terminated in the renovation of a friendly league, and in an arrangement, by which, to the satisfaction of both parties, a large section of their territory was ceded by the Indians to the king of Great Britain. This acquisition, which was defined by deeds of conveyance, executed by the chiefs of the Cherokees in the name of their people, occasioned the removal of the Indians to a greater distance from the English, and enabled the inhabitants of Carolina to extend their settlements into the interior of the country, in proportion to the increase of their numbers. Soon after the cession took place, Governor Glen built a fort, which was named Prince George, at a spot on Savannah river, about three hundred miles from Charleston, and within gunshot of an Indian town called Keowee. It contained barracks for a hundred men, and was designed for the security of the western frontiers of Carolina.

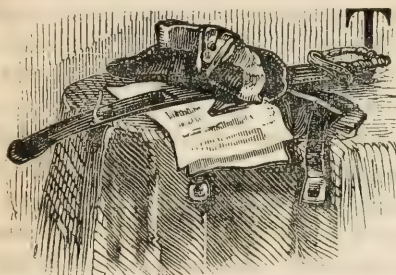
Although a war between the French and English had been openly on foot for more than two years in America, it had not yet been formally proclaimed. The British government, conscious of the moderation (not to say the timidity) of its own views, obstinately clung to the hope that peace might yet be established by an amicable arrangement, and upon solid foundations; and the French court, transported by immoderate ambition, and yet more misled by reliance on ignoble cunning and intrigue, studiously encouraged that hope, with the view of relaxing the vigour of British hostility. But, at length, all prospect of accommodation having ceased, a formal declaration of war was published by Great Britain, [May 17, 1756], and followed soon after by a counter proclamation from France, whose cabinet apparently cherished the hope that an attack upon the English monarch's German possessions, to which, from birth and education, he was notoriously much more attached than to England, might alarm him into a modification of his pretensions in America. A reinforcement of troops had been despatched to America two months before this event, under General Abercrombie, who was appointed to supersede Shirley in the chief command of the British forces. An act of parliament was passed for enabling the king to grant the rank and pay of military officers to a limited number of foreign Protestants, residing and naturalized in the colonies. This act, which was not passed without a strong opposition in England, excited great discontent and apprehension in America. Another contemporary statute empowered the king's officers to recruit their regiments by enlisting the indented servants of the colonists, with the consent of their masters.

The plan of operations for this year's campaign was concerted in the council of provincial governors at New York. It was proposed to raise ten thousand men for an expedition against Crown Point; six thousand for an attempt upon Niagara; and three thousand for the attack of Fort

Duquesne. In addition to this large force, and in aid of its operations, it was resolved that two thousand men should proceed up the river Kennebec, destroy the French settlements on the river Chaudière, and, advancing to its mouth, within three miles of Quebec, distract the attention of the enemy, and spread alarm through all the adjacent quarter of Canada. To facilitate the reduction of Crown Point, it was proposed to take advantage of the season when the lakes should be frozen, in order to seize Ticonderoga; but this measure was rendered impracticable by the unusual mildness of the winter.

The command of the expedition against Crown Point was intrusted to General Winslow, who, on reviewing the provincial troops destined for this service, found their number to amount only to about seven thousand; a force, which, after deducting from it the garrisons required at various places, appeared inadequate to the enterprise. The arrival of the British troops under Abercrombie, while it supplied the deficiency, created a new difficulty, which for a while suspended the expedition. Much disgust was excited in America by the regulations of the crown respecting military rank; and Winslow, when consulted on this delicate point by Abercrombie, avowed his apprehension, that, if the result of a junction of the British and provincial troops should be to place the provincials under British officers, it would provoke general discontent, and probably occasion extensive desertion. To avoid so serious an evil, it was finally arranged, that the provincials, taking the lead, should advance against the enemy, and that at the forts and other posts which they were progressively to quit, the regulars should succeed to their stations and perform the duty of garrisons. This matter was hardly settled, when the discussion of it was again renewed by the Earl of Loudoun, who now arrived in America, to succeed Abercrombie, as commander-in-chief of the British forces, and with the additional appointment of governor of Virginia, [July, 1756.] An unusual extent of authority was delegated to Lord Loudoun by his commission; and from some parts of the subsequent conduct of this nobleman, it would seem that he was prompted either by his instructions, or by his own disposition, to render his power at least as formidable to the British colonists as to the enemy. He gravely demanded of the officers of the New England regiments, if they and their troops were willing to act in conjunction with the British regulars, and to obey the king's commander-in-chief, as his majesty had directed. To this the provincial officers unanimously replied, that they cheerfully submitted themselves in all dutiful obedience to Lord Loudoun, and were ready and willing to act in conjunction with the royal forces; but that, as the New England troops had been enlisted this year on particular terms, and had proceeded thus far according to their original compact and organization, they entreated, as a favour, that Lord Loudoun would permit them to act separately, so far as

might be consistent with the interests of his majesty's service. His lordship having acceded to their desire, this point of honour seemed at length to be satisfactorily adjusted; when, suddenly, the plan of the British campaign was disconcerted by the alarming intelligence of an important advantage obtained by the French.



THE Marquis de Montcalm, an officer of high reputation for vigour and ability, who succeeded Baron Dieskau in the chief command of the French forces in Canada, conducting an army of five thousand regulars, Canadian militia, and Indians, by a rapid march, to Oswego, invested one of the two forts which the British possessed there; and having promptly made the necessary dispositions, opened his trenches at midnight with thirty-two pieces of cannon, besides several brass mortars and howitzers. [August 12, 1756.] The scanty stock of ammunition with which the garrison had been supplied was soon exhausted; and Colonel Mercer, the commander, thereupon spiked his guns, and evacuating the place, carried his troops without the loss of a single man into the other fort. Upon this stronghold a heavy fire was speedily poured by the enemy from the deserted post, of which they assumed possession; and Mercer having been killed by a cannon-ball, the garrison, dismayed by his loss and disappointed in an attempt to procure aid from Fort George, situated about four miles and a half up the river, where Colonel Schuyler was posted, demanded a capitulation, and surrendered as prisoners of war. The garrison consisted of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, and amounted to one thousand four hundred men. The conditions of surrender were, that the prisoners should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. But these conditions were violated in a manner disgraceful to the warfare of the French. It was the duty of Montcalm to guard his engagements from the danger of infringement by his savage allies; and yet he instantly delivered up twenty of his prisoners to the Indians who accompanied him, as victims to their vengeance for an equal number of their own race who perished in the siege. Nor was the remainder of the captive garrison protected from the cruelty and indignity with which these savages customarily embittered the fate of the vanquished. Almost all of them were plundered; many were scalped; and some were assassinated. In the two forts, the victors obtained possession of one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, and a great quantity of military stores and provisions. A number of sloops and boats at the same time fell into their hands. No sooner was Montcalm in possession of the forts than, with judicious policy, he demo-

lished them both in presence of the Indians of the Six Nations, within whose territory they were erected, and whose jealousy they had not a little awakened.

In consequence of this disastrous event, all the plans of offensive operation that had been concerted on the part of the British were abandoned. Winslow was commanded by Lord Loudoun not to proceed on his intended expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, but to fortify his camp; while General Webb, with fourteen hundred British regulars, and Sir William Johnson, with a thousand militia, were stationed at positions fitted to support Winslow and repel the farther attacks which were anticipated from the French. The projected expedition up the Kennebec, to destroy the settlements on the Chaudière, terminated in a mere scouting-party which explored the country. The enterprise proposed against Fort Duquesne was not carried into effect. Virginia declined to participate farther in the general warfare than by defensive operations; and even these were conducted on a scale inadequate to the protection of her own people. Pennsylvania raised fifteen hundred men, but with no other view than to guard her frontier settlements; and Maryland, whose frontier was covered by the adjoining provinces, remained completely inactive. In South Carolina the slaves were so much more numerous than the white inhabitants, that it was judged unsafe to detach any troops from this province. A fort was now built on Tennessee river, about five hundred miles from Charleston, and called Fort Loudoun; and this, together with Fort Prince George and Fort Moore on the Savannah river, and the forts of Frederica, and Augusta, was garrisoned by the king's independent companies of infantry imbodied for the protection of Carolina and Georgia. Lord Loudoun, whether perplexed by the inferiority of his capacity to the difficulties of his situation, or justly accounting that the season was too far advanced to admit of any enterprise against the enemy, confined his attention to the preparation of an early campaign in the ensuing spring, and to the immediate security of the frontiers of the British colonies. Fort Edward and Fort William Henry were put in a posture of defence, and secured each with a competent garrison; and the remainder of the British forces were placed in winter-quarters at Albany, where barracks were built for their reception. The French, meanwhile, sacked a small fort and settlement called Grenville, on the confines of Pennsylvania, and in conjunction with their Indian allies, carried ravage and desolation into many of the frontier settlements of the British provinces. But these losses were in some measure balanced by the advantage resulting from a treaty of peace which the governor of Pennsylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians—a powerful tribe that dwelt on the river Susquehannah, and form as it were a line or belt along the southern skirts of this province. At the same time, the government of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the tribes of the

Cherokees and Catawbias. Notwithstanding some appearances of an opposite import, it was expected that a vigorous effort would be made by the British in the ensuing campaign to retrieve their recent disasters and humble the insolence of the enemy,—the more especially, as in the close of this year a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a large supply of warlike stores, was despatched in fourteen transports and under convoy of two British ships of war, from Cork to North America.

Much discontent and impatience had been latterly excited in England by the events of the war, which was conducted still more unhappily in other parts of the world than in the American provinces. The nation, exasperated by the triumphs of France, was eager to shift from itself the scandal of occurrences so humiliating to its pride and glory; and attempts the most impudent and absurd were made to load the Americans with the blame both of Braddock's defeat and of every other calamity and disappointment which they had partaken with the British forces. Among other individuals who were now sacrificed by the British court, as victims partly to its own mortification and partly to popular displeasure, was Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, who was recalled this year to England, and appointed soon after to the government of the Bahama Islands. Shirley at a subsequent period returned to Massachusetts, where he died in a private station; and though he had held some of the most lucrative offices within the gift of the crown, in America, he bequeathed to his posterity little else but a reputation rather honourable than illustrious, and in which merit and virtue were acknowledged to preponderate over imperfection and infirmity. More sanguine and eager than deliberate and collected, he studied always with greater diligence to extend his fame than to guard and adorn the distinction which he had already acquired. Prompted by the ardour of his disposition and by the pride of success, he had latterly courted and accepted an extent of command to which his capacity was inadequate; and which he was besides unfitted to administer satisfactorily both to the parent state and to the colonies, by the concurrence of his conscientious or interested zeal for royal prerogative with his generous or politic respect for American liberty. Without either stiffly asserting or expressly waiving the pretensions of the crown to have a fixed salary attached to the office he enjoyed in Massachusetts, he contrived, with the approbation of the colonists, and without censure from the parent state, to accept the periodical allotments of salary which the provincial assembly was willing to bestow upon him. His connection with the glory of New England, his conciliating manners, and his steady regard for the privileges and sentiments of the people, moderated the opposition of his political adversaries in the colony. His recent inability to command success, and his devotion to the crown, induced the British ministers to displace without ruining him. It was more than a year after his departure before a successor was appointed to his office, which, in the interval,

was administered by Spencer Phipps, a prudent and honourable man, nephew of Sir William Phipps, the first royal governor of Massachusetts after the British Revolution. The vacated dignity of Shirley was then conferred on Thomas Pownall, an Englishman, formerly lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, and related to persons holding high official situations in the parent state. The policy of this officer was the very reverse of that which Shirley had pursued, and led him to devote himself unreservedly to the views and wishes of the popular party in Massachusetts.



THE expectations which had been formed both in Britain and America of a vigorous and successful campaign, were completely disappointed. If it had been the wish or intention of the British ministers to render the guardian care of the parent state ridiculous, and its supremacy odious to the colonists, they could hardly have selected a fitter instrument for the achievement of this sinister purpose than Lord Loudoun. Devoid of genius, either civil or military; in carriage at once imperious and undignified; always hurried, and hurrying others, yet making little progress in the despatch of business; quick, abrupt, and forward to project and threaten, but infirm, remiss, and mutable in pursuit and execution; negligent of even the semblance of public virtue; impotent against the enemy whom he was sent to destroy; formidable only to the spirit and liberty of the people whom he was commissioned to defend,—he provoked alternately the disgust, the jealousy, and the contemptuous amazement of the colonists of America. In the commencement of the present year, [January, 1757,] he repaired to Boston, where he was met by a council composed of the governors of Nova Scotia, and of the states of New England. To this council he addressed a speech, in which, with equal insolence and absurdity, he ascribed the public safety to the efforts of the English soldiers, and all the recent successes of the French to the misconduct of the American troops, or the provincial governments. It is unlikely, notwithstanding the arrogance of his disposition and the narrowness of his capacity, that he could have expected to stimulate the Americans to a higher strain of exertion, by depreciating their past services, and exalting above their gallant and successful warriors the defeated troops and disgraced commanders of England. Nor, indeed, did he seek to compass any such chimerical purpose. He required that the governments of New England should contribute only four thousand men, which should be despatched to New York, there to unite with the quotas to be furnished by that province and New Jersey, and thereafter to be conducted by him to an enterprise, which he declared that the interests of the British service forbade him at present to disclose, but which, the council might be assured, would not be uncongenial to the views and sentiments of the people of New England. This moderate requisition, far inferior to

the exaction which had been anticipated, served at least to silence the murmurs, though it could not appease the discontent and indignation, created by Lord Loudoun's preliminary remarks; and the levies he demanded, having been speedily raised, hastened to unite with the contingents drawn from the other provinces at New York, where, early in the spring, the British commander found himself at the head of more than six thousand American troops.

It was expected by the states of New England, and perhaps was the original purpose of Lord Loudoun himself, that the force thus assembled should be applied to the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but he was induced to depart from this plan, if, indeed, he ever entertained it, by the tidings of an additional armament having been despatched from Britain to Nova Scotia. This armament, consisting of eleven ships of the line, besides transports and bomb-ketches, under the command of Admiral Holborne and Commodore Holmes, and containing six thousand disciplined soldiers, conducted by George, Viscount Howe, arrived accordingly at Halifax, [July, 1757,] whither Lord Loudoun shortly after repaired, along with the forces he had collected at New York. He now proclaimed his intention of declining, for the present, all active operations against Crown Point or Ticonderoga, and of uniting his whole disposable force in an expedition to Cape Breton, for the conquest of Louisburg. This abandonment of the enterprise on which they had confidently relied, was a severe disappointment to the states of New England; nor was their concern abated by the issue of the design which Lord Loudoun preferably embraced; for it now appeared that he was totally unacquainted with the condition of the fortress he proposed to subdue; and his attack upon it was first suspended by the necessity of gaining this preliminary information, and ultimately relinquished in consequence of the result of his inquiries, and of the accession of force the place received while these inquiries were pursued. It was found that Louisburg was garrisoned by six thousand regular troops, besides militia, and farther defended by seventeen line-of-battl^e ships moored in the harbour, and which arrived while the British troops lingered inactively at Halifax. Lord Loudoun, accounting the armament he commanded unequal to cope with this force, announced that the enterprise must be deferred till the following year; and having dismissed the provincial troops, he returned in the end of August to New York, there to learn the disaster which his conduct had occasioned in another quarter, and which crowned the disgrace of this inglorious campaign.

Montcalm, the French commander, availing himself of the unskilful movement by which Lord Loudoun withdrew so large a portion of the British force from New York to Halifax, advance with an army of nine thousand men, and laid siege to Fort William Henry, which was garrisoned by nearly three thousand troops, partly English, and partly American, com-

manded by a brave English officer, Colonel Monroe. The security of this important post was supposed to be still farther promoted by the proximity of Fort Edward, which was scarcely fourteen miles from it, and where the English general, Webb, was stationed with a force of four thousand men. Had Webb done his duty, the besiegers might have been repulsed, and Fort William Henry preserved; but though he received timely notice of the approach of the enemy, yet, with strange indolence or timidity, he neither summoned the American governments to aid the place with their militia, nor despatched a single company of his own soldiers to its succour. Nay, whether or not he desired, so far was he from hoping to avert, its capture, that the only communication he made to Monroe, during the siege, was a letter conveying the faint-hearted counsel to surrender without delay. [August 9, 1757.] Montcalm, on the other hand, who was endowed with a high degree of military spirit and genius, pressed the assault on Fort William Henry with the utmost vigour and skill. He had inspired his own daring ardour into the French soldiers, and roused the fury and enthusiasm of his Indian auxiliaries, by promising revenge proportioned to their losses, and unrestricted plunder as the reward of their conquest. After a sharp resistance, which, however, endured only for six days, Monroe, finding that his ammunition was exhausted, and that hopes of relief were desperate, was compelled to surrender the place by a capitulation, of which the terms were far more honourable to the vanquished than the fulfilment of them was to the victors. It was conditioned that the garrison should not serve against the French for eighteen months; that they should march out with the honours of war; and, retaining their private baggage, be escorted to Fort Edward by French troops, as a security against the lawless ferocity of the Indians. But these savages were incensed at the terms which Montcalm (whether swayed by generous respect for a gallant foe, or apprehensive that Webb might be roused at length from his supine indifference) conceded to the garrison; and, seeing no reason why the French general should postpone the interest of his allies to that of his enemies, were determined, that, if he broke his word with either party, it should not be with *them*. Of the scene of cruelty and bloodshed which ensued, the accounts which have been transmitted are not less uniform and authentic than horrid and disgusting. The only point wrapped in obscurity is, *how far* the French general and his troops were voluntarily or unavoidably spectators of the violation of the treaty they stood pledged to fulfil. According to some accounts, no escort whatever was furnished to the British garrison. According to others, the escort was a mere mockery, both in respect of the numbers of the French guards, and of their willingness to defend their civilized enemies against their savage friends. It is certain that the escort, if there was any, proved totally ineffectual: and this acknowledged circumstance, taken in conjunction with the prior occur-



MASSACRE OF THE PRISONERS AT FORT WILLIAM HENRY.

rences at Oswego, is sufficient to load the character of Montcalm with an imputation of treachery and dishonour, which, as it has never yet been satisfactorily repelled, seems likely to prove as lasting as his name. No sooner had the garrison marched out, and surrendered their arms, in reliance upon the pledge of the French general, than a furious and irresistible attack was made upon them by the Indians, who stripped them both of their baggage and their clothes, and murdered or made prisoners of all who attempted resistance. About fifteen hundred persons were thus slaughtered or carried into captivity. Such was the lot of eighty men belonging to a New Hampshire regiment, of which the complement was no more than two hundred. A number of Indian allies of the English, and who had formed part of the garrison, fared still more miserably. They were seized without scruple by their savage enemies, and perished in lingering and barbarous torture. Of the garrison of Fort William Henry scarcely a half were enabled to gain the shelter of Fort Edward in a straggling and wretched condition.

The British colonists were struck with the most painful surprise and alarm by the tidings of this disaster. Many persons were induced to question the fidelity of General Webb, whose conduct, indeed, though not justly obnoxious to this charge, yet merited the sharpest and most contemptuous censure; and all were inflamed with the highest indignation by the atrocious breach of Montcalm's treaty with the garrison of Fort William Henry. Webb, roused at length from his lethargy, by the personal fear that fell on him, hastily invoked the succour of the states of New England. The call was promptly obeyed; and a portion of the militia

f Massachusetts and Connecticut was despatched to check the victorious progress of the French, who, it was feared, would not only make an easy conquest of Fort Edward, but penetrate to Albany. So zealously was this service undertaken by Massachusetts, that a large extent of her own frontier was stripped of its defenders, and left for a time in a very precarious situation. But Montcalm, whether daunted by this vigorous demonstration, or satisfied with the blow he had struck, and engrossed with the care of improving its propitious influence on the minds of the Indians, refrained from even investing Fort Edward, and made no farther attempt at present to extend the range of his conquests. The only additional operation of the French, during the season, was a predatory enterprise in concert with their Indian allies against the flourishing British settlements at German Flats, in the province of New York, and along the Mohawk river, which they utterly wasted with fire and sword. At sea, from a fleet of twenty-one British merchant-vessels, homeward bound from Carolina, they succeeded in making prizes of nineteen, which were loaded with valuable cargoes. Thus ended a campaign which covered Britain and her cabinet and commanders with disgrace, filled her colonies with the most gloomy apprehension and discontent, and showed conquest blazing with full beams on France. By an act of parliament, passed this year, the permission formerly granted of importing bar-iron, duty-free, from North America, into the port of London, was extended to every port in Great Britain.

The progress of the war in America had been hitherto signalized by the discomfiture of the English and the triumph of the French,—a result that was beheld with increasing resentment and impatience in England. It was a circumstance additionally irritating and mortifying to this people, that the few advantages which had been gained over the French were exclusively due to the colonial troops—while unredeemed disaster and disgrace had attended all the efforts of the British forces. The events of the last two campaigns were remarkably unpropitious to Britain, and induced or at least manifestly betokened the decisive preponderance of the power of France in America. By the acquisition of Fort William Henry, the French obtained entire possession of the lakes Champlain and George; and by the destruction of Oswego, they acquired the dominion of the other lakes which connect the St. Lawrence with the waters of the Mississippi. The first afforded the easiest intercourse between the northern colonies and Canada; the last united Canada to Louisiana. By the continued possession of Fort Duquesne, they extended their influence over the Indians, and held undisturbed possession of all the country westward of the Alleghany mountains. The superior strength of Britain, unskillfully exerted, was visibly yielding, in this quarter of the world, to the superior vigour and dexterity of her rival, who, with victorious strides, was rapidly gaining a position, which, if it did not infer the entire con-



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

quest of the British settlements, at least enabled her to intercept their farther growth, to cramp their commerce, and continually to overawe them, and attack them with advantage. The spirit of the English nation, which had been kindling for some time, was in this emergency provoked to a pitch that could brook no longer the languid and inefficient conduct of the operations in America. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, the most able and accomplished statesman and senator that Great Britain had yet produced, and who had long combated with his powerful rhetoric and majestic eloquence the policy of directing the chief military efforts of England to the continent of Europe, was now, in opposition to the wishes of the king, but in compliance with the irresistible will of the nation, placed at the head of the British ministry. He had received this appoint-

ment in the spring of the preceding year ; and again, in the autumn, after a short expulsion from office, was reinstated in it more firmly than before. The strenuous vigour and enlarged capacity of this extraordinary man, whose faculties were equally fitted to rouse the spirit and to wield the strength of a great nation, produced a dawn of hope and joy throughout the whole British empire. His elevation was hailed with enthusiasm, as the pledge of retributive triumph to his country ; and in effect it speedily checked the fortune of the enemy and occasioned a signal revolution in the relative power and predicament of France and England. Lord Loudoun, whether from his general slackness and indistinctness in the conduct of business, or from his personal or political dislike to the minister, conducted his correspondence with him in a very negligent manner ; and Pitt is reported to have assigned as the reason for superseding this commander, that *he could never ascertain what Lord Loudoun was doing.*

The same express which brought the tidings of Loudoun's recall conveyed a circular letter from Pitt to the provincial governors, acquainting them with the resolution of the British cabinet to send a powerful armament to operate by sea and land against the French in America, and inviting them to raise as numerous levies of auxiliary troops as the population of their respective provinces could afford. Arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, and boats, it was announced, would be furnished by the crown ; and the provincial governors, meanwhile, were desired to levy, clothe, and pay their troops, and appoint the officers of their various regiments. They were assured that it was the king's determination, by the most vigorous and expensive efforts, to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign, and to repel, by the blessing of God upon his arms, the dangers impending over his people and possessions in North America ; that, for this purpose, the war, which had been hitherto defensive on the part of the British, was now to be carried into the heart of the enemy's territory ; and that, to encourage the colonists to co-operate in this great and important design, his majesty would recommend to his parliament to grant to the several provinces such compensation for the expenses they might incur, as their vigour and activity should appear justly to merit. At this intelligence, the Americans, and especially the people of New England, were aroused to a generous emulation with the awakened spirit of the parent state ; mutual jealousy and distrust were swallowed up, for a season, in common ardour for the honour of Britain and the safety of America ; and with the most cheerful confidence and alacrity, all the states of New England vied in exertions to strengthen by their co-operation the promised British armament. In Massachusetts there were raised seven thousand men ; in Connecticut, five thousand ; and in New Hampshire, nine hundred. The numbers of the Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey levies have not been specified. These troops were

ready to take the field early in May,—previously to which time, Admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax with a considerable fleet, and twelve thousand British troops, conducted by General Amherst, an officer of distinguished skill and ability, and under whom a subordinate command was exercised by General Wolfe, one of the most heroic and magnanimous spirits of the age. Abercrombie, on whom the chief command of the entire forces employed in this quarter of the world devolved, was now at the head of the most powerful army that had ever been assembled in America, consisting of fifty thousand men, of whom twenty-two thousand were regular troops. He was a person of slender abilities, and utterly devoid of energy and resolution; and Pitt too late regretted the error he committed in intrusting a command of such importance to one so little known to him, and who proved so unfit to sustain it.

The conquest of Canada was the object to which the most ardent wishes of the British colonists were directed; but they quickly perceived that the gratification of this hope, if ever realized, must be deferred at least till the succeeding year; as the cabinet of England had determined, for the protection of the English commerce against the cruisers and privateers of France, to employ a considerable part of the assembled forces in an attack upon Louisburg, and to commence its new system of operations by the reduction of that place. Three expeditions were proposed for the present year [1753]: the first, against Louisburg; the second, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, against Fort Duquesne. In prosecution of the first of these enterprises, Admiral Boscawen, sailing from Halifax, [May 28,] with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, conveying an army of fourteen thousand men conducted by Amherst, of which but a small proportion were provincial troops, arrived before Louisburg, on the second of June. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier de Drucourt, an intrepid and experienced officer, was composed of two thousand five hundred regulars, aided by six hundred militia. The condition of the harbour, secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, rendered it necessary for the invaders to land at some distance from the town. From the defensive precautions which the enemy had adopted, this operation was attended with considerable difficulty; but, by the heroic resolution and resistless intrepidity of General Wolfe, it was accomplished with success and little loss; and the troops having been landed at the creek of Cormoran, [June 8,] and the artillery stores brought on shore, Wolfe was detached with two thousand men to seize a post which was occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse Point, and was calculated to afford advantage to the besiegers, by enabling them to annoy the ships in the harbour and the fortifications of the town. On the appearance of Wolfe, the post was abandoned; and there the British soon erected a for-

midable battery. [June 12.] Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town ; and the siege was pressed with a resolute activity characteristic of the English commanders, and yet with a severe and guarded caution, inspired by the strength of the place and the reputation of its governor and garrison, who fully supported the high idea that was entertained of them, by the skilful and obstinate valour they exerted in its defence. In all the operations of the siege, the dauntless courage and indefatigable energy of Wolfe were signally pre-eminent. A heavy cannonade having been maintained against the town and harbour, a bomb, exploding, set fire to one of the large ships, which soon blew up ; and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The English admiral, in consequence of this success, despatched boats manned with six hundred men into the harbour to make an attempt during the night on the two ships of the line which still remained to the enemy. In spite of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, the assailants successfully performed this perilous feat ; and one of the ships, which happened to be aground, was destroyed, while the other was towed off in triumph. By this gallant exploit, the English gained complete possession of the harbour ; and already more than one practicable breach in the works were produced by their batteries. The governor now judged the place no longer defensible, and offered to capitulate ; but his propositions were refused ; and it was required that the garrison should surrender at discretion, or abide the issue of an assault by sea and land. These severe terms, though at first rejected, were finally embraced ; and in accordance with them, Louisburg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, together with Isle Royale, St. John's, and their dependencies, was surrendered on the 26th of July to the English, who, without farther difficulty, took entire possession of the island of Cape Breton. Four hundred of the besiegers and fifteen hundred of the garrison were killed or wounded during the siege ; and the town of Louisburg was reduced to nearly a heap of ruins. In this town the conquerors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, and a vast quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were transported to France in English ships ; but the French garrison and their naval auxiliaries were carried prisoners of war to England, where the unwonted tidings of victory and conquest were hailed with demonstrations of the liveliest triumph and joy. The French colours taken at Louisburg were carried in grand procession from Kensington Palace to the Cathedral of St. Paul's ; and a form of thanksgiving was appointed to be used on the occasion in all the churches of England. The sentiments of the parent state were re-echoed in America ; where the people of New England, more especially, partook of the warmth of an exultation that revived the glory of their own previous achievement in the first conquest of Cape Breton.

Before this conquest was completed, the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point occurred to check the new and victorious career of the British arms in America. This enterprise was conducted by General Abercrombie, who, on the 5th of July, embarked his troops on Lake George in a hundred and twenty-five whaleboats, and nine hundred batteaux. His army consisted of sixteen thousand effective men, of whom nine thousand were provincials, and was attended by a formidable train of artillery. Among other officers, he was accompanied by Lord Howe, a young English nobleman, who exhibited the most promising military talents, and whose valour, virtue, courtesy, and good sense had greatly endeared him both to the English and the provincial troops. The mass of mankind are always prone to regard with veneration those titular distinctions, which, having no real substance, afford unbounded scope to the exercise of fancy; and almost universal suffrage is won, when the possessor of such lofty, though unsolid, pretensions appears to justify them by merit and mitigate them by generosity, instead of arrogating them with stern insolence or reposing on them with indolent pride. Lord Howe seemed to regard his titular distinction less as a proof of noble nature than an incentive to noble action, and as facilitating the indulgence of an amiable politeness by exempting him from all suspicion of mean, obsequious servility. From the day of his arrival in America, he conformed himself, and caused his regiment to conform, to the style of service which the country required. He was the first to encounter the danger to which he conducted others, and to set the example of every sacrifice he required them to incur. While the strict discipline he maintained commanded respect, the kind and graceful benevolence of his manners conciliated affection. He was the idol and soul of the army.

The first operations of Abercrombie were directed against Ticonderoga. Having disembarked at the landing place in a cove on the western side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, of which the centre was occupied by the British and the flanks by the provincials. In this order they marched against the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, destroyed its encampment and made a precipitate retreat. Proceeding from the abandoned post against Ticonderoga, the British columns, bewildered by tangled thickets, and misled by unskilful guides, were thrown into confusion and commingled in a disorderly manner. At this juncture, Lord Howe, advancing at the head of the right centre column, unexpectedly encountered the fugitive battalion of the French, who had lost their way in the woods, and now stumbled upon the enemy from whom they were endeavouring to escape. They consisted of regulars and a few Indians; and, notwithstanding their surprise and inferiority of numbers, displayed a promptitude of action and courage that had nearly reproduced the catastrophe of Braddock. With audacious temerity,



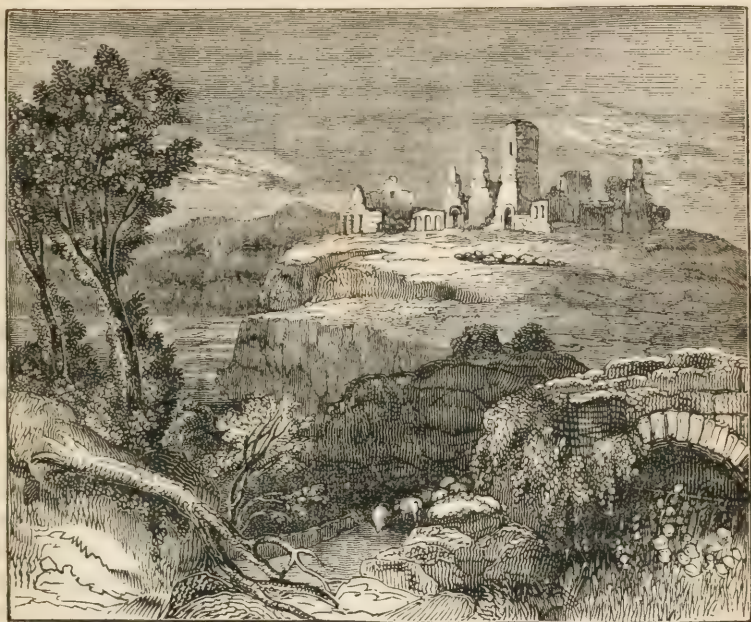
GENERAL ABERCROMBIE'S ARMY CROSSING LAKE GEORGE.

which in war is easily mistaken for deliberate confidence, and frequently prevails over superior strength, they attacked their pursuers; and at the first fire Lord Howe with a number of his soldiers fell. [July 6.] The suddenness of the assault, the terror inspired by the Indian yell, and the grief and astonishment created by the death of Lord Howe, excited a general panic among the British regulars; but the provincials, who flanked them, and who were better acquainted with the mode of fighting practised by the enemy, stood their ground and soon defeated their opponents, with a slaughter, compared to which the loss of the British in point of numbers was inconsiderable. But the death of Lord Howe had depressed the spirit and enfeebled the councils of the army; and to this circumstance its subsequent misfortunes were mainly ascribed. The loss of that brave and accomplished officer was generally deplored in America; and the assembly of Massachusetts, not long after, caused a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

The British forces, without farther opposition, took possession of a post situated within two miles of Ticonderoga, [July 7,] previously occupied by an advanced guard commanded by Colonel Bradstreet, a provincial officer distinguished by his valor, intelligence, and activity. The general, understanding that the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of about six thousand men, (French, Canadians, and Indians,) and that a reinforcement of three thousand more was daily expected, resolved on an immediate assault of the place. He directed his engineer to reconnoitre the position and intrenchments of the enemy; and, trusting to a hasty survey and a rash report of

their weakness, embraced the dangerous purpose of forcing them without the assistance of cannon. The troops, having received orders to march up briskly, to rush upon the enemy's fire, and to reserve their own until they had passed a breastwork which was represented as easily superable, advanced to the attack with the highest intrepidity. [July 8.] But unlooked-for impediments resisted their progress. The breastwork proved much more formidable than had been reported, and in front of it, to a considerable distance, trees were felled with their branches protruding outward and sharpened to a point; by which obstruction the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed in helpless embarrassment and disorder to a galling and destructive fire. The provincials, who were posted behind the regulars, inflamed with impatience, and not sufficiently restrained by discipline, could not be prevented from firing; and notwithstanding their expertness as marksmen, their fire was supposed to have proved more fatal to their friends than their enemies. This sanguinary conflict was protracted during four hours. Of the assailants there were killed and wounded about two thousand men, including four hundred of the provincials. One half of a Highland regiment commanded by Lord John Murray, with twenty-five of its officers, were either killed or desperately wounded. The loss of the enemy, covered as they were from danger, was comparatively trifling. At length Abercrombie gave the signal to desist from the desperate enterprise; and to an ill-concerted assault succeeded a retreat no less precipitate and injudicious. The British army, still amounting to nearly fourteen thousand men, greatly outnumbered the enemy; and if the artillery had been brought up to their assistance, might have overpowered with little difficulty the French forces and their defences at Ticonderoga. But Abercrombie, dismayed by his disastrous repulse, and heedless of the remonstrances of the provincial officers, carried the army back by a hasty march to the southern extremity of Lake George. Next to the defeat of Braddock, this was the most disgraceful catastrophe that had befallen the arms of Britain in America.

As Abercrombie showed himself destitute of the vigour that was requisite to repair his misfortune, Colonel Bradstreet conceived the idea of at least counterbalancing it by an effort in a different quarter, and, with this view, suggested to the general a substitutional expedition which he offered to conduct against Fort Frontignac. Approving the proposal, and willingly relinquishing his designs against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Abercrombie despatched Bradstreet at the head of three thousand men, of whom all but the trifling handful of a hundred and fifty-five were provincials, together with eight pieces of cannon and three mortars, to attempt the reduction of Fort Frontignac. Bradstreet marched to Oswego, embarked on Lake Ontario, and the evening of the 25th of August, landed within a mile of the fort. Before the lapse of two days his batteries were opened at so short a



RUINS OF FORT TICONDEROGA.

distance, that almost every shot took effect ; and the French commandant, finding his force overpowered, was compelled to surrender at discretion. [August 27.] The Indian auxiliaries of the French having previously deserted, the prisoners were but a hundred and ten. But the captors found in the fort sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, together with a prodigious collection of military stores, provisions, and merchandise. Nine armed vessels also fell into their hands. Bradstreet, after destroying the fort and vessels, and such stores as he could not carry away, returned to exhilarate the main army with this ray of success.

The reduction of Fort Frontignac facilitated the enterprise against Fort Duquesne, of which the garrison awaited, from the post thus unexpectedly subdued, a large reinforcement of stores and ammunition. General Forbes, to whom the expedition against Fort Duquesne was intrusted, marched with his troops early in July, from Philadelphia ; but its progress was so much retarded by various obstructions, that it was not until two months after, that the Virginian forces, commanded by Washington, were summoned to join the British army at Raystown. Among other provincial troops which participated in this expedition was a detachment of the militia of North Carolina, conducted by Major Waddell, a brave and active offi

cer, and highly respected inhabitant of that state, and accompanied by a body of Indian auxiliaries. Before the combined army advanced from Raystown, Major Grant, an English officer, was detached with eight hundred men, partly British and partly provincials, to reconnoitre the condition of Fort Duquesne and of the adjacent country. Rashly inviting an attack from the French garrison, this detachment was surrounded by the enemy, and, after a gallant but ineffectual defence, in which three hundred men were killed and wounded, Major Grant and nineteen other officers were taken prisoners. It was with the utmost difficulty that the French were able to rescue these officers from the sanguinary ferocity of their own Indian auxiliaries, who butchered the greatest part of the wounded and the prisoners. The whole residue of the detachment would have shared the same fate, if Captain Bullet, a provincial officer, with the aid of a small troop of Virginians, had not, partly by stratagem, and partly by the most desperate efforts of valour, checked the advance of the pursuing Indians, and finally conducted the fugitives to the main army, by a skilful, but protracted and laborious retreat. General Forbes, with this army, amounting to at least eight thousand men, at length advanced against Fort Duquesne; but, in spite of the most strenuous exertions, was not able to reach it till near the close of November. Enfeebled by their toilsome march, the British now approached the scene of Braddock's defeat, and beheld the field on which the mouldering corpses of Grant's troops still lay unburied. Anxious to know the condition of the fort and the position of the enemy's troops, Forbes offered a reward of forty pounds to any man who would make prisoner of a hostile Indian. This service was performed by a sergeant in the North Carolina militia; when the intelligence that was obtained from the captive showed Forbes that his labours were already crowned with unexpected success. The approach of the British force, which was attended with all those precautions of which the neglect proved so fatal to Braddock, had struck the Indians with such terror, that they withdrew from the assistance of the garrison of Fort Duquesne, declaring that the Great Spirit had evidently withdrawn his favour from the French and his protection from their fortress; and the French themselves, infected with the fears and weakened by the desertion of their allies, as well as disappointed of the stores which they had expected to obtain from Fort Frontignac, judged their post untenable, and, abandoning it on the evening before the arrival of Forbes's army, made their escape in boats down the Ohio. The British now took unresisted possession of this important fortress, [November 25,] which had been the immediate occasion of the existing war; and, in compliment to the great statesman whose administration had already given a new complexion to the fortune of their country and brought back departed victory to her side, they bestowed upon it the name of Pittsburgh. No sooner was the British flag hoisted on its

walls, than deputations arrived from the numerous tribes of the Ohio Indians, tendering their adherence and submission to the victors. With the assistance of some of these Indians, a party of British soldiers were sent to explore the thickets where Braddock was attacked, and to bestow the rites of sepulture on the bones of their countrymen which yet strewed the ground. Forbes, having concluded treaties of friendship with the Indians, left a garrison of provincials in the fort, and was reconducting his troops to Philadelphia, when he died, worn out by the ceaseless and overwhelming fatigues he had undergone.

The French, in concert with some of their Indian allies, made an attempt in the autumn to subdue a frontier fort and ravage a frontier settlement of New England. Their design, to which they were invited by the absence of the provincial forces, engaged in the distant operations of the campaign, was defeated by the vigorous and spirited exertions of Governor Pownall, who, for his conduct on this occasion, received from Pitt a letter expressive of the king's approbation.



THE campaign which thus terminated was, in the main, highly honourable and propitious to Britain, notwithstanding the disgraceful defeat sustained at Ticonderoga. In consequence of this last event, Abercrombie, as he expected, was deprived of a command he no longer desired to retain; and Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in

America. If France, whose American policy was the offspring of a vaulting, unmeasured ambition, had been capable of profiting by the lessons she had latterly received, perhaps the repulse of the British at Ticonderoga was an unfortunate circumstance for her. It was certainly unfortunate, if it deluded her with the hope of pursuing with advantage the contest she had provoked; and not less so in its influence on a powerful and indignant foe, in the first moments of vindictive exertion. It inspired the rulers of Britain with the same persuasion which prevailed among the Americans, that more must yet be done to redeem the honour of the British empire; and it stimulated the particular appetite which the English people had now contracted for trophies and conquests in America. Meanwhile the increased vigour and success with which the arms of Britain were exerted in other parts of the world, rendered it more difficult for France to afford succour to her American possessions.

Among other advantages which the British reaped from the late campaign was the influence it exercised on the sentiments of a great number of the Indian tribes, who began to suspect, that, by the civilities and vaunting representations of the French, they had been induced to espouse a cause which fortune was likely to forsake. Many of these savages had hastily concluded, from the polite, obliging manners of the French in

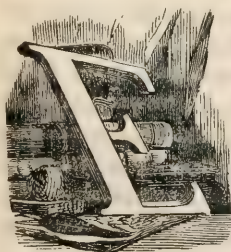
peace, and their promptitude and celerity in war, that, of the two European races, they were the more eligible friends and the more formidable enemies; but their opinion began to waver, from a longer experience of the justice of British traffic and the steadiness of British valour. In the close of this year, a grand assembly of Indian nations was held at Easton, about sixty miles from Philadelphia, and a formal treaty of friendship was concluded between Great Britain and fifteen Indian tribes inhabiting the vast territory extending from the Appalachian Mountains to the lakes. The conferences were managed, on the part of Britain, by Denny, the governor of Pennsylvania, and Francis Bernard, (successor of Belcher, who died in 1757,) the governor of New Jersey, together with Sir William Johnson, the royal superintendent of Indian affairs, a number of the members of council and Assembly of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and a great many citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly of the Quaker persuasion. Much time was spent by the British commissioners in accommodating various feuds and disputes that had recently arisen or been exasperated between the tribes with which they contracted. The Indians also demonstrated a surprising tenacity and precision of memory, in enumerating every past and unsatisfied cause of offence which had been afforded to any of their race by the English; and a feudal nicety and exactitude in defining the pecuniary composition appropriate to every one of their relative claims. At length, after conferences which endured for eighteen days, all the disputes between the two races were satisfactorily compounded; and the treaty of friendship which ensued gave so much contentment to all parties, that the Indians promised to use their utmost endeavours to extend its influence still more widely among their race. There was purchased by the British a tract of about three thousand acres of land, which received the name of Brotherton, and was vested in the persons of the New Jersey commissioners and their successors, in trust for the use of the Indian natives of New Jersey, southward of the river Raritan.

The British nation, first aroused by resentment, which was not yet satiated, and now inflamed with success and ambition, regarded the recent American campaign as the pledge and harbinger of farther and more signal triumph in the same quarter. [1759.] Whatever hesitation to attempt the entire overthrow of the French colonial empire might yet linger in the minds of the ministers, was overpowered by the force of the predicament in which they were placed, and the difficulty of pausing in a career of immediate conquest and glory. The parliament addressed the throne in terms that denoted the highest approbation of the measures and policy of the cabinet; they applauded the recent conduct of the war, and pledged themselves zealously and cheerfully to support its farther prosecution. In reply to a message from the king, recommending to their consideration the vigorous and spirited efforts which his faithful subjects in North America

had exerted in defence of his rights and possessions, they voted two hundred thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to give proper compensation to the several American provinces for their expenses in levying and maintaining troops for the public service. One sentiment of eagerness to advance the glory of England, and humble or destroy the American empire of France, pervaded every part of the British dominions; and the officers by whom the forces serving in America were now commanded, were equally zealous and qualified to promote their country's wishes and enlarge her empire and renown. The campaign which they had concerted, and now prepared to commence, embraced the great design of an entire and immediate conquest of Canada; and the plan of operations by which this object was to be pursued was, that three powerful armies should enter Canada by different routes, and attack, at nearly the same time, all the strongholds of the French in that country. At the head of one division of the army, consisting principally of English troops, and aided by an English fleet, General Wolfe, who had gained so much distinction at the recent siege of Louisburg, was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as soon as its navigation should cease to be obstructed by ice, and attempt the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada. General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, was to march against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and, after reducing these places, and establishing a naval force on Lake Champlain, was to penetrate, by the way of Richelieu river and the St. Lawrence, to Quebec, in order to form a junction with the forces of Wolfe. The third army, conducted by General Prideaux, and consisting chiefly of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and placed under the special command of Sir William Johnson, was to attack the French fort near the falls of Niagara, which commanded, in a manner, all the interior parts of North America, and was a key to the whole continent. As soon as this fort should be carried, Prideaux was to embark on Lake Ontario, descend the river St. Lawrence, make himself master of Montreal, and then unite his forces with those of Wolfe and Amherst. General Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment of troops, which was employed in reducing the French forts on the Ohio, and scouring the banks of Lake Ontario. It was expected that, if Prideaux's operations, in addition to their own immediate object, should not facilitate either of the two other capital undertakings, it would probably (as Niagara was the most important post which the enemy possessed in this quarter of America) induce the French to draw together all their troops which were stationed on the borders of the lakes, in order to attempt its relief, which would leave the forts on these lakes exposed; and this effect was actually produced.

Eager as the Americans were to co-operate with the martial purposes of Britain, they found it difficult to keep pace with her profuse expendi-

ture ; and some reluctance was expressed by the people of New England to the additional levies required from the provincial governments for the operations of the present campaign. They had been assured, in the commencement of the preceding year, that a single campaign would doubtless be sufficient to terminate the war. The same assurance, now repeated, was no longer able to produce the same effect. They were already labouring under the weight of heavy burdens occasioned by their former exertions ; the compensations decreed to them by the British parliament, from time to time, were greatly inferior to their actual expenses ; and much disgust and discouragement had been created by the delays, certainly impolitic, though perhaps not easily avoided, by which the public officers in England retarded the apportionment and payment of the parliamentary grants. It was unwise of the British government, while pursuing a course of which the policy required to be justified by the hope of promoting at once the advantage and the grateful loyalty of the Americans, to suffer any thing to be done which could diminish their sense of the obligation. Britain would, perhaps, have adopted a wiser and more magnanimous course, if she had arrogated to herself the whole conduct, expense, and honour of the war. By the course which she actually pursued, she trained many of the colonists to military exercises, and familiarized them with the idea of a contest with one of the most powerful empires in Europe ; she relieved them all from the dangers of a French vicinity ; and she disgusted them by the scanty and dilatory compensation by which she repaid their exertions. Connecticut, with some difficulty, was induced to refurnish her last year's contingent of five thousand men. In the records of this colony we find, for the first time, the name of Israel Putnam, one of the most heroic and determined patriots in America, as the colonel of one of the Connecticut regiments. Massachusetts at first declined to raise more than five thousand men ; but at length, in compliance with the instances of General Amherst, who was much respected by the colonists, consented to furnish an additional force of fifteen hundred. New Hampshire, however, surpassed its exertions of the preceding year, and raised a thousand men.



EARLY in the spring, Amherst transferred his headquarters from New York to Albany, where his troops, amounting to twelve thousand men, were assembled in the end of May ; yet the summer was far advanced before the state of his preparations enabled him to cross Lake George ; and it was not till the close of July, that he reached Ticonderoga. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress, and Colonel Townsend, a

brave and accomplished English officer, who advanced to reconnoitre it, was killed by a cannon ball. But perceiving the determined yet cautious

resolution, and the overwhelming force, with which Amherst was preparing to undertake the siege, and having received strict orders to retreat from post to post towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than incur the risk of being made prisoners, the garrison, a few days after, dismantled a part of the fortifications, and, evacuating Ticonderoga during the night, retired to Crown Point. Amherst, directly occupying the important post thus abandoned, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, and secured himself a safe retreat, caused the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. Thence advancing to Crown Point, with a cautious and guarded circumspection which the event showed to have been unnecessary, but which he was induced to observe by remembering how fatal a confident security had proved to other British commanders in this quarter of the world, he took possession of this fortress with the same facility which attended his first acquisition, in consequence of a farther retrogression of the enemy, who retired from his approach and intrenched themselves in a fort at Isle-aux-Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. At this place the French, as he was informed, had collected three thousand five hundred men, with a numerous train of artillery, and possessed the additional resource of four large armed vessels on the lake. Amherst exerted the utmost activity to create a naval force, without which it was impossible for him to attack the enemy's position; and with a sloop and a radeau, which were built with great despatch, he succeeded in destroying two of their vessels,—an achievement, in which the bold, adventurous spirit of Putnam was conspicuously displayed; but a succession of storms and the advanced season of the year compelled him reluctantly to postpone the farther prosecution of his scheme of operations. He established his troops in winter quarters at Crown Point, in the end of October, and confined his attention to strengthening the works of this fortress and of Ticonderoga. Thus the first of the three simultaneous expeditions embraced in the plan of this year's campaign, though attended with successful and important consequences, failed to produce the full result which had been anticipated by its projectors. Amherst, so far from being able to penetrate into Canada, and form a junction with Wolfe, was unable to maintain the slightest communication with him; and only by a letter from Montcalm, in relation to an exchange of prisoners, obtained information that Wolfe was besieging Quebec. With the army which undertook the siege of Niagara, indeed, his communication was uninterrupted; and intelligence of its success had reached him before he advanced from Ticonderoga against Crown Point.

While Amherst's army was thus employed, General Prideaux, with his European, American, and Indian troops embarking on Lake Ontario, advanced without loss or opposition to the fortress at Niagara, which he reached about the middle of July, and promptly invested on all sides. He was

conducting his approaches with great vigour, when, on the twentieth of the month, during a visit he made to the trenches, he lost his life by the unfortunate bursting of a cohorn. Amherst was no sooner informed of this accident, than he detached General Gage from Ticonderoga to assume the command of Prideaux's army : but it devolved, in the mean time, upon Sir William Johnson, who exercised it with a success that added a new laurel to the honours which already adorned his name. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a post of such importance, resolved to make an effort for its relief. From their forts of Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, they drew together a force of twelve hundred men, which with a troop of Indian auxiliaries were detached under the command of an officer named D'Aubry, with the purpose of raising the siege or reinforcing the garrison of Niagara. Johnson, who had been pushing the siege even more vigorously than his predecessor, learning the design of the French to relieve the garrison, made instant preparation to intercept it. As they approached, he ordered his light infantry, supported by a body of grenadiers and other regulars, to occupy the road from Niagara Falls to the fortress, by which the enemy were advancing, and covered his flanks with numerous troops of his Indian allies. At the same time, he posted a strong detachment of men in his trenches, to prevent any sally from the garrison during the approaching engagement. About nine in the morning, [July 24,] the two armies being in sight of each other, the Indians attached to the English, advancing, proposed a conference with their countrymen who served under the French banners ; but the proposition was declined. The French Indians having raised the fierce wild yell called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its appalling effect on the British soldiers, the action began by an impetuous attack from the enemy ; and while the neighbouring cataract of Niagara pealed forth to inattentive ears its everlasting *voice of many waters*, the roar of artillery, the shrieks of the Indians, and all the martial clang and dreadful revelry of a field of battle, mingled in wild chorus with the majestic music of nature. The French conducted their attack with the utmost courage and spirit, but were encountered with such firm, deliberate valour in front by the British regulars and provincials, and so severely galled on their flanks by the Indians, that in less than an hour their army was completely routed, their general with all his officers taken prisoners, and the fugitives from the field pursued with great slaughter for many miles through the woods. This was the second victory gained in the course of the present war by Sir William Johnson, a man who had received no military education, and whose fitness for command was derived solely from natural courage and sagacity. Both his victories were signalized by the capture of the enemy's commanders. On the morning after the battle, Johnson sent an officer to communicate the result of it to the commandant of the garrison at Fort Niagara, and recommend an immediate surrender before

more blood was shed, while it was yet in his power to restrain the barbarity of the Indians; and the commandant, having ascertained the truth of the tidings, capitulated without farther delay. The garrison, consisting of between six and seven hundred effective men, marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed prisoners to New York. They were allowed to retain their baggage, and, by proper escort, were protected from the ferocity and rapacity of the Indians. Though eleven hundred of these savages (chiefly of the confederacy of the Six Nations) followed Johnson to Niagara, so effectually did he restrain them, that not an incident occurred to rival or retaliate the scenes at Oswego and Fort William Henry. The women, of whom a considerable number were found at Fort Niagara, were sent, at their own request, with their children to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not sustain the fatigue of removal, were treated with humane attention. Although the army by which this success was achieved, whether from ignorance of the result of Wolfe's enterprise, or from some other cause more easily conjectured than ascertained, made no attempt to pursue the ulterior objects which had been assigned to its sphere of operation, and so far failed to fulfil its expected share of the campaign; yet the actual result of its exertions was gratifying and important in no ordinary degree. The reduction of Niagara effectually interrupted the communication, so much dreaded by the English, between Canada and Louisiana; and by this blow one of the grand designs of the French, which had long threatened to produce war, and which finally contributed to provoke the present contest, was completely defeated.

General Wolfe, meanwhile, was engaged in that capital enterprise of the campaign which aimed at the reduction of Quebec. The army which he conducted, amounting to eight thousand men, having embarked at Louisbourg, under convoy of an English squadron commanded by Admirals Saunders and Holmes, after a successful voyage, disembarked in the end of June on the Isle of Orleans, a large, fertile island surrounded by the waters of the St. Lawrence, situated a little below Quebec, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, and abounding with inhabitants, villages, and plantations. Soon after his landing, Wolfe distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, acquainting them that the king, his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a powerful armament in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable settlements of France in America. He declared that it was not against industrious peasants and their families, nor against the ministers of religion that he desired or intended to make war; on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they were exposed by the quarrel; he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and abstain from participation in the controversy



GENERAL WOLFE

between the two crowns. The English, he proclaimed, were masters of the river St. Lawrence, and could thus intercept all succours from France ; and they had, besides, the prospect of a speedy reinforcement from the army which General Amherst was conducting to form a junction with them. The line of conduct which the Canadians ought to pursue, he affirmed, was neither difficult nor doubtful ; since the utmost exertion of their valour must be useless, and could serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He protested that the cruelties already exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America would sanction the most severe reprisals ; but that Britains were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. While he tendered to the Canadians the blessings of peace amidst the horrors of war, and left them by their own conduct to determine their own fate, he expressed his hope that the world would do him justice, and acquit him of blame, should the

objects of his solicitude, by rejecting these favourable terms, oblige him to have recourse to measures of violence and severity. Having expatiated on the strength and power of Britain, whose indignation they might provoke, he urged them to recognise the generosity with which she now held forth the hand of humanity, and tendered to them forbearance and protection, at the very time when France, by her weakness, was compelled to abandon them. This proclamation produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians place much dependence on the assurances of a people whom their priests industriously represented to them as the fiercest and most faithless enemy upon earth. Possessed with these notions, they disregarded the offered protection of Wolfe, and abandoning their habitations, joined the scalping parties of the Indians who skulked among the woods, and butchered with the most inhuman barbarity all the English stragglers they could surprise. Wolfe, in a letter to Montcalm, remonstrated against these atrocities as contrary to the rules of war between civilized nations, and dishonourable to the service of France. But either the authority of Montcalm was not sufficient, or it was not exerted with sufficient energy, to bridle the ferocity of the savages, who continued to scalp and butcher with such increase of appetite for blood and revenge, that Wolfe, in the hope of intimidating the enemy into a cessation of this style of hostility, judged it expedient to connive at some retaliatory outrages, from which the nobleness of his disposition would otherwise have revolted with abhorrence.

From his position in the Isle of Orleans, the English commander had a distinct view of the danger and difficulty by which his enterprise was obstructed. Quebec is chiefly built on a steep rock on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, and additionally defended by the river St. Charles, which, flowing past it on the east, unites with the St. Lawrence immediately below the town, and consequently encloses it in a peninsular locality. Besides its natural barriers, the city was tolerably fortified by art, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. In the St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose borders are intersected with ravines, there were several armed vessels and floating batteries; and a boom was drawn across its mouth. On the eastern bank of this stream, a formidable body of French troops, strongly intrenched, extended their encampment along the shore of Beaufort to the falls of the river Montmorency, having their rear covered by an impenetrable forest. At the head of this army was the skilful, experienced, and intrepid Montcalm, the ablest commander that France had employed in America since the death of Count Frontignac, and who, though possessed of forces superior in number to the invaders, prudently determined to stand on the defensive, and mainly depend on the natural strength of the country, which, indeed, appeared almost insurmountable. He had lately reinforced his troops with five battalions, imbodyed from the flower of the

colonial population ; he had trained to arms all the neighbouring inhabitants, and collected around him a numerous band of the most ancient and attached Indian allies of France. To undertake the siege of Quebec, against such opposing force, was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash and romantic enterprise. But great actions are commonly transgressions of ordinary rules ; and Wolfe, though fully awake to the hazard and difficulty of the achievement, was not to be deterred from attempting it. He knew that he should always have it in his power to retreat, in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river ; he cherished the hope of being joined by Amherst ; and, above all, though his body, yet in the bloom of manhood, was oppressed and consumed by a painful, lingering, mortal malady, his mind was burning with the resistless fever of renown, and his genius supported by the force of collected judgment and determined will. His ardour was partaken and his efforts ably seconded by many gallant officers who served under him, and particularly by the three brigadier-generals, Monckton, Townsend, and Murray, men of patrician rank and in the prime of life, whom neither affluent fortune nor the choicest domestic felicity could restrain from chasing glory with severe delight amidst the dangers and hardships of war. The safety of the fleet, on whose co-operation he relied, was twice menaced—first, by a violent storm, which, however, it happily surmounted with little damage ; and afterwards by a number of fire-ships, which the French sent down the river, but which, by the skill and vigilance of Admiral Saunders, were all intercepted, towed ashore, and rendered harmless.

Resolved to attempt whatever was practicable for the reduction of Quebec, Wolfe took possession, after a successful skirmish, of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town ; but his fire from this position, though it destroyed many houses, made little impression upon the works, which were too strong and too remote to be essentially affected by it, and, at the same time, too elevated to be reached by a cannonade from the ships of war. Perceiving that his artillery could not be efficiently exerted, except from batteries constructed on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring and impetuous measures. The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable extent above Quebec, is so rocky and so precipitous, as to render a landing, in the face of an enemy, impracticable. An offensive attempt below the town, though less imprudent, was confronted by formidable obstructions. Even if the river Montmorency were passed, and the French driven from their intrenchments, the St. Charles must still present a new and less superable barrier against the assailants. Wolfe, acquainted with every obstacle, but heroically observing, that “a victorious army finds no difficulties,” resolved to pass the Montmorency and bring Montcalm to

an engagement. For this purpose, thirteen companies of English grenadiers and a part of the second battalion of royal Americans were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions, under Generals Townsend and Murray, prepared to cross it by a ford which was discovered farther up the stream. Wolfe's plan was to attack, in the first instance, a redoubt close to the water's edge, and apparently beyond reach of shot from the enemy's intrenchments, in the hope that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would enable him to bring on a general engagement: or that, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, he could thence take an accurate survey of their position, and regulate with advantage his subsequent operations. On the approach of the British troops, the redoubt was evacuated; and Wolfe, observing some confusion in the French camp, instantly changed his original plan, and determined to attack the hostile intrenchments without farther delay. Townsend and Murray were now commanded to hold their divisions in readiness for fording the river, and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach, and await there the reinforcement which was requisite to sustain their exertions; but, flushed with ardour, and negligent of support, these troops made a precipitate charge upon the enemy's intrenchments, where they were received with so steady and sharp a fire from the French musketry, that they were presently thrown into disorder, and compelled to take refuge in the abandoned redoubt. Here it proved, unexpectedly, that they were still exposed to an effective fire from the enemy, and several brave officers, exposing their persons in attempting to reform and rally the troops, were killed. A thunder-storm, which now broke out, contributed to baffle the efforts of the British, without depressing the spirit of the French, who continued to fire, not only upon the troops in the redoubt, but on those who were lying wounded and disabled on the field, near their own intrenchments. The English general, finding that his plan of attack was completely disconcerted, ordered his troops to repossess the river and return to the Isle of Orleans. Besides the mortifying check which he had received, he lost, in this rash, ill-considered attempt, nearly five hundred of the bravest men in his army.

Some experience, however, though dearly bought, had been gained; and Wolfe—now assured of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the side of the Montmorency, while Montcalm retained his station, which he seemed determined to do, till, from the advance of the season, the elements should lend their aid in destroying the invaders—detached General Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, to co-operate with Admiral Holmes above the town in an attempt upon the French shipping, and to distract the enemy by descents on the banks of the river. [August 25.] After twice endeavouring without success to land on the northern shore, Murray, by a sudden descent which he accomplished at Chambaud, gained

he opportunity of destroying a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions ; but the French ships were secured in such a manner as to defy the approach either of the fleet or the army. On his return to the British camp, he brought the consolatory intelligence, obtained from his prisoners, that Fort Niagara was taken ; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been occupied without resistance ; and that General Amherst was making preparations to attack the enemy at Isle-aux-Noix. This intelligence, though in itself grateful, afforded no prospect of speedy assistance, and indeed proclaimed the failure of Amherst in seasonably executing the plan of co-operation concerted between the two armies. Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of Wolfe, or induce him to abandon the enterprise which he had commenced. Instead of being disheartened, he was roused to additional energy of purpose and effort by the conviction that success now depended exclusively on himself and his present force, and that it had become absolutely essential to his reputation, already wounded and endangered by the disaster at Montmorency. In a council of his principal officers, assembled at this critical juncture, it was resolved to transfer the scene of operations to the banks of the St. Lawrence above the town. [September 3.] The camp at the Isle of Orleans was consequently abandoned ; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part at a spot farther up the river. Admiral Holmes, meanwhile, for several days successively, manœuvred with his fleet in a manner calculated to engage the attention of the enemy on the northern shore, and draw their observation as far as possible from the city. These movements had no other effect than to induce Montcalm to detach fifteen hundred men, under the command of Bougainville, one of his officers, from the main camp, to watch the motions of the English fleet and army, and prevent a landing from being accomplished.

Wolfe was now confined to bed by a severe fit of the disease under which he laboured, aggravated by incessant fatigue and by the anxiety inseparable from a combination of difficulties sufficient to have appalled the stoutest courage and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander. In this situation, his three brigadier-generals, whom he invited to concert some plan of operations, projected and proposed to him a daring enterprise, of which the immediate object was to gain possession of the lofty eminences beyond Quebec, where the enemy's fortifications were comparatively slight. It was proposed to land the troops by night under the *Heights of Abraham*, at a small distance from the city, and to scale the summit of these heights before daybreak. This attempt manifestly involved extreme difficulty and hazard. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank of the river lined with French sentinels, the landing-place so narrow as easily to be missed in the dark, and the cliff, which must afterwards be surmounted, so steep that it was difficult to ascend it even in open day and without op-

position. Should the design be promulgated by a spy or deserter, or suspected by the enemy; should the disembarkation be disordered, through the darkness of the night, or the obstructions of the shore; the landing-place be mistaken, or but one sentinel alarmed,—the Heights of Abraham would instantly be covered with such numbers of troops as would render the attempt abortive and defeat inevitable. Though these circumstances of danger could not escape the penetration of Wolfe, yet he hesitated not a moment to embrace a project so congenial to his ardent and enterprising disposition, as well as to the hazardous and embarrassing predicament in which he was placed, and from which only some brilliant and soaring effort could extricate him to his own and his country's satisfaction. He reposed a gallant confidence in the very magnitude and peril of his attempt; and fortune extended her proverbial favour to the brave. His active powers revived with the near prospect of decisive action; he soon recovered his health so far as to be able to conduct in person the enterprise on which he was resolved to stake his fame; and in the execution of it, displayed a force of judgment, and a deliberate valour and intrepidity, that rivalled and vindicated the heroism of its conception.

The necessary orders having been communicated, and the preparatory arrangements completed, the whole fleet, upon the 12th of September, moved up the river several leagues above the spot allotted for the assault, and at various intervening places made demonstrations of an intention of landing the troops; as if the movement had been merely experimental, and no decisive purpose of attack were yet entertained. But an hour after midnight, the troops were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, which, aided by the tide and the stream, drifted with all possible caution down the river towards the intended place of disembarkation. They were obliged to keep close to the northern shore, in order to diminish the danger of passing the landing-place (which, nevertheless, very nearly happened) in the dark; and yet escaped the challenge of all the French sentinels except one or two, whose vigilance, however, was baffled by the presence of mind and ingenuity with which a Scotch officer replied to the call, and described the force to which he belonged as a part of Bougainville's troops employed in exploring the state of the river and motions of the English. Silence was commanded under pain of death, which was, indeed, doubly menaced; and a death-like stillness was preserved in every boat, except the one which conveyed the commander-in-chief, where, in accents barely audible to the profound attention of his listening officers, Wolfe repeated that noble effusion of solemn thought and poetic genius, Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, which had been recently published at London, and of which a copy was conveyed to him by the last packet from England. When he had finished his recitation, he added, in a tone still guardedly low, but earnest and emphatic,—“Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that



WOLFE'S ARMY ASCENDING THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.

poem, than take Quebec:"—perhaps the noblest tribute ever paid by arms to letters, since that heroic era when hostile fury and havoc were remedied or intercepted by respect for the genius of Aristotle and for the poetry of Pindar and Euripides. About an hour before daybreak, a landing was effected. Wolfe was one of the first who leaped ashore; and when he beheld the precipitous height whose ascent still remained to crown the arduous enterprise thus far advanced in safety through the jaws of fate, he coolly observed to an officer near him,—“I doubt if you will get up; but you must do what you can.” A detachment of Scotch Highlanders and of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe, (brother of the nobleman who perished at Ticonderoga,) led the way up the dangerous cliff, which was ascended by the aid of the rugged projection of the rocks and the branches of some bushes and plants that protruded from their crevices. The

rest of the troops, emulating this gallant and skilful example, followed their comrades up the narrow path, and by break of day the whole army reached the summit. [September 13.]

When Montcalm received intelligence that the British force, which he supposed wandering on the river, had sprung up like a mine on the summit of the Heights of Abraham, he could not at first credit the full import of the tidings. Accounting it impossible that a whole army had ascended such a rugged and abrupt precipice, he concluded that the demonstration was merely a feint, undertaken by a small detachment, in order to induce him to abandon the position he had hitherto maintained. Convinced, however, by farther observation, of his mistake, he conceived that an engagement could no longer be avoided; and instantly quitting his camp at Montmorency, crossed the river St. Charles, with the purpose of attacking the English army. In thus consenting to give battle, Montcalm was rather confounded by the genius and daring than overruled by the actual success and position of his adversary. Had he retired into Quebec, he might, especially at such an advanced period of the year, and with so numerous a garrison, have securely defied a siege. Wolfe, observing the movement of the enemy, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by Monckton; the left by Murray; the right flank was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers; and the rear and left by Howe's light infantry, which had shortly before achieved the easy conquest of a four-gun battery. As the form in which the French advanced indicated the purpose of outflanking the left of the English army, Townsend was sent to this part of the line, with the regiment of Amherst and the two battalions of royal Americans, which were formed in such disposition as to present a double front to the enemy. One regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals, formed the English body of reserve. Montcalm's dispositions for the attack were not less skilful and judicious. The right and left wings of his army were composed almost equally of European and of colonial troops; the centre consisted of a column formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, expert and deadly marksmen, advancing in front, and screened by adjoining thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many officers, whom they preferably aimed at; but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the British. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun which the English seamen contrived to hoist up from the landing-place, and which they employed during the action with considerable effect.

A strong and cheering presentiment of victory was, doubtless, entertained by troops who had already exerted so much valour, and vanquished so many obstacles, in order to meet the enemy on a fair field of battle. Their

leader had courted Fortune, not with languid aspiration, but with confident pursuit ; while their enemy's studious precautions against her possible hostility announced little reliance on her probable favour. About nine in the morning, the main body of the French advanced vigorously to the charge, and the conflict soon became general. Montcalm having chosen for his own station the left of the French army, and Wolfe, for his, the right of the English, the two commanders directly confronted each other in the quarter where arose the hottest encounter of this memorable day. The English troops reserved their fire till the French were within forty yards of their line ; and then, by a terrible discharge, spread havoc among the adverse ranks. Their fire was continued with a vigour and deliberation which effectually checked the advance, and visibly abated the audacity of the French. Wolfe, who, early in the action, was wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to direct and animate his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin ; but, concealing the wound, he was leading his grenadiers to the charge, when a third ball pierced his breast, and brought him to the ground. His troops, incensed rather than disconcerted by the fall of their general, continued the action, with unabated vigour, under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved, but who was soon obliged, by a dangerous wound, to resign it to Townsend. Montcalm, about the same time, while animating the fight, in front of his battalion, was pierced with a mortal wound ; and General Senezergus also, the second in command on the same side, shortly after fell. While the fall of Wolfe seemed to impart a higher temper to the courage of the English, and infused a spirit in their ranks that rendered them superior to almost any opposing force, the loss of Montcalm produced a contrary and depressing effect on the French. The British right wing now pressed on with fixed bayonets, determined on vengeance and victory. General Murray, at the same critical instant, advancing swiftly with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army ; and their confusion was completed by a charge of the Highlanders, who, drawing their broadswords, rushed upon them with resistless fury, and drove them, with great slaughter, partly into Quebec, and partly over the St. Charles. On the left of the British position, the combat was less violent and sanguinary ; but here, also, the attack of the French was repulsed, and their attempt to outflank the British defeated. At this juncture, Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh troops, approached the rear of the victorious English ; but observing the complete rout and dispersion of Montcalm's forces, he did not venture to attempt a renewal of the action. The victory was decisive. About a thousand of the French were made prisoners, and nearly an equal number fell in the battle and in the pursuit ; of the remainder, the greater number, unable to gain the shelter of Quebec, retired first to Point-au-Tremble, and afterwards to Trois Rivières and Mon-



DEATH OF WOLFE.

treachery. The loss of the English, both in killed and wounded, was less than six hundred men.

But the fate of Wolfe was deeply and universally deplored. After his last wound, finding himself unable to stand, he leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, who sat down in order to support him. This officer, seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!" "Who run?" cried Wolfe, with eagerness; for his glazing eye could no longer discern the fortune of the day. Being informed that it was the enemy, he replied with animation, "Then I die happy!"—and almost instantly after expired *in the blaze of his fame*. Intensely studious, and yet promptly and vigorously active; heroically brave and determined, adventurous and persevering; of a temper lively and even impetuous, yet never reproached as violent or irascible; generous, indulgent, courteous, and humane,—Wolfe was the pattern of his officers, and the idol of his soldiers. The force and compass of his genius enabled him practically to distinguish, what inferior minds never discover at all, the difference between great dif-

ficulties and impossibilities ; and being undiscouraged by what was merely, however mightily, difficult, he undertook and achieved what others would have accounted and found to be impossible. His life (as was said of Sir Philip Sidney) was, indeed, *poetry in action*. He was, for a time, the favourite hero of England, as well as of America ; and monumental statues, erected at the public expense, attested his glory, both in the Old World and the New. A marble statue, in particular, was decreed to his memory by the Assembly of Massachusetts. His rival, Montcalm, survived him but a few hours, and met his fate with the most undaunted and enduring courage. When he was informed that his wound was mortal, his reply was, "I am glad to hear it ;" and when the near approach of death was announced to him, he added, "So much the better :—I shall not, then, live to see the surrender of Quebec." He was buried, by his own direction, in an excavation that had been produced by the explosion of a bomb. Unfortunately for his fame, the extent to which he is justly responsible for the treacherous cruelties of the Indian allies of his countrymen, on various occasions, still remains doubtful. It is pretended by some English writers, that Amherst had declared his purpose of treating Montcalm, if he should happen to take him alive, not as an honourable warrior, but as a bandit or robber. But if such sentiments were ever entertained, they were erased from the minds of victorious enemies by the heroic circumstances of Montcalm's death, and the remembrance of his talent and intrepidity,—merits, which a wise regard to his own fame, and even more generous sentiment, must ever prompt a conqueror to recognise, and perhaps exaggerate, in a vanquished foe ; and when, some time after, the French government desired leave to erect a monument to his memory in Canada, the request was granted by the English minister, Pitt, in terms expressive of a high admiration of Montcalm's character. Monckton recovered of his wound at New York. It was unfortunate, perhaps, for the fame of all the officers who distinguished themselves on either side in these hostilities, that the European states to which they respectively belonged were very soon tempted to regret the effects of the prowess they had exerted in America.

General Townsend, who now commanded the army of Wolfe, proceeded to fortify his camp, and to construct lines and take other necessary measures for the investment of Quebec ; but his operations, which might otherwise have been greatly protracted, if not entirely defeated, were happily abridged by a proposition of the garrison, within five days of the late victory, to surrender the place to the English forces. [September 17.] The discomfiture of Montcalm's plan of defence, and the loss of this commander, whose active genius and despotic authority had rendered him not merely the leader of the French, but the main-spring of all their counsels and conduct, seemed to have confounded the spirit and paralyzed the vigour of the

garrison, whose early surrender excited general surprise, and was equally grateful to their enemies, and mortifying to their countrymen. The terms of the capitulation were the more favourable for the besieged, as the enemy was assembling a large force in the rear of the British army; as the season had become wet, cold, and stormy, threatening the troops with sickness and the fleet with danger; and as a considerable advantage was to be gained from taking possession of the town while the walls were yet in a defensible condition. It was stipulated, that the inhabitants, during the war, should be protected in the free exercise of their religion; their future political destiny was left to be decided at the return of peace. This treaty occurred very seasonably for the British, who learned immediately after that the enemy's army had rallied and been reinforced beyond Cape Rouge by two regular battalions which General de Levi had conducted to their aid from Montreal; and that Bougainville, with eight hundred men and a convoy of provisions, was prepared to throw himself into the town on the very day of its surrender. [September 18.] The capitulation was no sooner ratified, than the British forces took possession of Quebec, which, besides its garrison, contained a population of ten thousand persons. Next day, about a thousand prisoners were embarked on board of transports to be conveyed to Europe.

The capital of New France, thus reduced to the dominion of Great Britain, received a garrison of five thousand troops commanded by General Murray, whose security was farther promoted by the conduct which the French colonists in the neighbourhood now thought proper to adopt; for they repaired in great numbers to Quebec, and, delivering up their arms, pledged themselves by oath to observe a strictly passive neutrality during the continuance of the war. The British fleet, shortly after, took its departure from the St. Lawrence, carrying with it General Townsend, who returned to England.

The operations which had been intrusted to General Stanwix were attended with complete success. By his conduct and prudence, the British interest and empire were established so firmly, to all appearance, on the banks of the Ohio, that the emigrants from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were very soon after enabled securely to resume and advantageously to extend the settlements in this quarter, from which the French had expelled them in the commencement of the war.

Thus brilliantly ended the campaign of 1759. In England its results were hailed with the most enthusiastic triumph and applause. In America, these sentiments were warmly and justly reciprocated.

The inhabitants of North America had eagerly indulged the hope that the reduction of Quebec not only betokened, but actually imported, the entire conquest of Canada; but they were speedily undeceived; and, aroused by the spirited and nearly successful attempt of the French to

retrieve this loss, they consented the more willingly to a renewed exertion of their resources for the purpose of securing and improving the victorious posture of their affairs. The New England levies this year [1760] were as numerous as they had ever been during the war; the Virginian levies (augmented by the emergency of a war with the Cherokees) amounted to two thousand men.

No sooner had the English fleet retired from the St. Lawrence, than Levi, who succeeded to Montcalm's command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. The land forces he possessed were more numerous than the army of Wolfe, by which the conquest of the place had been achieved, and he enjoyed the co-operation of some frigates, which afforded him the entire command of the river, as the English had imprudently withdrawn every one of their vessels, on the supposition that they could not be useful in winter. He had hoped that a sudden attack might enable him to take Quebec by surprise, during the winter; but, after some preparatory approaches, which were repulsed, and a survey which convinced him that the outposts were better secured and the governor more active and alert than he had expected, he was induced to postpone his enterprise till the arrival of the spring. In the month of April, when the St. Lawrence afforded a navigation freed from ice, the artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage of the French were embarked at Montreal, and carried down the river under the protection of six frigates; and Levi himself, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point-au-Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. General Murray, to whom the preservation of the English conquest was intrusted, took prompt and skilful measures for its security; but his troops had suffered so much from the extreme cold of the winter and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of five thousand, the original number of the garrison, he could now count on the services of no more than three thousand men. Impelled by overboiling courage, rather than guided by sound judgment, and relying more, perhaps, on the reputation than the strength of his army, he determined, with this once victorious and still valiant, though diminished force, to meet the enemy in the field, although their numbers amounted to more than twelve thousand; and, accordingly, marching out to the Heights of Abraham, he attempted to render this scene once more tributary to the glory of Britain, by an impetuous assault on the neighbouring position of the French at Sillery, [April 28, 1760.] But his attack was firmly sustained by the enemy, and, after a sharp encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he withdrew his troops from the action and retired into the city. In this conflict the British lost the greater part of their artillery, and nearly a thousand men. The French, though their loss in killed and wounded was more than double that number, had nevertheless gained the

victory, which their general lost no time in improving. On the evening of the day on which the battle took place, Levi opened trenches against the town; yet, in spite of all his efforts, it was not till the 11th of May that his batteries were so far advanced as to commence an effectual fire upon the garrison. But Murray had now, by indefatigable exertion, in which he was assisted with alacrity by his soldiers, completed some out-works, and planted so powerful an artillery on the ramparts, that his fire was far superior to that of the besiegers, and nearly silenced their batteries. Quebec, notwithstanding, would most probably have reverted to its former masters, if an armament which was despatched from France had not been outsailed by a British squadron, which succeeded in first gaining the entrance and the command of the St. Lawrence. The French frigates, which had descended from Montreal, were now attacked by the British ships, and, part of them having been destroyed, the rest betook themselves to a hasty retreat up the river. Levi instantly raised the siege, and, retiring with a precipitation that obliged him to abandon the greater part of his baggage and artillery, reconducted his forces (with the exception of a party of Canadians and Indians who became disheartened and deserted him by the way) to Montreal. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and determined to make his last stand in defence of the French colonial empire—thus reduced, from the attitude of preponderance and conquest which it presented two years before, to the necessity of a defensive and desperate effort for its own preservation. For this purpose Vaudreuil called in all his detachments and collected around him the whole force of the colony. Though little chance of success remained to him, he preserved an intrepid countenance, and in all his dispositions displayed the firmness and foresight of an accomplished commander. To support the drooping courage of the Canadians and their Indian allies, he had even recourse to the artifice of circulating among them feigned intelligence of the successes of France in other quarters of the world, and of her approaching succour.

Amherst, in the mean time, was diligently engaged in concerting and prosecuting measures for the entire conquest of Canada. During the winter, he had made arrangements for bringing all the British forces from Quebec, Lake Champlain, and Lake Ontario, to join in a combined attack upon Montreal. Colonel Haviland, by his direction, sailing with a detachment from Crown Point, took possession of Isle-aux-Noix, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded towards Montreal; while Amherst, with his own division, consisting of about ten thousand regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York, and advanced to Oswego, where his force received the addition of a thousand Indians of the Six Nations, marching under the command of Sir William Johnson. Embarking with his entire army on Lake Ontario, he reduced the fort of Isle

Royale, one of the most important posts which the French possessed on the river St. Lawrence; and thence, after a difficult and dangerous passage, conducted his troops to Montreal, where, on the very day of their arrival, [September 6, 1760,] they were met by the forces commanded by General Murray. In his progress up the river, Murray distributed proclamations among the Canadians inhabiting its southern shore, which produced such an effect that almost all the parishes in this quarter, as far as the river Sorel, declared their submission to Britain, and took the oath of neutrality; Lord Rollo, meanwhile, advancing along the northern shore, disarmed all the inhabitants as far as Trois Rivières, which, though the capital of a large district, being merely an open village, was taken without resistance. By a happy concert in the execution of a well-digested plan, the armies of Amherst and Murray, on the day after their own simultaneous arrival, [September 7,] were joined by the detachment confided to Colonel Haviland. Amherst had already made preparations for investing Montreal; but Vaudreuil, perceiving, from the strength of the combined armies, and the skilful dispositions of their commanders, that resistance must be ineffectual, hastened to demand a capitulation; and on the following day, [September 8,] Montreal, Detroit, and all the other places of strength within the government of Canada were surrendered to the British crown. After the capitulation, General Gage was appointed governor of Montreal, with a garrison of two thousand men; and Murray returned to Quebec, where his garrison was augmented to four thousand.

Thus fell the colonial empire of France on the continent of North America—the victim of overweening ambition, and of the rage of a rival state, transported by insult and injury beyond the usual channel of its policy and the limits of the system it had hitherto pursued. On the south of the Mississippi, the French still possessed the infant colony of Louisiana; but this settlement, far from being powerful or formidable, was so thinly peopled and so ill-conditioned, that it could scarcely have preserved its existence, without the provisions of food and other supplies it obtained by a contraband trade with the British provinces. The downfall of the French dominion was completed by the fate of the armament, which, as we have already remarked, was despatched this year from France for the assistance of Canada. The commander of this force, consisting of one frigate of thirty guns, two large store-ships, and nineteen smaller vessels, having ascertained before his arrival on the coast that a British squadron had already sailed up the St. Lawrence, took refuge in the Bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Nova Scotia. Captain Byron, who commanded the British vessels stationed at Louisburg, receiving intelligence of the enemy's position, instantly sailed with five ships of war to the Bay of Chaleurs, and easily succeeded in destroying the hostile armament, as well as in dismantling two batteries which the French had erected on shore.



COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION.

THE triumphant issue of the contest with France seemed to have placed the British empire in America on a foundation at once solid and permanent. The possession of the whole eastern coast, from the gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, secured it almost completely against any other European power, without whose support the natives could make only a very feeble and desultory resistance. The population, the wealth and advancing commerce of these colonies, inspired sanguine and indeed chimerical hopes of future advantage. They had co-operated most cordially, by strenuous efforts and great sacrifices, in the arduous contest waged on their soil by Britain with her powerful rival; and the exultation of common success cemented still more closely the mutual ties. The most friendly feelings appeared to be mutually cherished; and nothing indicated the approach of that fatal crisis which was to rend the empire asunder, and to begin the separation between the Old and the New Worlds.

There were not wanting, indeed, circumstances secretly tending towards this result. The colonies had always professed a firm and zealous allegiance to the king; and even Mr. Marshall admits, that to the very latest

period they did not generally dispute the supreme legislative power of parliament: yet they had at the same time shown an extreme anxiety to manage their affairs in their own way; and during their silent growth, when communication was tedious and unfrequent, they generally attained this object. Occasionally the monarchs were seized with jealous feelings, and sent out strict and imperious mandates; but the planters, by delay, coupled with firm and respectful remonstrance, usually contrived to evade their execution. The discouragement to their manufactures, though unfair, was of little consequence when such branches of industry would at all events have been premature. The monopoly of their commerce, though a more serious evil, was so accordant with the contracted views of the age, that they never thought of disputing the right, or expecting it not to be enforced. It was, besides, executed with so much laxness, that the most lucrative dealings were carried on clandestinely with very little interruption. On this point British jealousy was at length roused; custom-houses were erected, and cruisers stationed along the coast. The merchants, without disputing the right to take these measures, only complained of its being enforced in a violent and sometimes illegal manner; but their minds were silently opened to the advantages which might arise from a state of independence. We believe, however, on grounds which will be developed in the course of this narrative, that no such feeling or wish existed among the great body of the people.

In Great Britain, meanwhile, the light under which the colonies were viewed underwent a material alteration. Free nations, it has been often observed, are peculiarly apt to domineer over subject states. The people regarded with the highest complacency their sway over a vast transatlantic empire: according to Lord Chatham, even the chimney-sweepers on the streets talked boastingly of their subjects in America. The entire subservience of the settlers, the power of parliament to impose upon them both laws and taxes, had always at home been held undisputed. In their infant state, however, when struggling with poverty and danger, there had been neither motive nor disposition to enforce these claims; and the occasional attempts to subvert their privileges having been made in a violent manner by arbitrary and unpopular monarchs, had excited sympathy among the great body of the nation. The case was altered when they had attained a degree of prosperity which enabled them undoubtedly to make a certain contribution towards the general interests of the empire; and some benefit might reasonably be expected from the vast exertions made in order to promote their security. The effect of these, indeed, appeared in a serious derangement of the national finances. The budget of 1764 exhibited an expenditure hitherto unprecedented, leaving a deficiency of about three millions, which was with difficulty supplied by temporary resources and by encroachment on the sinking fund. Successive changes in the ministry

had raised to its head George Grenville, an honest statesman, of great political knowledge and indefatigable application; but his mind, according to the able view of his character drawn by Burke, could not extend beyond the circle of official routine, and was unable to estimate the result of untried measures. He saw only the emptiness of the British exchequer, the capability of Americans to pay a certain revenue, and the supposed unquestionable right to levy it.

The speech from the throne, at the opening of the session of parliament, [January 10, 1765,] while it recommended the establishment of such regulations as might serve additionally to bind together and strengthen every part of the king's dominions, expressed his majesty's reliance on the firmness and wisdom of parliament in promoting the just respect and obedience due to the laws and *the legislative authority of the British empire*. One of the earliest measures proposed in this session of parliament was Grenville's bill for imposing a stamp duty on the American colonies. On the first reading of the bill, it was opposed as an unjust and oppressive measure by Colonel Barré, an officer who had served with the British army in America, and who was highly distinguished in the House of Commons as an eloquent and zealous advocate of the principles of liberty. Charles Townshend, another member of the house, who afterwards succeeded to the office of Grenville, supported the bill with much warmth, and, after severely reprobating the animadversions it had received from Colonel Barré, concluded his speech by indignantly demanding:—"And now, will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence until they are grown up to a high degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms,—will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?" Barré, in an explanatory speech, after repelling the censure personally addressed to himself, thus forcibly replied to the concluding expressions of Townshend:—" *They planted by your care!* No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and, I will take upon me to say, the most formidable, of any people upon the face of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they preferred all hardships to those which they had endured in their own country from the hands of men who should have been their friends. *They nourished by your indulgence!* They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them,—men, whose beha-

viour on many occasions has caused the blood of those *sons of liberty* to recoil within them,—men, promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. *They protected by YOUR arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; and have exerted a shining valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all their little savings to your emolument. And believe me,—remember, I this day told you so,—that the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still;—but prudence forbids me to explain myself farther. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party spirit; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you; having seen and been conversant with that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has,—but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate,—I will say no more.”

At the second reading of the bill, a petition was tendered against it from all the merchants of London who traded to America, and who, anticipating the effect of the contemplated measure in that country, were struck with alarm for the security of their outstanding debts; but it was rejected in conformity with a rule of the house, that no petition should be admitted against a money bill in its progress. General Conway, a member distinguished alike by the liberality of his political sentiments and the magnanimous resolution of his character, strongly urged the house, on so great an occasion, to relax this rule, which, he asserted without denial, had not always been inflexibly maintained; but the ministers were bent on enforcing it in the present instance, in order to justify the application of it to the American petitions which had now arrived at London, and in some of which it was known that the *right* of Britain to tax the colonies was openly denied. The ministers wished to avoid a discussion of this delicate point, and perhaps imagined that they had gained their end and prevented the prerogative of the parent state from being publicly questioned, when the various petitions from the American provinces were rejected as summarily as the petition of the merchants of London. But in spite of their efforts to smother the flame of this dangerous controversy, it broke forth both in the parliament and the nation before the bill could be passed. Alderman Beckford, who, both as a senator and a magistrate, supported the character of one of the boldest patriots in England, united with General Conway in peremptorily disputing the right of the British parliament to impose taxes on America. Pitt had already, as he afterwards declared, embraced the

same opinion; but he was prevented from yet publicly expressing it by a severe sickness, which rendered him at present incapable of attending to business. The supporters of the bill, thus constrained to argue in defence of a principle which they had hoped to be allowed silently to assume, insisted that the functions and authority of the British legislature extended over all the dominions of the empire; and while they admitted the mutual connection and dependence of the right of being represented and the power of imposing taxes, they assimilated the situation of the colonies to that of Birmingham, Manchester, and other large towns in England, which, having sprung up after the frame of the parliament was adjusted, had never yet obtained a share in the form of *actual* representation,—but, being (in current phrase) *virtually* represented, possessed all the substantial benefit of this popular right. The opponents of the measure replied, that the difference between the condition of those towns and the American provinces was as wide as the Atlantic ocean; that the towns referred to might, not unreasonably, be considered as *virtually* represented in a parliament which contained a copious infusion of interests precisely the same as theirs, and which imposed no burdens upon them but such as were shared by its own members and the whole population of the realm; but that the commercial restrictions by which America was so heavily loaded, for the real or supposed advantage of British merchants and commerce, plainly demonstrated how completely the same ocean which separated the two countries had disjoined the interests or at least the views of their inhabitants, and how absurd was the pretext that the Americans enjoyed even a virtual representation in the British parliament; that the situation of the colonies was analogous rather to the condition of Ireland, which, though so much nearer to Britain, and originally gained to the British dominion by conquest, still retained her own independent legislature; and that the right of the colonies to participate in the same advantage had been hitherto acknowledged by the institution and exerted by the instrumentality of the representative assemblies which they all possessed.

Such was the commencement of that famous controversy respecting the right of Great Britain to tax America, of which the interest was afterwards so widely extended, and the features and topics so forcibly illustrated and amply diversified by the exertions of the ablest writers and politicians in the Old World and the New. At present, indeed, it excited comparatively but little attention in Britain, where its importance was generally undervalued, except within some mercantile circles, where political foresight was quickened by private interest, or aided by superior acquaintance with the condition and sentiments of the colonists. The nation at large, accustomed to regard America as a dependent state, and now flattered with the prospect of deriving from it a considerable mitigation of the burdens of the empire, listened reluctantly to arguments founded on previous instances of British

ascendency exerted for the benefit of particular mercantile classes and channels of commerce, and which yet opposed this prerogative in the only instance that had ever occurred of its exertion for the general and undoubted advantage of the British community. So little impression was produced by the efforts of the opponents of the Stamp Bill, that, after it had finally passed the House of Commons, where two hundred and fifty members voted for it and only fifty against it, it was carried through the House of Lords without a moment's obstruction or a syllable of opposition. It seemed as if the interesting topic of controversy awakened by the measure had not yet penetrated into this elevated region of the legislature; as, so far from being discussed, it was not even adverted to by a single peer.

The bill soon after received the royal assent, and was passed into a law. [March 22, 1765.] It began by referring to the statute of the preceding year, and declaring the necessity of a farther revenue than had been derived from the operation of that measure. In sequence of this preamble, it loaded the colonists with heavy duties, imposed on almost every transaction of a public, judicial, or commercial nature in America, and secured by the requisition, that papers stamped by the British government with the appropriate duties should be essential to the validity of all such transactions. A farther security was derived from the infliction of severe fines attached to every instance of neglect or evasion of the law. The details of this measure were by no means calculated to palliate the tyrannical injustice with which its principle was reproached in America. In addition to the positive weight of the various taxes imposed by the statute, many of them were attached to objects which the colonists considered with a peculiar jealousy of regard. The taxation of judicial proceedings, newspapers, and bills of lading, the indiscriminate rates affixed to papers at the probate offices, and the tax imposed on every degree or diploma conferred by seminaries of learning, have been particularized by American writers as branches of this measure especially offensive to their countrymen. To crown all, it was ordained that the penalties attached to violations of the act should be recoverable in the detested Courts of Admiralty. This was, indeed, to wound America in a part yet galled and inflamed by prior provocation. And thus, with strangely misguided councils, the parent state, instead of attempting to soften and facilitate the introduction of that obnoxious prerogative which she now resolved to exert over a people already disgusted with her treatment of them, contrived to render the first practical introduction of it additionally odious and irritating, by the arbitrary nature of the collateral and subsidiary measures with which it was combined. Perhaps, indeed, it was hoped, in the plenitude of ministerial ignorance, to balance or mollify the displeasure of the colonists by the opposite sentiment with which they might be supposed to regard a slender boon which the

parliament at the same time conferred on them, in permitting American lumber to be carried to all the ports and markets of Europe, and even encouraging by a bounty its importation into Britain. But so trivial was this measure as a compensation, and so unseasonable as a favour, that it was universally regarded either with scorn or total indifference in America, where all other sentiments were swallowed up in the alarm excited by the Stamp Act. Nay, so paramount and engrossing was the importance which the Americans attached to this act, that for awhile they hardly even remarked a contemporary statute by which the parliament required the provincial assemblies to provide quarters for all detachments of British soldiers in America, and to furnish them with beds, fire, and candles, at the expense of the colonies; though their disgust at such a requisition was sufficiently manifested when their attention was roused in the sequel by an attempt to carry it into effect. On the day after the Stamp Act was passed, Franklin communicated the tidings by letter to a friend in his native country, and added,—“The sun of liberty is set; you must now light the lamps of industry and economy.” But his friend prophetically answered, that torches of a very different description would be kindled in this emergency by the Americans.

The colonists had firmly expected that the British government would be deterred by their petitions and remonstrances from persisting in the project of the Stamp Act; and when they learned the actual and opposite result, they were struck with an astonishment approaching, if not amounting, to dismay, and which seemed at first to quell every sentiment and confound every purpose of resistance. In Massachusetts, particularly, where the people had been encouraged to expect from the policy into which they were beguiled even greater advantages than mere deliverance from the Stamp Act, the disappointment was at once overwhelming from its magnitude, and humiliating from a grating sense of the prostration by which they had ineffectually attempted to evade it; and so profound and still was the pause during which the spirit of freedom that pervaded this province was collecting its force and studying the direction in which it might be exerted with the greatest advantage, that some of the partisans of the parent state mistook the preparation for the dispersion of a tempest, and exulted in the fancied victory of British prerogative, on the very brink of the conflict in which it was fated to perish. Hutchinson, among others, partook the delusion, and in letters to England announced that his countrymen were waiting, not to consider if they must submit to a stamp duty, but to learn when its operation was to commence, and what farther taxes were contemplated in case the produce of such duty should fall short of the expectations of the ministry. This man's influence and authority in Massachusetts were now entirely and for ever blasted; yet was he able, during the first confusion of public feeling, by dint of his address and of the remain-

ing advantages of his situation, to procure from the Assembly the re-election of himself and some of his partisans into the provincial council, where, still occupying the helm of affairs, he continued his exertions to direct the constitutional organs of the state against the adverse tide of popular sentiment and opinion, until it swelled to such a height as to overwhelm himself and all who adhered to him.



GOVERNOR BERNARD, in the speech with which he opened the session of the Assembly, forbore to make any express reference to the subject with which every mind was principally engrossed, the Stamp Act, [June, 1765;] nor even indirectly alluded to it any farther than by remarking that it was happy for the colonists that their supreme legislature, the British parliament, was the sanctuary of liberty and justice; that their monarch who presided over the parliament, realized the idea of a patriot king; and that, consequently, they would doubtless submit all their opinions to the determinations of a sovereign authority so august, and acquiesce in its measures with a perfect confidence that the just rights of every part of the British empire must be safe in the hands of the conservators of the welfare and liberty of the whole. He expatiated on the advantage which the colonists must derive from the permission to carry their lumber to European markets, which would furnish them with sufficient means to pay for the commodities they imported from Britain, and obviate every motive for persisting in vain attempts to transplant manufactories from their ancient and settled abodes. This speech was followed shortly after by a message recommending a pecuniary grant to Hutchinson in recompense of his services as lieutenant-governor. Never were services more unseasonably recommended to grateful consideration. The Assembly took as little notice of the governor's speech as he had taken of the circumstance most interesting to their feelings and to the liberty and happiness of their country; but to his message they answered that they would make no grant whatever to the lieutenant-governor. Without a moment's delay, they proceeded to review and discuss the treatment they had received from the parent state; and, more desirous to mature their councils than to divulge their sentiments and designs, they appointed a select committee of their own body to concert and report the measures most suitable to the existing emergency. In conformity with the report of this committee, they soon embraced a purpose of decisive efficacy, and which originated the machinery of the American Revolution. They voted a declaration or resolution importing that they were sensible of the difficulties of the predicament in which the American colonies were placed by the late British statutes; that it was highly expedient that there should be held with all convenient speed a convention of committees from the Assemblies of all the British colonies, to consult upon the present circumstances of the American

people, and the difficulties to which they were and must yet farther be reduced by the operation of the acts of parliament imposing duties and taxes upon them, and to concert a general and humble address to his majesty and the parliament imploring relief; that the meeting should be held at New York, on the first Tuesday of the month of October following; and that letters should forthwith be prepared and transmitted to the speakers of the respective Assemblies in British America, acquainting them with this measure, and inviting their accession to it.

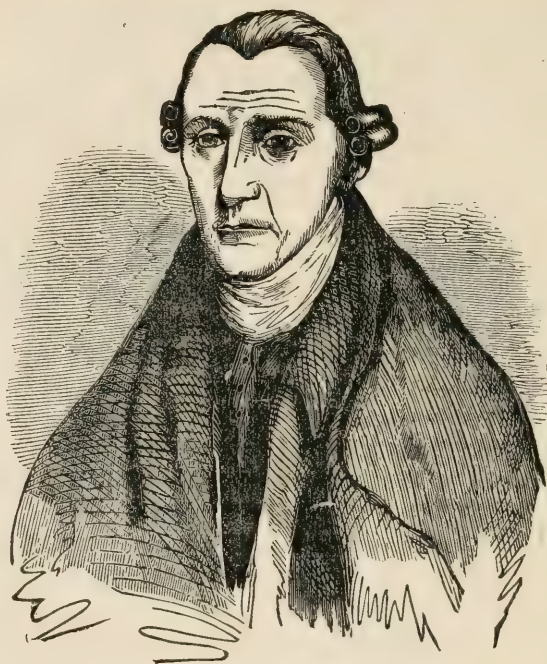
The project, thus announced, of strengthening the voice, and eventually the force of the American States, by combining their councils, was so firmly, yet temperately expressed, that the governor and his party did not venture to oppose it. Its promulgation was highly agreeable to the people, whose hopes were farther animated, and their spirit additionally roused by the tidings which they now received of the courageous and determined expression, in other colonies, of sentiments congenial to their own. The parliamentary edict by which the stamp duty was definitely decreed did not deter some of the patriots of New York from repeating with undiminished, nay, with increased, force and spirit, the objections by which they had previously withstood its proposed introduction; and in a popular newspaper of this province, there was published an inquiry into the soundness of the ministerial pretexts for taxing the colonies, which, considering the sentiments and temper so recently displayed by the inhabitants of New York, was calculated to produce a very powerful impression upon their minds, and, being now republished in New England, was there perused by the people with equal avidity and approbation. This treatise, or rather manifesto, demonstrated, in brief, forcible and perspicuous terms, the absurdity of applying the doctrine of virtual representation in the British parliament to the American colonies. As every distinct interest in a commonwealth, it was insisted, ought to have its due influence in the administration of public affairs, so each of those interests should possess the power of appointing representatives proportioned in number to its own importance in the general scale of the empire. When two interests are so radically inconsistent, that the promotion of the one must be necessarily and proportionally injurious to the other, it is impossible that these two can unite in the same political system; and hence, if the interests of Britain and her colonies cannot (which, however, the treatise with more or less sincerity denied) be made to coincide,—if the welfare of the mother country, for example, require a sacrifice of the most valuable political rights of the colonists,—then, the connection between them ought to cease, and sooner or later must inevitably be dissolved, in a manner, perhaps, ruinous to one or both of the countries. The British nation, it was maintained, could not longer pursue a policy towards her colonies, diametrically opposite to the principles of her own domestic government, without either wit-

nessing the conversion of this government altogether into a system of arbitrary power, or provoking the colonists to reject their partial burdens, and to assert that freedom which was denied them by men who themselves had no better right to it. The doctrine of virtual representation was derided by the plea, that, if Americans might be represented in England without their own knowledge or consent, Englishmen might, by parity of reason and similitude of process, be represented in America. The laws passed in the colonies, it was declared, after obtaining the royal assent, were equivalent to acts of parliament; and hence, in conformity with the new ministerial doctrines, the provincial assemblies might at some future period be rendered instrumental by the crown to the taxation of England. Even if it could be proved (which was denied) that there were towns and corporations in England, of which the situation was entirely analogous to that of the colonies, this circumstance, it was maintained, could serve to show only that some of the English as well as all the Americans, were injured and oppressed, without affording the slightest apology for the oppression. It was denied that such terms as *dependence* or *independence* could ever be justly employed to characterize the situation of the colonies. They were a *part* of the British dominions; and, in an empire pervaded by the same political principles, how, it was asked, could one part be said to be dependent on another? All the parts, indeed, were reciprocally dependent on each other for the promotion and the secure and convenient enjoyment of their common and respective rights; but they derived these rights from the Author of nature, and not from the generosity or indulgence of their equals.

There was nothing which contributed at this period more effectually to cherish the warmth and propagate the influence of sentiments of liberty in America, than the resolutions embraced and published by the Assembly of Virginia,—and which, as they were prior in actual date to the proceedings of all the other provincial Assemblies, have enabled this state to claim the honour of giving the earliest impulse to American resistance. Yet, many of the inhabitants, and almost all the leading politicians of Virginia, though they had withstood the purposes, were averse to dispute the commands of the British government, and accounted the submission of the colonies to the Stamp Act unavoidable. Considering their countrymen as not yet able to make effectual resistance to the power of Britain, they shrunk even from the discussion of a topic calculated to promote opinions and awaken passions which might beget a premature revolt. Nor were these sentiments confined to Virginia. Some of the most eminent patriots and politicians of the other provinces were unwilling to abet or encourage an opposition which they believed could not possibly be successful, and even used means to reconcile their countrymen to the Stamp Act, or at least to engage their submission to it. It was asserted in a popular news-

paper of Pennsylvania, that the produce of the new stamp duties, for the first five years, was to be applied to the improvement of roads and the multiplication of bridges in America. Even Franklin, who considered the Stamp Act as inferring the total eclipse of American liberty, with a policy which would have drawn on any other man the most dangerous suspicions, engaged his friend Ingersoll, a patriotic and respected citizen of Connecticut, who was in England with him at the time when the act was passed, and had aided him in opposing it, to accept the appointment, which the ministry tendered to him, of distributor of stamps in his native province; and so little did he forebode the opposition which was to ensue, or the loss of popularity which his friend was to incur by accepting a share in the administration of the obnoxious law, that, when Ingersoll was departing for America, he charged him to communicate a gay, yet politic, counsel to the colonists, saying,—“Go home, and tell our countrymen to get children as fast as they can,” meaning, that America was not yet sufficiently populous to undertake a forcible assertion of her rights. Many of the Americans, however, entertained a different opinion, and, revolting from the idea of propagating slaves, determined that the birthright of freedom which they inherited from their fathers should be transmitted unimpaired to their own descendants.

It was by a party who cherished this generous sentiment that Patrick Henry was elected a member of the present Assembly of Virginia, for the express purpose of supporting and animating the expected opposition to the late measure of the British government. But so much reluctance and hesitation to handle or even approach this dangerous subject prevailed in the Assembly, and especially among those members whose rank and talents had secured to them hitherto a leading influence in its councils, that nearly the whole of the session was suffered to elapse without the slightest allusion having been made to the Stamp Act; when, at length, only three days before the appointed adjournment of the Assembly, the topic which engrossed every mind, though no tongue had yet ventured to broach it, was abruptly introduced by Henry. After waiting thus long, in the hope of being preceded, in a matter so momentous, by some member of more established credit in the house, this intrepid politician produced to the Assembly, and proposed for its adoption, a series of resolutions affirming, in the most unqualified terms and determined tone, that the Virginian colonists had originally imported with them from Britain, and ever since claimed, enjoyed, and transmitted, an entire participation in every political right and franchise competent to Britons; that the most substantial and valuable part of their political birthright was the privilege of being taxed exclusively by themselves or their representatives; that they had uninterruptedly exercised this privilege by the instrumentality of their provincial Assembly; and that it had been constantly recognised by the king and people of Great



PATRICK HENRY.

Britain, and never yet voluntarily resigned or justly forfeited. This overture of Henry was encountered with the warmest opposition; nor is it surprising that among its most zealous opponents were some of the persons who had distinguished themselves by promoting the petitions of the preceding year, which expressed doctrines substantially the same with those advanced in the present resolutions. The same consideration of their own superior wealth and patrimonial stake in the province, which animated the zeal of these persons in *reprobating* parliamentary taxation, naturally operated to deter them from *resisting* it,—to which they would doubtless seem to pledge themselves by applying their former language to the present altered posture of affairs. That language, however, though disregarded by the parent state to which they addressed it, had produced an effect far exceeding their views and expectations in the colony, and roused in the great mass of its inhabitants a spirit of opposition to tyranny, undiluted and unbounded by prudential considerations.

The most violent debates ensued upon the motion of Henry, who, loaded

with abuse and galled by menaces from some of his opponents, was provoked at one stage of the discussion to a tone of defiance, which produced a remarkable scene. "Cæsar," he exclaimed, "had his Brutus! Charles the First, his Cromwell! and George the Third,"—here he was interrupted by a cry of *Treason!* raised by the speaker and echoed from all parts of the house; but drowning the cry by the commanding elevation of his own voice, and baffling the charge with superior presence of mind, he resumed the thread of his discourse with these words,—“George the Third, I say, *may profit by their example*. If this be treason, make the most of it!” We may judge of the temper which Henry found or created in an Assembly which could embrace a measure thus advocated,—thus openly associated with revolt and regicide. How altered was the strain of public sentiment in Virginia, since the days in which the peculiar boast of this province was the romantic gallantry with which it espoused the interests of monarchy against the arms of Cromwell! The resolutions, though opposed by every member who had hitherto enjoyed any pre-eminence or particular consideration in the Assembly, and, among others, by several individuals who were afterwards distinguished as bold and generous champions of American liberty, were finally carried [May 28, 1765] by a small majority of votes. Fauquier, the lieutenant-governor of the province, no sooner learned this proceeding than he dissolved the Assembly. But they had already set the example of resistance, and kindled or seasonably nourished a flame which was to spread over all America. Their resolutions were circulated and republished in every one of the states; and everywhere they produced a glow of kindred feeling and purpose. The spirit of resistance thus awakened was sustained by the prospect of that powerful organ of its expression which was suggested by Massachusetts, and gradually mounted to such a height, that before the first of November, when the Stamp Act was appointed to take effect, the execution of this unhappy measure had become obviously and utterly impracticable.

Amidst the general agitation, all at once a number of party names came into vogue, and operated with their usual efficacy in augmenting the warmth and acrimony of political affections and passions. The distinctive epithets of *Whig* and *Tory*—hitherto little used in America, where they were known merely as the titles bestowed on each other by two parties in the parent state, of which the one was understood to be friendly to liberty, and the other to arbitrary power—were now employed in all the provinces, and especially in Massachusetts, with as much animosity as signalized the dissensions of that remarkable era when they were first introduced into England. The partisans of American liberty assumed to themselves the title of Whigs, and gave the appellation of Tories to the custom-house officers, the other functionaries appointed by the crown, and in general to all persons who administered the authority or supported the pretensions of

the parent state in America. But the favourite appellation was suggested by the speech of Colonel Barré in the House of Commons, which obtained in all the provinces the warmest sympathy and applause, and in conformity with which the more ardent patriots everywhere appropriated to themselves the animating title of *Sons of Liberty*. The justice of the pretensions preferred by the parent state was denied, and the whole tenor of her policy towards America was vilified in speeches, pamphlets, and newspapers, which addressed the reason and the spirit of the colonists with every argument and consideration fitted to kindle resentment and justify resistance. If liberty, it was declared, be the peculiar due of those who have sense enough to know its value and fortitude enough to incur every danger and difficulty for the sake of its acquisition, then are the inhabitants of America more truly entitled to this blessing than even the people of Great Britain. The founders of the American commonwealths, it was justly remarked, had been originally constrained by oppression and hardship to emigrate from Britain; at their own cost, and with infinite toil and suffering, they had reared those institutions, and planted that system of freedom, of which Britain now attempted to bereave their descendants. Their acceptance of royal charters, it was insisted, could not reasonably infer any obligation beyond that allegiance which the supreme head of the realm might claim indiscriminately from all its subjects. The assistance which Britain had contributed to the defence of the colonies, it was argued, must be accounted either a friendly or an interested service. If it was an act of kindness, the colonists were willing to return a suitable proportion of gratitude; if it was a mercenary act, it was already repaid by the tribute derived from the restrictions of their commerce. But never had it been demanded by Britain, or conceded by the colonists, that the surrender of their liberties to her was to be the price of this service. It was denied that the submission of the colonists, on former occasions, to acts of parliament affecting their municipal institutions, afforded any fair precedent in support of the present claims of Britain. These exertions of parliamentary authority, it was passionately declared, were such stretches of arbitrary power, as the Americans would now no more submit to, than the English would endure a repetition of the *Star Chamber* jurisdiction established by Charles the First, or of the *dispensing power* usurped by James the Second. They were pronounced equal to any of the arbitrary acts of Louis the Fourteenth.

A controversy, which came home to the bosoms of all classes of people in a great community, could not long be conducted in this animated strain, without provoking some violent and tumultuary proceeding. It was impossible that the people could hear it incessantly repeated or insinuated that America would not submit to the tyranny of England, without demonstrating some degree of readiness or inclination to verify the boast. The tumults which ensued might perhaps have been averted, if it had been pos-



LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

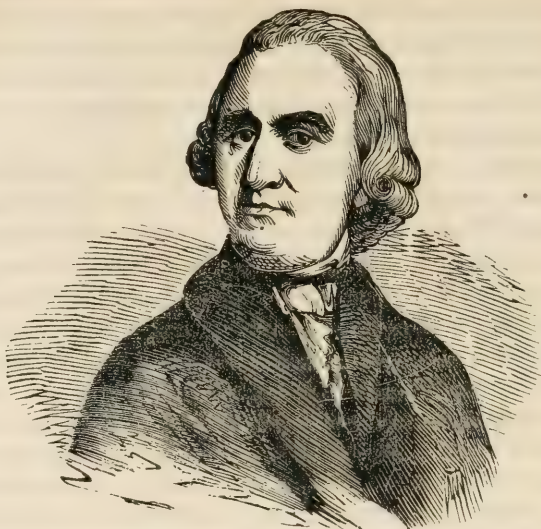
sible to convoke at an earlier period the projected convention, and to have soothed the general inquietude by presenting the image of a deliberative body engaged in concerting the most effectual measures for common defence, and on whose wisdom and spirit the hopes of America might securely repose. But ere the time appointed for the convention had arrived, the rising ardour of the people became impatient of farther inaction; and it was additionally stimulated by the consideration which now began to occur, that the proceedings of the convention could not possibly have any effect or even be known in Britain, before the date at which the Stamp Act enjoined that its operation should commence. The influence of this consideration was not confined to the poorer and less reflective classes of the colonists; it was partaken by some of the most distinguished inhabitants and considerate politicians of Massachusetts, who fomented the ardour

already overboiling in the breasts of their fellow-citizens, and cordially desired to witness an explosion of popular violence, which they vainly expected to moderate and restrain from outrageous excess, and which, thus confined, they hoped would not appear disproportioned to the provocation, but operate beneficially in illustrating the past, and imparting animation and efficacy to the future addresses of the American assemblies to Britain. Perhaps, also, a vague hope was entertained that a show of resistance might yet contribute to avert the fatal precedent of even a temporary operation of the Stamp Act. Nevertheless, it is generally admitted that neither the populace of Massachusetts nor the more considerate directors of their proceedings contemplated the extent, whether of evil or of good, that resulted from the first impulse that was given to the whirlwind of riot and anarchy.

The tumultuary scene which had formerly been produced in this province, by the attempt to subject the people to naval impressment, afforded an instance where riot was promoted by the leading inhabitants without detection, was conducted by the mass of the people with entire impunity, and issued in a successful vindication of the provincial liberties. It was at present the more easy, though, doubtless, also the more dangerous, to produce a similar explosion in Massachusetts, from the peculiar impression which the late occurrences were calculated to make on the habitual temper and favourite sentiments of this people. Resolute and enterprising, firmly and ardently attached to liberty, and proudly cherishing the conviction that theirs was *the leading province of America*, they had seen *their* representative Assembly alone, of all the American legislatures, when menaced with the approach of arbitrary power, beseech exemption from it as an indulgence, instead of protesting against it as an act of tyranny and injustice; and they had envied the bolder tone of other Assemblies, even while they cherished the delusive hope of reaping advantage from the submissiveness evinced by their own. Among other sentiments excited in this province by the intelligence that the Stamp Act had passed, was a painful embarrassment mixed with strong resentment, and derived from the remembrance of that language in which they had so lately characterized this measure, while they ineffectually petitioned against it. The embarrassment of the Assembly was sufficiently manifested by the caution with which they forbore now either to repeat their former language or abruptly to assume a different strain; and their purpose was rather insinuated than expressed by the reference to a general convention, in which it was securely foreseen that the resolution to assert the *rights* of America would prevail. Proportioned to the restraint thus imposed on the expression of public sentiment and opinion through its constitutional organ, was the rage and mortification which swelled in the bosoms of the mass of the people, and at length transported them into acts of unbounded license and disorder.

Whether the first indulgence of their passion was instigated by the counsel, or merely supported by the known sympathy and approbation, of the more considerable inhabitants, is matter of uncertain conjecture ; but the former supposition derives some weight from the comparative order and limitation which marked the outset of the violence, but which were completely discarded in the course of its progress.

On the morning of the 14th of August, [1765,] there appeared suspended to a tree, which, in the sequel, acquired much notoriety and received the name of Liberty Tree, in the main street of Boston, effigies representing Andrew Oliver, the brother-in-law of Hutchinson, who had been appointed by the British government to be the distributor of stamps in Massachusetts, and of Lord Bute, who was generally regarded and detested as the secret author of every arbitrary measure embraced by the British king and court. Hutchinson, as chief justice, commanded the sheriffs to remove these insulting and menacing emblems ; but the sheriffs either durst not or were not disposed to obey. The council, convoked by the governor, declined in like manner to exasperate the people by opposing a manifestation of their sentiments, which, though indecent, was attended with no immediate violence or breach of the peace. At night the images were taken down and carried on a bier, amidst the acclamations of a vast multitude of people, through the court-house, and thence down King Street to the stamp-office, which Oliver, in anticipation of his functions, had lately caused to be erected. This building was instantly levelled with the ground, and the rioters were proceeding thence to Fort Hill, in order to conclude their operations by burning their pageantry, when the appearance of Oliver's house, situated in that neighbourhood, tempted them with a new object on which to wreak the rage with which they were blazing. Hutchinson vainly endeavoured to exert his authority in defence of his kinsman's property ; the insurgents, loading him with insult, roughly thrust him aside, and having broken into the house, from which the family had fled, demolished the windows and part of the furniture. On the following day, [August 15,] Oliver commissioned some of his friends to announce at the exchange that he had declined the office of stamp-master ; a resignation which he was compelled to repeat again in the evening, in order to satisfy the doubts and soothe the gathering passion of a great concourse of people assembled round a bonfire. The populace, however, were but partially appeased. Accounting Oliver no longer a fit object of resentment, they resolved to discharge upon Hutchinson the violence for which they were prepared ; and, accordingly marching to his house, demanded immediate assurance of the truth or falsehood of a report that he was a favourer of the Stamp Act. Hutchinson, whether from a punctilious sense of dignity, or from unwillingness to commit himself by any public declaration that might be offensive to the British government, declined to appear before their tumult.



SAMUEL ADAMS.

tuous array, or to return any answer to their requisition; and they were on the point of commencing a general attack upon his house, when they were diverted from this purpose by the exertions of a prudent and popular citizen, who justly feared that such an outrage would discredit their cause and endanger the advantage which it had already obtained. He pledged himself that Hutchinson was opposed to every parliamentary statute injurious to the country; he declared that it was insulting and unreasonable to require the public appearance of the lieutenant-governor and chief justice in this disorderly manner; and urged his hearers not to stain their proceedings with the iniquity of maltreating an individual who had spent forty years of his life in the service of the province. The people, yielding rather to their habitual deference to this speaker than to the force of his arguments, complied for the present with the counsel he gave, and quietly dispersed themselves.

So far, the career of popular violence seemed to be attended with success, and was almost wholly exempted from blame. Hardly a voice was raised in condemnation of disorderly force directed against an object so unpopular, and yet exerted with so much discrimination and self-control. Even Samuel Adams, one of the wisest and most austere virtuous citizens of Massachusetts, was known to approve the demolition of the stamp office. The misfortune was that the populace, inflamed by triumphant and applauded violence, had tasted a gratification which it was much easier



STAMP ACT RIOT.

to tempt them to repeat than to persuade them to relinquish or restrain within moderate bounds. At the very time when the tempest was supposed to have entirely subsided, it burst out again with redoubled fury. Its second eruption was preceded by various unfounded rumours, and among others, that in consequence of Oliver's resignation, the governor had undertaken to conduct the distribution of the stamps. On Sunday, the 25th of August, Mayhew, a popular preacher in Boston, delivered from his pulpit a sermon in which the Stamp Act was warmly condemned, and to which, with extreme rashness, if not from unbecoming and incendiary zeal, he prefixed the text, "*I would they were even cut off which trouble you.*"

At twilight, on the following day, [August 26, 1765,] the kindling of a bonfire served as the signal of assemblage to a large, disorderly multitude, who repaired in the first instance to the house of Story, the deputy registrar of the Court of Admiralty, and, forcing their way into it, destroyed all his private papers as well as the records and files of the court. Hallowell, the comptroller of the customs, was the next object of their vengeance. They broke into his house, and not only demolished all his furniture, but rioted on the liquors in his cellar till intoxication heightened their rage to frenzy. In this condition they directed their course to the dwelling of Hutchinson, where, partaking the tranquil happiness of domestic life, which the warmth and tenderness of his private affections peculiarly fitted him to enjoy, he sat unexpectant of the storm that was preparing to burst

upon him and to desolate the scene of his felicity. Notice of their danger was conveyed to him and his family barely in time to enable them by a precipitate flight to save their lives from the frantic populace, whose rage was not satiated till it had converted the finest house in the province into a mass of ruins. The very partition walls were beaten down; the furniture destroyed; the family paintings and plate defaced; a large sum of money pillaged; and a valuable collection of books and manuscripts, the fruit of thirty years' labour, almost entirely annihilated.

These acts of outrageous violence were, with more or less sincerity, generally deplored or condemned. A numerous meeting of the citizens of Boston, including all the principal inhabitants and leading politicians of the place, assembled the next day, and unanimously resolved that the select-men and magistrates should be directed to employ their utmost endeavours to prevent a repetition of the late disorders, and should be assisted in this duty by a *civic guard*, which the meeting directly proceeded to organize. It was not merely by the wealthy, the timid, and the partisans of Britain, that this measure was promoted. So much shocked were all the considerate friends of liberty with the extravagance which the populace had committed, and so anxious to disavow it and to manifest their zeal to guard against its recurrence, that, if the attempt could now have been made to carry the Stamp Act into execution, the cause of British prerogative would have gained a great and perhaps decisive advantage. But this advantage was lost by delay, and counterbalanced by the impolitic behaviour of the governor. At the very time when he would have been effectually supported in measures tending to repress all violent opposition to established authority, he made an unseasonable concession to the popular desires, and gave a colour of utility and good policy to the late commotion, by publishing a declaration that he had no authority to distribute the stamps, and harboured no such imprudent purpose as the assumption of functions which did not belong to him. He proffered, indeed, in conjunction with the council, very large rewards for the discovery of the rioters, and especially their ringleaders; but it was easier to discover than to convict or punish them. One of the ringleaders, a tradesman of some note, was apprehended by the sheriffs, but instantly released by them without even the formality of an inquiry, in consequence of a threat from a large and respectable portion of the civic guard, that they would disband themselves the moment he was committed to prison. Eight or ten persons of inferior condition were actually imprisoned, and some disclosures injurious to more important characters were expected from them; but they were soon placed beyond the reach of danger by the resolute interposition of a numerous body of their fellow-citizens, who, assembling without noise or tumult, in the night, compelled the jailer to surrender his keys. The prisoners were liberated without obstruction or commotion, and enabled by

their friends to live in exile or concealment till every prospect of a judicial visitation of their offence had vanished. The leading politicians of Massachusetts now took especial care to restrain the popular ardour from exploding again with that active violence which had proved so dangerous and ungovernable ; but gradually recovering their confidence, without discarding their caution, and animated by the behaviour of the other colonies, they steadily pursued the purpose of cultivating among their fellow-citizens a spirit of resistance, in unison with a bias to that policy without which resistance could not be successfully undertaken. Among other expedients adopted for this purpose was the institution of a new political journal, of which the tendency was illustrated by the emblematic device prefixed to it,—a snake cut into pieces, each bearing the initial letters of the name of one of the American provinces, and the whole surmounted by the motto *Join or Die*.

The explosion of popular wrath and impatience in Massachusetts produced, or at least promoted, corresponding movements and convulsions in the other colonies, of which those that occurred in Rhode Island and Providence were the most violent. About ten days after the first commotion at Boston, a gazette extraordinary was published at Providence, with the motto, *Vox Populi, vox Dei*, and underneath, the text, *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty* ; and effigies of persons accounted partisans of British prerogative, were exhibited with halters about their necks, and were hanged upon a gallows, and afterwards cut down and burned amid loud and universal acclamations. Three days after, a similar ceremonial was performed by the inhabitants of Newport ; but it seemed to have inflamed, instead of satiating, their rage ; for, assembling on the following day, [August 28,] they attacked and destroyed the houses of Howard, a lawyer, and Moffat, a physician, of whom the first had defended the pretensions of parliament with his pen, and the second in conversation had supported the same opinion. Johnston, the distributor of stamps, saved his house from a similar fate by publicly declaring that he would never undertake a function offensive to his countrymen. In Connecticut, about the same time, the people at sundry places exhibited, in contumelious parade, and committed to the flames, the effigies of Ingersoll, the distributor of stamps, and of various other individuals who advocated the authority of Britain or recommended the submission of America ; and the resentment at length became so general and alarming, that Ingersoll thought proper to resign the obnoxious office, which he had not accepted without hesitation and reluctance, overcome by the urgency of Dr. Franklin. A similar resignation was produced by the spirit displayed at New York, where the Stamp Act was contemptuously reprinted and hawked about the streets, under the title of *The Folly of England and Ruin of America*. The project of obstructing the execution of this act by inducing the offi

cers charged with its administration to resign their functions, was successively embraced by all the British provinces in America, except Nova Scotia and Canada, which submitted to the act: and it was aided by the policy which induced the British government to confide these functions to natives of America. Messervé, the distributor of stamps for New Hampshire, son of a brave officer of this province, who was slain at the last siege of Louisburg, in deference to the wishes of his countrymen resigned his office with an alacrity which they rewarded with the warmest approbation.



THE establishment of the first newspaper in New Hampshire, which took place in the present year, contributed greatly to the animation and diffusion of public spirit, [September, 1765.] Mercer, the distributor of stamps for Virginia, resigned his office as readily as Messervé had done, and obtained equal applause. The justices of the peace for the county of Westmoreland, in this province, gave public notice that they had declined any longer to exercise judicial functions which might be rendered instrumental to the ruin of their country's liberty; and the Virginian lawyers in general declared their resolution rather to abandon their occupation than conduct it with stamped papers. Hood, the distributor for Maryland, to avoid resigning his office, fled to New York; but he was quickly pursued thither by a number of the freeholders of his native province, whose remonstrances induced him to subscribe, and even attest on oath before a magistrate, a document importing his absolute and final resignation. In Pennsylvania, Allen, the son of the chief justice, and other public-spirited politicians, chiefly of the Presbyterian persuasion, endeavoured vainly for some time to persuade Hughes, the distributor, to resign his office. Even the proprietary party united with them in this attempt, from personal dislike to Hughes, who had seconded all Franklin's measures, had been the chief promoter of his late mission to England, and whom Franklin, in return, had recommended to the British government as a fit person to execute the Stamp Act in Pennsylvania, if the Stamp Act were to be executed at all. That Franklin's own popularity escaped unharmed by so much active co-operation with the policy of the British government is not the least memorable instance of the good fortune that controlled and shaped the ends of his political career. Hughes was supported in his refusal to resign by the Quakers, and by a number of the Baptists, and of the partisans of the church of England, who were willing to submit to the statute. The Assembly, however, of which the Quakers no longer possessed the command, gave a vigorous impulse to the public spirit by unanimously protesting that the only legal representatives of the provincial population were the persons elected to serve as members of Assembly; and that the taxation of the province by any other persons whatsoever was unconstitu-

tional, unjust, subversive of liberty, and destructive of happiness. Resolutions of the same tenor were passed shortly after by the Assemblies of Connecticut and Maryland. Finally, Hughes was constrained to resign [October 5] by the strong manifestation of public feeling produced in Philadelphia by the approach of the ships conveying the stamped papers from England; on which occasion all the vessels in the harbour hoisted their colours half-mast high, and a melancholy peal was tolled from the muffled bells of the churches. Ere the arrival of the day when the execution of the Stamp Act was appointed to commence, every distributor of stamps in America had resigned his office. The hopes and spirits of the colonists were animated by the tidings of the change of ministry which took place in England in the course of the summer, when Grenville and his colleagues were deprived of power, in consequence of a disagreement between them and the king, respecting the terms of the regency bill; and a new administration was formed, at the head of which was the Marquis of Rockingham, a liberal Whig, and in which the office of secretary of state was held by General Conway.

The time had now arrived, when the measure suggested by Massachusetts was to be carried into effect; and on the appointed day there assembled, in the town of New York, a convention, composed of twenty-eight delegates from the Assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. The Assembly of New Hampshire, for some unexplained reason, neglected to send delegates to this convention; and the Assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were prevented from electing delegates by the expedient of long adjournments which the governors of these provinces had recourse to for this purpose. But no substantial advantage was gained by this attempt to disunite the colonies. On the contrary, they were prompted more strongly than ever to cherish the purpose of union by the opposition which this purpose received from the detested partisans of British prerogative; and the Assemblies of the four colonies which were not represented on this occasion, took the earliest opportunity to pass resolves and transmit memorials and petitions studiously accommodated to the sentiments and language of its proceedings. Colden, the governor of New York, attempted, by the expedient of adjournment, to prevent the Assembly over which he presided from contributing to the composition of the convention; but a committee of management, which the Assembly had elected in the preceding year to conduct extraordinary business emerging during its adjournments, undertook, with general approbation, to counteract the governor's policy, and elect delegates to represent itself and its constituents. In Massachusetts, Bernard and Hutchinson, instead of withstanding the nomination of delegates, had endeavoured to make it fall upon their own partisans. Their intrigues for this purpose

were but partially successful ; and though they were able to introduce dissension among the delegates of Massachusetts, they failed in the attempt a second time to stifle or disguise the sentiments of the province. Ruggles, whose appointment to be one of the delegates was the fruit of their exertions, refused to acquiesce in the measures of his colleagues ; but his dissent was disregarded by the convention, and punished in his native province by a censure of the Assembly, and by the general contempt and displeasure of the people. Ogden, one of the delegates from New Jersey, also refused his assent to the proceedings of his colleagues ; for which he was afterwards hanged and burned in effigy by his fellow-citizens.

The first measure of the convention was a declaration of the rights and grievances of the American colonists ; in whose behalf they claimed a full participation in all the franchises and liberties of subjects born within the realm of Great Britain,—of which the most essential were the exclusive power of taxing themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury. The grievance chiefly complained of was the Stamp Act, which, by taxing the colonists without their own consent, and by extending the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty, was declared to have a direct tendency to bereave them of their birthright of freedom. In conformity with these views, a petition to the king and a *memorial* to each house of parliament were composed and signed by the members of the convention ; representing, in firm, yet loyal and respectful language, that they were animated not less by attachment to the person, family, and government of the king, than by zeal for the preservation of those principles of liberty which had been incorporated with the first establishment of all the American communities ; that they acknowledged a *due* subordination to parliament, consistently with the possession of an equal share in the system of political liberty enjoyed by the natives of Britain ; that, while all British subjects were entitled to the privilege of being taxed only by their own representatives, the remote situation of the colonies rendered it impracticable that they should be represented except in their own subordinate legislatures ; that, as the colonial settlements, on the one hand, had contributed to render Britain the most extensive and powerful empire in the world, so the colonists, on the other, esteemed a connection with Britain their greatest happiness and safeguard ; that the permanence of this connection would be most securely established by making liberty and justice its pillars, and practically demonstrating that the *inherent* rights and liberties of the people of America reposed on the principles of the British constitution ; that the American legislatures possessed in sound theory, and in actual practice had always hitherto enjoyed, the same authority which the parliament of Ireland still retained, and which the Americans had never deserved to forfeit nor consented to forego ; that the commercial duties lately imposed by parliament invaded this rightful authority, and introduced an odious distinction between the Americans and

their fellow-subjects in Europe; that, without waiving their *claim* to be exempted from such impositions altogether, they complained of them as burdensome in their extent and grievous in their particular operation; and that they earnestly and humbly entreated the redress of their wrongs and restoration of their just rights and liberties.



HAVING concluded these transactions, and transmitted along with the reports of them a recommendation to all the colonies to appoint special agents in England who should unite their utmost endeavours in soliciting justice to America, the convention dissolved itself. The general approbation with which its proceedings were regarded tended to promote the growing inclination of the

colonists in favour of a system of united councils; and as the provincial Assemblies could not yet venture to advance this system to maturity by establishing a permanent convention, the more zealous politicians in several of the States sought to attain the same object by different and less regular paths, and cultivated the principle of union in a form which, without seeming to combine the force of the colonies, was peculiarly fitted to assimilate the sentiments and inflame the passions of the people. Political clubs and associations were formed in almost all the provinces, and assumed the title of *The Sons of Liberty*. These clubs now began to form treaties of union and correspondence with each other; and, being totally irresponsible for their conduct, freely indulged and inflamed their mutual ardour in secret councils and rival flights of the most daring spirit of resistance and language of menace. Several of them instituted processions, in which copies of the Stamp Act, after having been exposed to public opprobrium, were burned along with the effigies of its chief promoters. One of them proceeded so far as to circulate printed placards, which were even affixed to the doors of public offices, denouncing vengeance on the person, house, and effects of every man who should presume either to distribute or even to make use of stamped paper. The club established at Boston signified its commands to Oliver, long after he had resigned the office of stamp-master, that he should appear on a certain day at the foot of Liberty Tree, and there read aloud a declaration signifying what he had done, and attest it upon oath in presence of a magistrate. In vain he appealed to his former resignation, and entreated, that, if a repetition of this ceremony were necessary, it might be performed in the town-house; the club peremptorily refused to qualify its mandate or spare his humiliation, and he was compelled to obey. Innumerable satires, political proverbs, caricatures, and pasquinades were published; and incessant activity was exerted over all America to render British prerogative and its parti-

sans hateful, contemptible, and ridiculous, and to fortify the cause of liberty by uniting it with attractions adapted to every variety of human taste, temper, and disposition. The most promptly efficacious are not always the most creditable or wholesome measures; and notwithstanding the unquestionable benefit which the interests of liberty derived from those clubs, it is probable that to their operation must be ascribed the harsh and illiberal features by which some of the scenes of the American Revolution were defaced. The mystery which overhangs such associations frequently secures to their mandates and measures a respect and acquiescence from the mass of society, which a disclosure of their real elements and composition would neither merit nor be able to obtain; and in the secrecy of their conclaves, the dishonest, the cruel, and the dastardly are temptingly encouraged, and too often successfully enabled, to urge their ferocious and malignant suggestions in preference to the calmer councils of the just, the liberal, and the truly brave.

The assembling of the convention at New York was an important event for the American States; and that they fully appreciated its importance was plainly shown by the eagerness with which they approved the proceedings of that body, adopted its sentiments and language, and complied with its directions. Among other consequences that resulted from it was the deliverance of the Massachusetts Assembly from the embarrassment which had hitherto restrained its free and open assertion of the *rights* of its constituents. In the month of September, before the convention was held, Governor Bernard, having convoked the Assembly, addressed [September 25] an elaborate speech to it upon the alarming aspect of public affairs. After referring to the recent tumults at Boston with expressions of suitable disapprobation, he undertook the defence of the late ministers of Britain, and of the measures they had pursued. He declared his conviction of the supreme and unlimited authority of parliament; and farther, on grounds of expediency, recommended the unqualified submission of the province to the mandates of a power which it could not resist without augmented distress and inevitable ruin. The ordinary executive government of Massachusetts, he observed, was plainly too weak to contradict authoritatively the late popular declarations that the Stamp Act should not be executed within the province, or to oppose the force by which these declarations were supported; and, therefore, he now invited the provincial legislature either to strengthen the hands of the executive officers in proportion to the emergency, or at once to acknowledge, that, as the Stamp Act could not be executed, so also must all commerce be abandoned, all judicial and magisterial functions suspended, and the whole community resigned to anarchy and confusion. It was the more especially their interest, he assured them, to embrace the former part of the alternative, that they might confidently rely on the redress of all their grievances, provided they

yielded, in the first instance, an implicit obedience to the authority of the parent state.

The Assembly, though still constrained to dissemble the sentiments which they longed to avow, would have been more perplexed by this address, if it had immediately succeeded the Boston riots, or if it had preceded the intelligence already received of the change in the British cabinet, and of the determination expressed by the other provinces to resist the execution of the Stamp Act. After some delay, which they would willingly have prolonged, but which the anxious expectation of the people induced them to abridge, they returned to the governor's address a vague and cautious answer, importing, that, in a qualified sense, they acknowledged the supreme authority of parliament; that they could not presume to adjust the limits of this authority, but could as little hesitate to declare that "there were bounds to it;" that, if an act of parliament was just, it needed neither aid nor confirmation from a subordinate legislature; that, if it was unjust and tyrannical, it was null and void, as were formerly declared all statutes inconsistent with the franchises of Magna Charta; and that it was strange doctrine, and highly disrespectful to parliament, to affirm that it required obedience to an unjust law as a preliminary condition essential to its repeal; that they must desire to be excused from assisting in the execution of an act of parliament which their constituents regarded as subversive of liberty, and inconsistent with the fundamental principle of the British constitution, that taxation and representation are commensurate; that they knew of no general declarations by their countrymen of an intention to prevent the operation of the act of parliament, otherwise than by refraining from the proceedings and transactions which it loaded with imposts; that they saw much misery, but no criminality, in this choice; and, "therefore, must consider it unkind in your excellency to reflect on a province, whose unshaken loyalty and indissoluble attachment to his majesty's person and government were never before called in question, and, we hope *in God*, never will again."



UT no sooner were the well-foreboded proceedings of the New York convention promulgated in this province, than the Assembly, renouncing all further reserve and ambiguity, by a unanimous vote [October 29] declaratorily resolved, that there were certain essential rights recognised by the political constitution of Great Britain, which were founded on the law of God and nature, and were the common property of mankind; that the people of Massachusetts, both by the general principle of birth-right and by the particular terms of their charters, were entitled to participate in these advantages, and could not justly be divested of them by any law of society; that no man could rightfully take either the whole or a part of the property of another without the proprietor's consent; and that on

this principle reposed the main pillar of the British constitution, namely the representation of the people in the same branch of the legislature to which the power of taxing the people was confided; that the citizens of Massachusetts never had been and never could be adequately represented in the British parliament; that, in accordance with their general rights and their particular circumstances, they had always till now enjoyed the privilege of being taxed by their domestic Assemblies alone; that all statutes imposing taxes on them, and enacted by any other authority whatever, were infringements of their *inherent and unalienable rights as men and British subjects*; and, finally, that these resolutions should be preserved on record, in order that a just sense both of liberty and of loyalty might be transmitted to posterity. Bernard, infatuated by insolence and selfish ambition, perceived now the failure of his policy, without, however, discerning or acknowledging its folly. In a wrathful and intemperate address which he delivered soon after to the Assembly, he accused them of having countenanced all the riots that had occurred in Massachusetts, and of being themselves on the eve of open rebellion. To this charge the Assembly promptly replied, that they repelled with scorn and indignation the pretext that they had either encouraged or justified the late riots; but they plainly declared their opinion that the obnoxious laws which had provoked the tumults would never have been embraced by the British parliament without the sinister instigation and pernicious counsel of the functionaries of Britain in America. "Impartial history," they declared, "will record that the people of this continent, after giving the strongest testimonies of their loyalty to his majesty, by making the utmost exertions to defend his territories and enlarge his dominions in this part of the world, gave an equal testimony of a love of liberty and a regard to those principles which are the basis of his majesty's government, by a glorious stand, *even against an act of parliament*, because they plainly saw that their essential, unalienable right of representation and of trial by jury, the very foundation of the British constitution, was infringed, and even annihilated by it."

The day on which the operation of the Stamp Act had been appointed to commence [November 1, 1765] was not suffered to elapse without some remarkable tokens of public feeling in various parts of America. At Boston, it was ushered in by the tolling of bells; shops and warehouses were closed; effigies of the authors and abettors of the act were carried about the streets, and afterwards torn to pieces by the populace. In New Hampshire, the people, who had hitherto behaved with a remarkable degree of calmness and self-control, were now restrained from a general riot only by the assurance of their domestic government that no attempt would be made to execute the obnoxious law. At Portsmouth, the metropolis of the State, as well as in the towns of Newcastle and Greenland, the bells were tolled to denote the decease of liberty, and all the friends of the departed goddess

were invited to attend her funeral, of which the ceremony was performed with much pomp and solemnity. A coffin, splendidly decorated, and bearing the inscription, "Liberty, aged CXLV. years,"* was carried in funeral procession from the State-house of Portsmouth, attended with the music of unbraced drums. Minute guns were fired until the coffin reached the place of interment and was deposited in a grave prepared for its reception, when an oration was pronounced in honour of the deceased friend of the people. Scarcely was the oration concluded, when some remains of life, it was pretended, were discovered in the body, which thereupon was eagerly snatched from the grave. The inscription on the lid of the coffin was immediately altered to *Liberty revived*; a cheerful peal resounded from the bells, and every countenance brightened with joy. Childish and even ridiculous as this pageant may appear to philosophic minds or tranquil spirits, it was well calculated to preserve the sentiment and cherish the earnest purpose of liberty in all classes of the people of New Hampshire.



T New York, the day was signalized by an eruption of popular violence, partly provoked by the impolitic behaviour of the governor in demonstrating his expectation of some such occurrence. In consequence of the resignation of the stamp-master, Colden took possession of the first cargo of stamps that arrived from England, and lodged them in Fort George. He was already the object of much popular dislike, which he contrived to augment by the ostentatious precautions he now adopted for the defence of the stamps in his custody. Offended by this appearance of menace or defiance, the people began to assemble in crowds in the streets, and, with the usual issue of angry and multitudinous congregations, were easily impelled to perpetrate the violence which Colden had imprudently suggested. They began by seizing the governor's coach, in which they carried an effigy of himself to the public gallows, where they suspended the effigy along with a stamped bill of lading and a figure intended to represent the devil; and then, with shouts of execration, transporting the coach, gallows, and effigies to the fort, they burned the whole in triumphant challenge under the very muzzles of the guns. Thence they proceeded to the house of Major James, who had expressed approbation of the Stamp Act, and after plundering it and ravaging his garden, consumed every article of the furniture in a bonfire. On the following day, they readily assembled again at the summons of one of their ringleaders, Isaac Sears, who had formerly commanded a privateer; and, in conformity with his suggestion, clamorously demanded that the stamped paper should be surrendered to their hands. After some negotiation, the governor submitted to deliver it up to the corporation of the city, and it was accordingly deposited in the town-hall. Ten boxes of stamped

* Computed from the landing of the first colonists at Plymouth, in 1620.

paper, which afterwards arrived, were promptly seized by the people and committed to the flames.

The supporters of colonial rights in the higher classes of society at New York were struck with alarm at the riotous outrage committed by their townsmen, and perceived the expediency of constituting prudent leaders for the management and control of the multitude. Having convoked a general meeting of the inhabitants, [November 6,] they proposed a resolution, which was readily embraced, to confide the interests of the province, with respect to British prerogative, to a committee who were authorized to institute a correspondence with all the other colonies. Sears and four other persons were charged with this function, which they exercised with much zeal and efficiency. From the want of such communication with each other, and consequently of union among themselves, many nations have lost their liberties, or failed in their attempts to regain them. In every age and country, the predominance of the few has been supported by the lack of union among the many; and human wisdom has never devised a system more subservient to the political advancement and illumination of the mass of society than a reciprocal exchange of sentiment and intelligence by corresponding committees. One of the earliest effects of the correspondence which was now established was the general adoption and extension of a measure which originated at New York, and proved eminently serviceable in creating within the parent state an interest in unison with the desires of the colonists. The merchants of New York were the first who exemplified the policy of directing their British correspondents to ship no more goods for them until the Stamp Act should be repealed; and they farther declared that they would not sell on commission any goods shipped from Britain after the first of January, in the ensuing year, until the tidings of such repeal should be received. This spirited and patriotic purpose was diffused by the clubs and corresponding committees over all America, and everywhere awakened applause and imitation. A similar non-importation agreement was framed by the merchants of Boston and Philadelphia shortly after; and at a meeting of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, [December,] it was resolved, though not unanimously, that, till the repeal of the Stamp Act, no lawyer should support the suit of an English creditor against an American debtor, nor any American make remittances to England in payment of debts. These Philadelphia resolutions were extremely unjust, but by no means unnatural; for nothing is more congenial to the temper of mankind than to retaliate the injustice which provokes their own impatience and complaint. Even when remonstrating against arbitrary power, the Americans refused to permit Quakers, and other timid or conscientious individuals, to submit, as they were inclined, to the Stamp Act; and to reinforce their own protestations against the injustice of the British parliament, they refused or obstructed the payment

of their debts to the very merchants who had strenuously endeavoured to prevent the injustice of which they complained. It may be reasonably surmised, that, both in this and in other instances, the heated passions of the multitude were artfully directed into channels corresponding with the private interest of sordid and hypocritical counsellors. The non-importation agreement was gradually propagated throughout all America, [1766,] though its terms were not everywhere the same; for in some parts, and especially in New England, it was resolved to adhere to it, until not only the Stamp Act, but also the previous commercial impositions were abolished. In every colony and every class of society, these compacts were enforced by the guardian care of the political clubs, and aided by the formation of collateral conventions, which adopted subsidiary purposes. To encourage a woollen manufacture in America, it was recommended to the colonists to abstain from eating the flesh of lambs. Not a butcher durst afterwards expose a lamb for sale. Instead of wearing British cloth, which was formerly accounted a mark of fashion and gentility, the wealthiest colonists now set the example of clothing themselves in old or in homespun habiliments; and, instead of being married by licenses, on which a duty was now imposed by the Stamp Act, the richer Americans agreed to imitate the procedure of their humbler countrymen, and neither to contract nor countenance marriages celebrated by any other authority than public proclamation in church. Associations were formed and resolutions expressed to abstain from particular luxuries which could be procured only from Britain. The American women distinguished themselves by the eagerness with which they promoted these purposes, and rendered both themselves and the interests of liberty additionally dear to their countrymen by their prompt and cheerful surrender of every ornament and indulgence of which the use was accounted a demonstration of servility or a contribution to the resources of arbitrary power. The domination of Britain was, indeed, much more seriously endangered by the prevalence of industrious and frugal habits among the colonists, than by the most violent and menacing declarations of their provincial Assemblies. Economy is essential to national as well as to individual independence. "Save your money, and you save your country," became a proverb with the people of New England. The self-control and endurance practised by those who dispensed with the costly British luxuries to which they had been accustomed, served at once to loosen the dependence of America on Britain, to prepare the Americans for the rigours of warfare, and to diminish the resources of their enemy and oppressor. So forcibly were these considerations impressed on the mind of Franklin, that, when the proposition for the repeal of the Stamp Act was afterwards entertained in England, he declared his opinion that the interests of America would be more effectually promoted by a suspension of this act, which would at once postpone

a struggle dangerous to the weakness of the colonists and promote among them habits of virtue inconsistent with final or lasting subjugation.

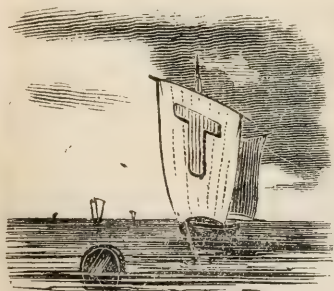
The only semblance of respect which the Stamp Act obtained in America was the general suspension of commercial and judicial business that ensued for a while in almost all the provinces. This state of things could not and did not last long; the people soon resumed their former pursuits, and the provincial magistrates their functions, and risked the consequences of exercising them in defiance of the act of parliament. Courageous traders sent their vessels to sea, without any new ceremony of precaution; more timid merchants and ship-masters gave a colour of legitimacy to their transactions by obtaining certificates that the persons who were appointed distributors of the stamps refused to deliver them. So strong was the current of public will, that the custom-house officers hesitated not a moment to give way to it, and granted clearances to every vessel that sailed without a syllable of objection to the want of stamps. In Rhode Island, the courts of law were never closed for a single day. In Virginia and Maryland, before they had been closed a single month, they were re-opened by general consent. In Massachusetts, most of the judges in the inferior courts gave notice that they would discharge their functions as usual; but the judges of the Supreme Court firmly refused at first to entertain any legal proceedings without stamps; and even the most patriotic of the lawyers were prompted, by inveterate professional prejudice, to account it impossible to conduct judicial business in open disregard of a subsisting act of parliament, however unjust and tyrannical. At length [January 23, 1766] the popular party prevailed so far as to obtain from the Assembly a resolution, "that the shutting up the courts of justice is a very great grievance; and that the judges, justices, and all other public officers in this province ought to proceed as usual." The judges were compelled to yield obedience to this resolution; and the colonists enjoyed the triumph of beholding the mandate of their domestic legislature prevail over the command of the British parliament. The judges, however, declared that they submitted only for self-preservation,—being sensible that they were in the hands of the populace; and, by the connivance of the lawyers, but little judicial business was transacted. In South Carolina, the governor still refused his sanction to the transaction of public business without stamps; but the Assembly, having ascertained that the copy of the Stamp Act transmitted to him from England had been sent in an irregular and unusual manner, laid hold of this pretext, and insisted that he had received no such formal notification of the act as to render it incumbent on them or him to pay any attention to its injunctions.

The consciousness of having thus practically disavowed the authority of parliament and defied its power, seemed to inspire the colonists with additional boldness of tone, and to impart additional spring and latitude

to their speculations and purposes. Treatises were published in the journals of New York, openly denying that the British parliament possessed even the shadow of jurisdiction over America, and limiting the constitutional relation between Britain and America to the common subjection which the two countries acknowledged to the same monarch. The clubs and corresponding committees redoubled their exertions to influence and unite public feeling; and all who had distinguished themselves by peculiar intemperance of language or conduct consulted their safety, or vented their zeal in efforts to implicate the great body of their countrymen as deeply as themselves in demonstration of resistance. A union of all the clubs in America was proposed, approved, and partially accomplished; the members pledging themselves with their lives and fortunes to defend *the British constitution in America* against the measures disclosed in "a certain pamphlet which has appeared in the shape of an act of parliament, called and known by the name of the Stamp Act;" to support each other in all their past and future opposition to those measures; and to bring to condign punishment all betrayers of their country who should promote such measures by assistance or submission. The people in various places were invited to form associations for the protection of their fellow-citizens who had signalized themselves by generous zeal for American liberty. To these invitations the most cordial assurances of support were generally returned. [February.] Most of the towns in Massachusetts replied to an application of this nature, by signifying *the determination of their inhabitants to march with their whole force to the support of the British constitution, and consequently the relief of those that shall or may be in danger from the Stamp Act or its abettors*. Popular license, in short, was carried to the highest pitch it could admit without assuming a different name.

The tidings of all these remarkable events in America were successively transmitted to Britain, where they produced a strong impression on the public mind, together with much contrariety of purpose and opinion. One point, indeed, became every day more undeniably manifest and more pressing urgent. All parties agreed that affairs could no longer be suffered to remain in their present posture, and that Britain must either forthwith exert her utmost force to carry the Stamp Act into execution, or promptly repeal it. Each of these views of policy was espoused by different statesmen, and warmly supported by numerous partisans. The new ministers, and especially Secretary Conway, who formerly denied the power of parliament to tax America, were desirous to repeal the Stamp Act; but their sentiments were perplexed and their language modified, partly by the violent opposition to any such measures by the members and friends of the late cabinet, and partly by the pride naturally attending the possession of power, and by aversion to bend or even to seem to bend

in concession to the hostile and menacing attitude which America displayed. To make war on the Americans in support of the act seemed, if not absolute suicide, at least tantamount to making use of one arm to cut off the other. The prior declarations of parliament and the present temper aroused in the British people forbade every thought of repealing the act on the ground of incompetence; and the violent conduct of the Americans rendered it difficult to reconcile the dignity of the British empire with a repeal founded on the plea of expediency. In circular letters to the provincial governors, Conway expressed the royal displeasure at the riots which had taken place, but added withal, that it was "*hoped* that the resistance to the authority of the mother country had found place only among the lower and more ignorant of the people." In fact, many respectable tradesmen, and even some of the principal inhabitants of various parts of America, had both promoted and partaken the resistance of their countrymen; and of this the ministers received ample and even exaggerated information from the letters of the royal governors. But, eager to procure a repeal of the Stamp Act, both as a measure of good policy and a stigma upon their predecessors, they willingly countenanced the idea that the agitations in the colonies were neither general nor formidable; they wished to confine the discussion of the matter to considerations of equity and commercial expediency; and affecting to believe that the distress, of which many English manufacturers loudly complained at this period, was wholly occasioned by the non-importation compacts of the Americans, they promoted petitions to parliament for a repeal of the Stamp Act from the principal trading and manufacturing towns in England. No instigation was needed to prompt the merchants of London to aid this purpose; they petitioned and exerted all their influence to obtain the repeal.



HE wishes of the ministry were ably seconded by the American agents in Britain, and especially by Dr. Franklin, who was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, [Feb. 3,] with regard to the actual condition of America, and the sentiments, opinions, and conduct of his countrymen. The genius which he displayed on this occasion, with a steady self-possession that gave it the fullest effect,—the extent and

variety of knowledge he manifested,—the clearness and comprehension of his views,—and the graceful, perspicuous, and forcible language in which his testimony was delivered, attracted universal attention and general praise. Of some of his statements the inaccuracy is certain; and the good faith with which they were propounded is, at least, doubtful. He was perplexed

by the inconsistent desires of vindicating the conduct and protecting the interests of his countrymen, on the one hand, and yet of avoiding to wound the pride of the British nation and government, on the other. After delivering a succinct and interesting description of America, he defended the Americans with equal force and ingenuity. He affirmed that they were willing to submit to external taxes imposed by parliament; but reckoned themselves, both as partakers of the British constitution, and also in conformity with a just interpretation of their provincial charters, exempted from the authority of parliament in relation to internal taxes; that the Stamp Act was calculated to operate with especial disadvantage in America, and was the cause of the diminished affection of the colonists to the parent state, and of the late non-importation agreements to which they had resorted; that the effect of a longer subsistence of these agreements would be the permanent establishment of domestic manufacturers in America, and the extinction of the colonial market for British manufactures: that the riots were mere transient and unpremeditated ebullitions of popular passion, condemned by the representative Assemblies, and disavowed by all respectable Americans; and that it would be absurd to send a military force to America in order to execute the Stamp Act, as the soldiers would find nobody prepared or disposed to contend with them, and would have no occasion to use their arms, unless they were to employ them in slaying men for refusing to buy stamped paper. A British army despatched to America, he said, would not find, but might easily create, a rebellion in that country. Franklin, during his present stay in England, had been hitherto agent only for the province of Pennsylvania; but such was the impression of his political genius and sagacity produced in America by the report of this examination, that he was appointed soon after to be agent also for Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Georgia.

The policy of the British ministers was counteracted by the efforts of their parliamentary opponents, who in letters which they exhibited from the royal governors and other officers of the crown in America, found materials for a description very different from Franklin's of the actual state of affairs in the colonies. These functionaries, who had encouraged the authors of the Stamp Act to believe that it would be easily carried into execution, and who had themselves personally sustained numerous indignities in the course of the opposition it eventually provoked, were prompted, both by concern for the reputation of their counsels and by vindictive feelings, to impute the opposition to the intrigues of a few factious men, and at the same time to give the most irritating picture of the excesses with which it was attended. From these representations the friends of the Stamp Act deduced the conclusion, that America had openly defied the power and authority of Britain, and was in a state of actual rebellion. And has it come to this, (they asked,) that Britain must yield to the commands and

menaces of America ; and that parliament must recede from a prerogative which it has solemnly asserted, in accommodation to the will of a handful of British subjects, who, so far from deserving favour or indulgence, merit the severest chastisement for the undutiful insolence they have displayed ? This appeal was but too well calculated to interest the passions of the English—a people remarkably distinguished by their haughty fear of seeming to yield to intimidation, and (like most great nations) much more susceptible of a vigilant jealousy than of a liberal estimate of their dignity and honour. So strong was its effect both in parliament and on the nation at large, that Franklin, who anxiously watched the progress of the discussion, assured his friends in America that in all probability the repeal of the Stamp Act would not be obtained. The embarrassment of the ministers was unexpectedly increased by the openness and impetuous determination with which Pitt, who had now regained his health, and who neither communicated nor acted in concert with them, undertook the defence of the boldest and most objectionable proceedings of the Americans. Inflamed with resentment and disdain by a speech of Grenville, who declared that this people were encouraged to persist in a mad, ungrateful, and rebellious career by reliance on the countenance of some British statesmen,—Pitt warmly replied that such an imputation should never discourage *him*. “We are told that America is obstinate,” he proceeded, “that America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, *I rejoice that America has resisted*. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest.” Deprecating any attempt to execute the Stamp Act, he declared, “I know the valour of your troops and the skill of your officers ; but in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man ; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution with her. The Americans have been wronged ; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned ? No ; let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper.” He concluded by declaring his opinion, “that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately ; and that the reason of the repeal be assigned, that it was founded on an erroneous principle.”

But the language of Pitt on this occasion was much more palatable to the Americans than to the English, to whom he vainly recommended that rare triumph of wisdom—so hard a science to mankind—well-timed retreat. His auditors prized much more highly the imaginary dignity that was wounded by suggestions of the spirit and resolution of the people with whom they were contending, than the real dignity of generous forbearance in a mischievous and impolitic quarrel. To facilitate the repeal of the Stamp Act, by satisfying or soothing the irritated pride which was roused against such concession, the ministers first introduced a bill “for the better securing the

dependency of his majesty's dominions in America upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain." This bill, which was carried without a division in either house, obtained the name of the *Declaratory Act*. It proclaimed that some of the American colonies had unlawfully pretended that the right to tax them resided exclusively in their own domestic Assemblies, and that riotous and seditious outrages had been committed by mobs deluded by this opinion; and enacted declaratively, that the king and parliament had right to make laws "*to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.*" A bill for repealing the Stamp Act was then proposed to the House of Commons. Its preamble varied widely from the suggestion of Pitt, and expressed merely that "the continuance of the said act would be attended with many inconveniences, and may be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interests of these kingdoms." The memorial of the American convention was tendered in support of this measure; but the house refused to hearken to the application of an Assembly unknown to the laws and constitution. Very few petitions from America were presented; and those only which were couched in a submissive or moderate strain. But numerous petitions were exhibited from English merchants and manufacturers; and so many facts and circumstances were cited and established, as to render the preamble of the bill perfectly incontrovertible. Yet with all this, and notwithstanding the precaution that was employed to render the preamble inoffensive to English pride and consonant with English commercial ambition, the bill was violently opposed by the members of the former cabinet, and by their friends and various other persons in both houses, who insisted that to recede at the present juncture from actual taxation, and remain contented with a declaratory assertion of this authority, was virtually to surrender the prerogative of Britain to the force and opposition of America, to encourage faction by success and impunity, and to insure resistance against the first attempt to give a practical application to the Declaratory Act. The opposers of the repeal, indeed, wandered far beyond this topic, and, with an eagerness to promote discussion that contrasted remarkably with their desire only a year before to evade or abridge it, revived in every stage of the proceedings the question of the right of parliament to tax America. With a plausible show of constitutional principle, they maintained, that, if the colonies, in their advanced state of opulence and power, should be permitted to contribute to the national expenditure by making free grants to the crown, as they had hitherto customarily done upon requisition, the crown might be rendered independent of parliament for pecuniary supplies.

Of the friends of the repeal bill, some contented themselves with arguing in support of the undeniable truths expressed in its preamble; others, embracing the invitation to discuss the general question of parliamentary pre-

rogative, insisted either that this prerogative was sufficiently guarded by the Declaratory Act, or that America was already taxed in a peculiar manner, and in the only manner adapted to her peculiar situation, by the commercial restrictions. This last view was supported, in substance, though professedly controverted with much nicety of discrimination, by Pitt in the House of Commons, and by Pratt, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, (whom the new ministry had invested with the title of Lord Camden,) in the House of Lords. "You have no right," said Pitt, "to tax America. Nevertheless, I assert the authority of this kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. The concurrence of the peers and of the crown is necessary only as a form of law. This house represents the commons of Great Britain. Here we give and grant what is our own; but it is unjust and absurd to suppose that we can give and grant the property of the commons of America. This constitutional right has ever been exercised by the commons of America themselves, represented in their own provincial Assemblies; and without it, they would have been slaves. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of legislative and commercial control, always possessed by this country, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised; and if it were denied, *I would not suffer even a nail for a horse-shoe to be manufactured in America.* But the Americans do not deny it. We may, and they are willing that we shall, bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power except that of taking money out of their pockets without their consent. There I draw the line; there are the bounds, *Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*" Nothing can be a stronger proof of the blinding influence of the political passions, than that the man who expressed such sentiments should have been hailed by the Americans as the liberal patron of their interests and generous defender of their liberty. "My position is this," said Lord Camden: "and I repeat it, and will maintain it to my last hour; taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more; it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own. No one has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it commits an injury; whoever does it commits a robbery."

After debates more violent and protracted than had occurred since the British Revolution, the repeal bill passed the House of Commons at three o'clock of the morning, [February 22,] by the votes of two hundred and seventy-five against one hundred and sixty-seven members. Amidst general acclamations, it was soon after carried to the House of Lords by Conway, the mover, accompanied by more than two hundred members,—a larger concourse than was ever remembered to have accompanied the progress of



RECEPTION OF THE NEWS OF THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT.

any former bill. In the Upper House, the feebler arguments of its opponents were reinforced by superior influence; and Lords Strange and Bute scrupled not to declare that the private sentiments of the king were adverse to it. Nothing could be more unconstitutional than the promulgation of such intelligence, whether it were true or false. The ministers ascertained by inquiry that it was true; but were neither deterred from prosecuting the measure which they had carried so far, nor prevented from conducting it to a successful issue. Notwithstanding much opposition and two protests, the bill was carried through the House of Lords; and finally, receiving the royal assent, was passed into a law. [March 19.] The bare prospect of this change was hailed with the liveliest joy in London, where the church-bells were rung and the houses illuminated as soon as the progress of the bill through the House of Commons was made known. Similar demonstrations of public joy and gratulation attended the final completion of the measure.

In America, where the people had been taught to regard the repeal as a hopeless proposition, the intelligence of its political consummation and actual prevalence produced a transport of mingled triumph, surprise, and gratitude. Loud and general was the exhibition of exulting sentiment; but in the loudness of the clamour the distinctness of its accents was lost. In the provincial Assemblies, it was impossible that even those members who sympathized not in the general flow of enthusiastic sentiment could decently refuse to unite in the expressions of it, suggested by their colleagues; and among the people at large, many who had more or less deliberately contemplated a perilous and sanguinary conflict were unfeignedly rejoiced to behold this terrible extremity averted or retarded. Amidst the first emotions of surprise and pleasure, the alarming terms of the Declaratory Act were little heeded. The Assembly of Massachusetts presented an address of grateful thanks to the king, in which they declared their apprehension that the Americans had been greatly misrepresented to his majesty, and injuriously reproached with aversion to the con-

stitutional supremacy of the British legislature. Thanks were also voted to the royal ministers, and to Lord Camden, Pitt, Colonel Barré, and other individuals who had promoted the repeal or defended the Americans. Similar demonstrations occurred in New Hampshire. The Assembly of Virginia voted that a statue of the king should be erected in this province; and in a general meeting of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, it was unanimously resolved, "that, to demonstrate our zeal to Great Britain, and our gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, each of us will, on the 4th of June next, being the birthday of our gracious sovereign, dress ourselves in a new suit of the manufactures of England, and give what homespun clothes we have to the poor." Professions of joy, gratitude, and attachment to Britain, equally loud and warm, and perhaps as sincere and deliberate, resounded through all the other American communities. And, yet, even amidst the first warm gush of hope and exultation, was heard the warning voice of some enlightened or stubborn patriots, whose moody, discontented souls were strangers to the general joy, and who accounted the triumph of their countrymen immoderate, disproportioned, and premature. Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina, in particular, who had been a delegate from this province to the late convention, and was afterwards distinguished as a civil and military leader in the revolutionary struggle, hesitated not to assure his friends that the public hopes were fallacious; that a permanent restoration of cordial friendship with Britain was impossible; and that it was madness on the part of America to remit her vigilance, or relax her preparation for a contest which must inevitably ensue. His views and sentiments were approved by those to whom they were communicated; and a secret association was formed to watch every suitable opportunity of acting in conformity with them. Mayhew, the Boston preacher, who has already attracted our notice, delivered a sermon in reference to the repeal of the Stamp Act, much more fraught with republican sentiment than with incitements to loyal or pacific consideration. "Having been initiated in youth," said this political and polemical divine, "in the doctrines of civil liberty, as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other renowned persons among the ancients, and such as Sydney, Milton, Locke, and Hoadley among the modern,—I liked them; they seemed rational. And having learned from the Holy Scriptures, that wise, brave, and virtuous men were always friends to liberty, *that God gave the Israelites a king in his anger because they had not sense and virtue enough to like a free commonwealth*, and that liberty always flourishes where the Spirit of the Lord is imparted,—this made me conclude that freedom was a great blessing."

Thus ended the first act of that grand historic drama, the American Revolution. That it was the first makes no slight addition to its import-

ance. It was on this account the more fitted to convey a lesson which Britain might have seasonably and advantageously appropriated ; as it showed thus early with what determined spirit the Americans cherished the principles of liberty in unison with their still remaining attachment to the parent state and her authority and institutions. The folly she committed in totally neglecting the lesson may be palliated, perhaps, by the consideration of those efforts which were made both by friends and by enemies of the Americans to disguise its real character, and of the fluctuating state of the British cabinet at this period, which was very unfavourable to deliberate and consistent policy.





JOHN HANCOCK.

PATRIOTS OF VIRGINIA, MASSACHUSETTS, AND SOUTH CAROLINA.



HE most remarkable of the political leaders and orators who sprung up at this period were natives of Virginia, Massachusetts, and South Carolina. In Virginia, there were particularly distinguished, after Patrick Henry, whom we have already repeatedly noticed, and who held the first place as a popular champion and favourite, Edmund Pendleton, a graceful and persuasive speaker, a subtle and dexterous politician, energetic and indefatigable in the conduct of business; Richard Bland, celebrated for the extent and accuracy of his knowledge, unrivalled among his contemporaries as a logician, and who published this year an *Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies*, in which the recent claims of America were defended with much cogency of reasoning; George Wythe, not more admired for the strength of his capacity and the elegance of his wit, than respected for the

simplicity and integrity of his character; Peyton Randolph, whose high repute and influence with his countrymen, unaided by the captivation of eloquence, was founded on qualities more honourable both to him and to them, the solid powers of his understanding and the sterling virtues of his heart; and Richard Henry Lee, one of the most accomplished scholars and orators in America, and who was commonly styled the Virginian Cicero. Washington, who since the reduction of Fort Duquesne in 1758, had withdrawn from military life, and never quitted his domestic scene but to discharge the duties of a member of the Virginian Assembly, now calmly but firmly espoused the cause of his native country in opposition to the pretensions of the British government; nor was there an individual more respected in Virginia, or more generally known and esteemed by all America, than himself; but devoid of oratorical powers, tranquil, sedate, prudent, dignified, and reserved, he was little qualified by genius or habit to make a brilliant figure as a provincial politician, and waited the development of a grander scene of counsel and action, more adapted to the illustration of his majestic wisdom and superior sense. Various other individuals, who have gained renown as defenders of the liberty and founders of the independence of America, began, shortly after this period, to be distinguished in the list of Virginian politicians; of whom the most remarkable was Thomas Jefferson, pre-eminent as a statesman, scholar, and philosopher; a forcible, perspicuous, and elegant writer; an intrepid and enterprising patriot; and an ardent and inflexible asserter of republican sentiments and the principles of purest democracy. None of his contemporaries exceeded him in politeness and benignity of manner; and few approached him in earnestness of temper and firmness of purpose. This rare combination of moral qualities enhanced the efficacy of his talent and genius, and greatly contributed to the ascendent he obtained over the minds of his countrymen. From the very dawn of the controversy between Britain and America, Jefferson, and his friend and patron, Wythe, outstripped the political views of most of the contemporary American patriots, and embraced the doctrine which ascribed indeed to the crown some prerogative, but denied to the parliament any degree or species of legitimate control over America. Arthur, the brother of Richard Henry Lee, and afterwards ambassador from America to France, was at this time pursuing the study of the law in London, but more actively engaged, as a gratuitous coadjutor of Dr. Franklin, in watching the measures of the British government; and rendered important service to his countrymen by transmitting early intelligence of the ministerial plans and purposes.

In Massachusetts, at the present epoch, the most distinguished popular leaders and champions of the cause of America were James Otis, who has already engaged our observation; Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, and James Bowdoin, merchants; Samuel Cooper, a clergy-

man; Josiah Quincy, jun., and Robert Treat Paine, lawyers; and John Winthrop, Professor of Mathematics in Harvard College. Samuel Adams was one of the most perfect models of disinterested patriotism, and of republican genius and character in all its severity and simplicity, that any age or country has ever produced. At Harvard College, in the year 1743, he made an early display of those political sentiments which he cherished through life, by maintaining, in the thesis which gained him his literary degree, that "it is lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." A sincere and devout Puritan in religion, grave in his manners, austere pure in his morals, simple, frugal, and unambitious in his tastes, habits, and desires; zealously and incorruptibly devoted to the defence of American liberty, and the improvement of American character; endowed with a strong manly understanding, an unrelaxing earnestness and inflexible firmness of will and purpose, a capacity of patient and intense application which no labour could exhaust, and a calm and determined courage which no danger could daunt and no disaster depress,—he rendered his virtues more efficacious by the instrumentality of great powers of reasoning and eloquence, and altogether supported a part and exhibited a character of which every description, even the most frigid that has been preserved, wears the air of panegyric. He defended the liberty of his countrymen against the tyranny of England, and their religious principles against the impious sophistry of Paine. His moral sentiments ever mingled with his political views and opinions; and his constant aim was rather to deserve the esteem of mankind by honesty and virtue, than to obtain it by supple compliance and flattery. Poor, without desiring to be rich, he subsequently filled the highest offices in the state of Massachusetts without making the slightest augmentation to his fortune; and after an active, useful, and illustrious life, in which all the interests of the individual were merged in regard and care for the community, he died without obtaining or desiring any other reward than the consciousness of virtue and integrity, the contemplation of his country's happiness, and the respect and veneration of his fellow-citizens. It has been censoriously remarked of him by the severer critics of his history,—and the censure is the more interesting from the rarity of its application to the statesman of modern times,—that his character was superior to his genius, and that his mind was much more elevated and firm than liberal and expansive. In all his sentiments, religious and political, no doubt there appeared some tincture of those peculiar principles and qualities which formed the original and distinctive character of the people of New England; and he was much more impressed with the worth and piety, than sensible of or superior to the narrow, punctilious bigotry and stubborn self-will of his provincial ancestors.

Hancock differed widely from Adams in manners, character, and con-

dition. He was possessed of an ample fortune, and maintained a splendid equipage ; yet he ruled the wealth which commonly rules its possessors ; for, while he indulged a gay disposition in elegant and expensive pleasures, he manifested a generous liberality in the most munificent contributions to every charitable and patriotic purpose ; insomuch that his fellow-citizens declared of him, that he plainly preferred their favour to great riches, and embarked his fortune in the cause of his country. Courteous and graceful in his address, eager and enthusiastic in his disposition, endowed with a prompt and lively eloquence, which was supported by considerable abilities, though not united with brilliant genius or commanding capacity, he embraced the popular cause with the most unbridled ardour ; and leaving to more philosophical patriots the guardianship of public virtue and the control of popular license, he devoted himself exclusively to the promotion of whatever objects tended immediately to gratify the wishes of the majority of the people. He continued to hope for a reconciliation with Britain much longer than Adams, who, after the promulgation of the Stamp Act, neither expected nor desired such an issue ; but when, in consequence of the final rupture between the two countries, and the overthrow of regal dominion in America, a republican constitution was to be composed,—Adams showed himself the more desirous to secure an energetic government, in which the magistrates, though appointed by the choice of the people, should be invested with force enough to withstand unreasonable or unrighteous movements of popular passion and caprice,—while Hancock preferably advocated an unbounded scope to democratical principle, or rather license, in a government pliable to every gust of popular will. Adams was termed the *Cato*, and Hancock the *Lucullus*, of New England. Among the first generations of the inhabitants of this country, the severer virtue of Adams, in competition with the gayer character of Hancock, would have carried almost all the suffrages of their fellow-citizens ; and even at no distant date retrospective from the present era, the manners of Hancock would have been rather tolerated and pardoned, than generally approved. But a change gradually arising in the taste and opinion of the public, had latterly been so widely developed, that Hancock was now by far the most popular character in Massachusetts. He was, indeed, the idol of the great mass of the people, and openly preferred to Adams by all but a small minority of the community, consisting of stanch Puritans and stern republicans.

Cushing was less distinguished by energy or talent than by his descent from a family renowned in New England for ardent piety and liberal politics. He possessed respectable, though by no means splendid or even eminent abilities ; and, being long the speaker of the Assembly of Massachusetts, obtained in England, from the number of bold, ingenious, and able compositions to which his name was officially subscribed, a reputation very disproportioned in importance to that which he possessed in America.

—where his countrymen generally regarded him rather as an honest and well meaning, than an able, or even ardent, friend of American liberty. But nothing is more common than to charge revolutionary leaders with producing the storm which in fact they conduct only as long as they consent to be carried forward by its impulse. Bowdoin, one of the wealthiest persons in Massachusetts, was also a man of great information and ability, regulated by strong good sense; liberal, honourable, and upright; a prudent and moderate, but firm and consistent patriot. Cooper, pious, eloquent, and accomplished, was first prompted to unite the character of a politician with the office of a minister of the gospel by the tidings of the Stamp Act, which suggested to him, he declared, that tyranny was opposed not more to civil than to religious liberty. From that period, he took an active part in behalf of the liberties of his country, both as a contributor of political essays to the periodical publications of Boston, and as a correspondent of Dr. Franklin. He was eminent as a scholar, and ardent as a patron and coadjutor of every institution for the advancement of learning, liberty, piety, or virtue; and, doubtless, his previous character as a divine contributed to promote the efficacy of his exertions as a politician. Quincy, a distinguished lawyer and orator, the descendant of one of those English barons who extorted from King John the signature of *Magna Charta*, showed that the spirit displayed by his ancestor at Runnymede was transmitted to him, unimpaired by the eclipse of family grandeur and the lapse of five centuries. He was the protomartyr of American liberty, in defence of which, both with his tongue and pen, he exerted an energy so disproportioned to his bodily strength, as to occasion his death a short time previous to the declaration of American independence. Robert Treat Paine, one of the most eminent lawyers in Massachusetts, held a high place in the public estimation for intelligence, firmness, and zeal. Ever prompt, active, and decided as a champion of American liberty, he was universally admired for the brilliancy of his wit, and respected even by his political opponents for his pure and inflexible uprightness. Winthrop, who inherited one of the most venerable names in New England, revived its ancient honour and still farther embellished it by the highest attainments in science and literature, by a character adorned with religion and virtue, and by a firm and courageous devotion to the liberty of his country. It was in the present year that the Assembly of Massachusetts, whether with a view of enhancing or of gratifying the popular interest in its proceedings, adopted a resolution, which was instantly carried into effect, that its debates should be open to the public, and that a gallery should be erected for the accommodation of the audience. The orators of the popular party derived new courage and animation from the looks of their listening countrymen, who, in turn, were inspired with the generous ardour which their presence promoted. Eloquence, like music, is often more powerful than reason and

honour in imparting the height of noblest temper to human courage and resolution.

In South Carolina, among many bold and able champions of their country's rights, the most notable were John Rutledge, a man endowed with extraordinary powers of mind—prompt, penetrating, energetic, and decisive; and, in oratory, the rival, or, as some accounted, the superior, of Patrick Henry;—Christopher Gadsden, a frank, fearless, intrepid, upright, and determined republican;—Henry Laurens, a zealous patriot and enlightened politician, afterwards highly distinguished by the dignity which he achieved, and the talent and fortitude which he exerted, in the service of America;—Edward Rutledge, the brother of John, and whose eloquence was as graceful and insinuating as his brother's was impetuous and commanding;—and David Ramsay, a learned and ingenious man, sincerely religious, austere moral, and warmly patriotic, a forcible speaker, and an elegant writer. At an early stage of the controversy with Britain, Ramsay was an advocate for the immediate assertion of American independence; and after bravely and ably contributing to the attainment of this object, he related the struggle by which it was won, in one of the best and most impartial histories that have been composed of the Revolutionary War





PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION—NEW TAXES.

THE project of taxing America by act of parliament was resumed by the British cabinet and definitively embraced, notwithstanding the adverse opinions of Chatham, Camden, and Conway, who continued to strengthen by their adherence an administration which they were totally unable to guide by their counsels. A great change or reaction was already apparent in the opinion and temper of the parliament, where the repeal of the Stamp Act was now as generally regretted as the act itself had been condemned only a year before. Ambition and pride again prevailed over the just and reasonable policy to whose control they had yielded a temporary submission; and, like the infatuated Egyptian monarch and his servants, the rulers of Britain repented the deliverance that had been conceded to a dependent people. All the courtiers protested that the king was in a humiliated state, and urged Townshend, the chancellor of the Exchequer, to remember the language he formerly held, and to retrieve the dignity of the crown by some financial measure that would give a practical effect to the Declaratory Act. In conformity with these views and sentiments, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Townshend, imposing duties on all glass, lead, painters' colours, tea, and paper, imported into the American provinces. [May, 1767.] The preamble of the bill declared, that "it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in his majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice and the support of civil government in those provinces, where it shall be found necessary; and towards farther defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions." By one clause of the bill, the king was empowered to establish, by sign manual, a general *civil list*, in every province

of North America, to an indefinite extent, with salaries, pensions, and appointments to an unlimited amount; and it was provided, that, after liquidation of the contents of the civil list, the residue of the revenue to be derived from America should abide the disposal of the British parliament. This bill met with hardly the shadow of opposition in parliament, where perhaps some members chose to regard it as a commercial regulation, and others more or less willingly acknowledged that any discussion of its principle was precluded by the terms of the Declaratory Act. Richard Jackson, a member of the House of Commons, opposed the clause authorizing a civil list. Its object, he said, was to render all the public officers and magistrates in America independent of the people; and although he admitted that the judges ought to be independent both of the people and the crown, yet he insisted that the dependence of the governors upon the provincial Assemblies was just and expedient, as affording the only safeguard which the colonies possessed against the perversion or abuse of the executive power. The royal governors sent to America, he observed, were often needy, unprincipled men, and always dependent for the duration of their functions on the pleasure of the crown; and great mischief and injustice would arise from rendering them totally independent of the people. Only one other member of the house supported Jackson in this objection; and without farther discussion or obstruction, the bill was passed into a law. Edmund Burke has asserted, and it seems nowise improbable, that Townshend expected that this act would be rendered palatable to the Americans, or at least far less unpalatable than the Stamp Act, by the considerations, that the revenue it assigned was derived from external or port duties, to which they had been represented as willing to submit, and that those duties were by no means heavy, and, excepting the tax upon tea, were not imposed on any of the grand articles of commerce. We shall find, indeed, that a very different impression from what Townshend anticipated was actually produced by the first of these considerations; but before it had time to operate at all, any advantage which might have been gained from it, or from the other extenuating suggestions, was more than counterbalanced by the contemporary proceedings of the parliament with regard to America, which unhappily combined to inflame the discontent, great or small, which the measure we have remarked was of itself calculated to awaken. For, to insure the payment of the new taxes, as well as to promote a stricter execution of all the trade laws, an act was passed, immediately after, for establishing, at Boston, a board of commissioners of the customs for America,—an establishment, which, even independently of the new imposts with which it was associated, would have been regarded with aversion by the colonists.

And while these measures were in progress through the houses of parliament, another and still more offensive exertion of British authority was

elicited by the tidings that arrived of the refusal of the New York Assembly to make provision for the accommodation of British troops within their provincial territory. The wrathful impatience provoked by this intelligence was industriously fomented by Grenville and his adherents, who declaimed in passionate and yet plausible strains on the progress of disobedience in America, where the people were now encouraged, by their recent triumph over the Stamp Act, to resist another parliamentary measure, against which they had not even observed the ceremony of petitioning. To pacify the clamour raised on this occasion, the ministers introduced into parliament an act, which was instantly passed, and which prohibited the Assembly of New York from exercising any of the functions of legislation till they complied with the prior statute for providing quarters and accommodations to his majesty's troops. [July.] No measure could have been devised more calculated to spread alarm throughout America, and rekindle the flames of the Stamp Act controversy. It was a blow which rendered their domestic legislation—the privilege most deeply cherished by the colonists, and for which they had recently contended with so much warmth, resolution, and unanimity—insecure and precarious; at once depriving New York of this advantage, and proclaiming, by inevitable inference, that every colonial Assembly in America depended for its existence on the satisfaction which its conduct might afford to the royal ministers and the British parliament, and was liable to be suspended or abolished by an exertion of parliamentary power. And thus, by a series of measures, which, occurring at the same time, seemed but kindred branches of one scheme of policy, and mutually promoted the offensive impressions they were severally fitted to produce, and Britain at once revive and extend every cause of quarrel, jealousy, and irritation, that had arisen between herself and her American colonies. By the act which we have last remarked, she assumed and exemplified the power of depriving them of that institution behind which they had shielded themselves from the interference of parliament with their internal taxation. By the establishment of a board of customs in America, she announced a more rigid execution of the trade laws. By the new duties which she imposed under the guise of external taxes, she tempted the colonists to question, as, indeed, many of them had already done, the competency of subjecting them even to external taxation by parliament; and by the establishment of the civil list, she authoritatively determined in her own favour a point, which, after many disputes with the colonists, she had formerly abandoned to them, and deprived them of the control they had so long exercised over their provincial governors and magistrates.

It is strange that the British government should have so blindly disregarded or so inadequately appreciated the great and increasing danger of the predicament in which its colonial dominion was involved by these public

and protracted disputes with the Americans. Every other nation in the world was tempted to desire the downfall of the British ascendancy in America, as involving the destruction of that system of monopoly by which Britain reserved, or at least attempted to reserve, the whole of the American trade to herself. So far, the interests of America manifestly converged with those of many powerful states in opposition to British authority; and if the Americans were provoked to vindicate those interests by force of arms, it might easily be conjectured that they would not be left to wage the conflict unassisted by nations which had so deep a stake in its issue. The principles of good faith and honour might, indeed, operate more or less forcibly to deter other sovereign states, in amity or at peace with the British monarch, from seducing or encouraging his subjects to revolt; but the emergent probability of such revolt, with the near prospect of its collateral advantages, was but too likely to overpower those self-denying considerations. All the late measures which had been employed for a stricter enforcement of the trade laws operated to the prejudice not merely of America, but of every nation that was restrained from trading with her; drew the bands of common interest between them and her closer than before; and increased the earnest expectation and attention with which they regarded her conduct, and watched the progress of the disputes between her and her parent state. France, besides partaking the general interest of commercial nations in opposition to the British colonial empire and monopoly, was additionally incited to desire the revolt of America, as an event that would avenge or countervail the loss of Canada, and divest Britain of that powerful branch of her naval force which America was likely to supply, and which in any future war that might arise would render the insular colonies of the French an easy conquest. As France was induced by stronger motives than any other European nation to desire the separation of America from Britain, so was she less deterred by honourable scruples from attempting to promote it. On the very day on which the Duke de Choiseul (an implacable enemy of the British empire) signed, as the minister of France, the preliminaries of the late treaty of peace concerted at Fontainebleau, he entered into a secret convention with Spain, by which it was agreed that the war should be renewed against England at the expiry of eight years,—a time which was thought sufficient to repair the exhausted strength of the two Bourbon monarchies; and this perfidious design he continued secretly but steadily to cherish and promote, till its completion was intercepted by the decline and fall of his own ministerial credit.

Hardly a month after the last acts of parliament which we have remarked had been passed, the French ambassador at London addressed himself to Dr. Franklin, in a style that discovered to this acute politician the wish of the French court to inflame the quarrel between Britain and America.

[August, 1767.] But Franklin, though sincerely attached to the interests of his countrymen, still cherished the hope that the quarrel might be accommodated, and the grandeur of the British empire maintained in consistence with the preservation of American liberty. His son was at this time the royal governor of New Jersey; he himself was the postmaster-general of America; and so favourably was he regarded at the British court, that it was proposed, not long after, as he himself has related, to appoint him under-secretary of state for American affairs. It was also reported to him, and received with the credit willingly given to so flattering a communication, that the king expressed a high esteem for his character. At the present period, and for some time after, he entertained a very favourable opinion of George the Third, whom, in letters to his friends in America, he described as "the best king that any nation was ever blessed with;" nor had he yet survived the hostile feelings and views which he once cherished against France. His sentiments underwent at a later epoch a very great change; but as yet, though at bottom the determined friend of America, he entertained as much respect and affection for Britain and her institutions and authority as could consist with that preponderating attachment. Convinced that every degree of liberty which he deemed essential to human welfare and happiness *must* finally be secured to America, whether separated from or connected with the main trunk of the British empire, he was desirous to restrain his countrymen from precipitating their dispute with the parent state to an extremity; and blamed their violence in his letters to America, while he endeavoured to palliate or disguise it in his representations to the statesmen and authorities of England. On the present occasion, though awake to the drift of the French ambassador, he seems neither to have utterly extinguished the hopes nor to have encouraged a full disclosure of the views of this minister, who was probably content to hint the sentiments of his court in a manner intelligible to Franklin's sagacity, without startling his honour as an officer of the British crown; and though interested in the policy of France, both as an officer of the crown and a partisan of America, Franklin desired equally to conceal from the British government and from his countrymen the impression which he received on this subject; and communicated it only to his son, under a strict injunction of secrecy.

Nor was this the only, or even the most notable, attempt of the French court to animate the spirit and resistance of the Americans, and promote a total breach between them and the British nation. Both prior and subsequent to the present period, various emissaries employed by the court of France travelled in disguise through the American States, examining in what points the British dominion was most vulnerable, and seizing every opportunity to fan the flame of discontent, and insinuate that revolt would be facilitated by foreign assistance. The most distinguished of these

emissaries was a German baron, named De Kalb, a brave and enterprising officer, who had long served in the French army, and afterwards held a commission from the revolutionary government of America. He was a devoted partisan and indefatigable agent of France, and retained this function even while employed as an officer in the American army; maintaining, like some other French officers similarly circumstanced, a close correspondence in cipher with the cabinet of Versailles, both before and after the open espousal of the American cause by the French government. Though active, subtle, and adroit as an intriguer, De Kalb appears to have been but a superficial observer. He often complained of his want of success in stimulating the Americans to revolt; and expressed his astonishment at the blundering folly with which the English government effaced the ardent and deep-rooted attachment which still (he was persuaded) linked the colonists to their parent state. It seems, indeed, highly probable that his suggestions at first (and he was employed from a very early period) neither were nor could be so acceptable as he desired to the Americans, whose jealousy of the British government not only was mixed with a great deal of affection for the British people, but could not readily coalesce with prospects of the aid and friendship of nations which, as the enemies of Britain, they had often regarded through the unfavourable medium of hostile relations with themselves.

The idea, particularly, of French aid and favour was more likely at first to chill the ardour than to warm the courage of the Americans in a dispute with Britain; for the French had been their enemies since the foundation of the colonial settlements; and the most interesting portions of their history and recollections consisted of dangers and sufferings entailed by the hostilities of France, or of triumph and advantage associated with the success of Britain over her rival. Though the honour and candour of De Kalb are far from unexceptionable, no good reason has been shown for taxing him (in the representations to which we have adverted) with want of sincerity, and still less for imputing to him gross and wilful falsehood. But he seems, in the account of his missions, and in his estimate of the sentiments and dispositions of the Americans, to have been blinded by an enthusiastic devotion to the interests of France, and an exclusive predilection for French character, temperament, and manners. The employment of De Kalb, and of other agents of France in America, is an indisputable fact; the success of their exertions is a point controverted and controvertible. A recent European historian of the American Revolution has been betrayed into exaggeration in describing the intrigues of France as the main cause of that catastrophe; and some American writers have been transported by patriotic zeal and indignation into an opposite error, and too hastily denied that the intrigues of France exerted any influence at all on the sentiments of their countrymen. It would require more than mortal

discernment to ascertain how far either of these disputants is wrong or both of them are right. It is certain, that, at an early period of the Revolutionary War, and before France had ventured openly to support America, several of the agents of the French ministers obtained commands in the American army; and that, even before this army was formed, some of the leaders of the popular party in America confidently relied on the assistance of France, Holland, and Spain, in case of a final rupture with Britain.

The act of parliament which imposed duties on tea and other articles imported into America excited as much concern and anxiety, and experienced an opposition as determined, though not as violent, as the Stamp Act had done. Instead of the aversion with which the colonists regarded the recent act being diminished by the consideration that the duties which it imposed were, strictly speaking, external taxes, the imposition of these duties, and the sanction which they received from an extension of the principle of external taxation, tended to destroy all the respect or acquiescence which this prerogative had ever obtained in America. That there was no solid distinction between internal and external taxation had been maintained by Otis, in America, and by Grenville, in the British parliament; it was a deduction that manifestly followed from the reasonings of Pitt and Camden; and was a tenet embraced and avowed by many other politicians, both among the friends of America and the partisans of Britain. It was now supported in an able and spirited treatise entitled *Letters of a Pennsylvanian Farmer*,—the production of John Dickinson, a citizen of Pennsylvania, which obtained a prodigious circulation and high popularity in America, and gained its author the thanks of the Assembly of Massachusetts. He warned his countrymen not to be deluded by the moderate rate of the new duties,—a circumstance which he characterized as artfully intended to prepare their necks for the reception of a collar whose increasing weight would gradually bow them to the ground; and he encouraged them to

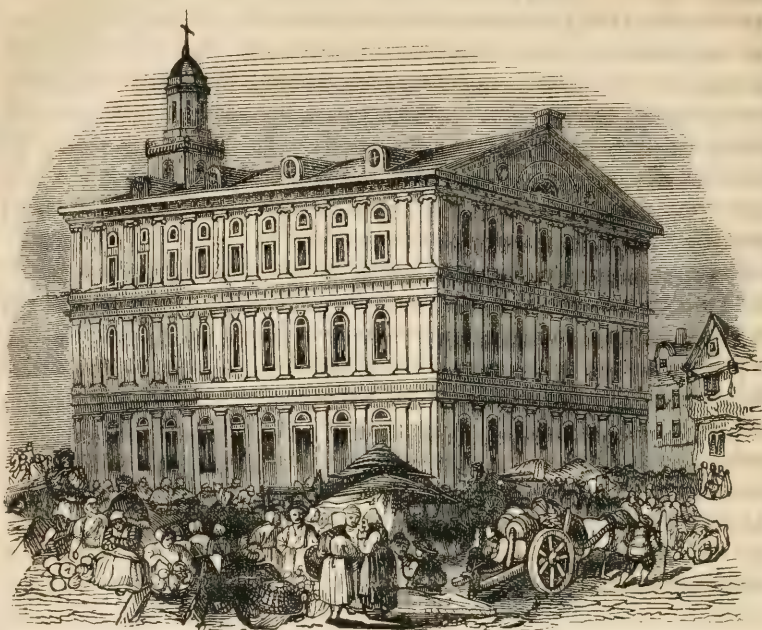
hope that a deliverance from this evil would be obtained by a resumption of the same general and animated opposition which had procured the repeal of the Stamp Act.



THESE *Letters* gave so strong an impulse to the spirit of discontent and resistance in America, that they would probably have incited the people to some violent and tumultuary proceedings, if the public attention had not been previously directed to a system of opposition at once more effectual, prudent, and magnanimous. Some of the leading politicians in Massachusetts, having suggested that the last of the defensive measures employed against the Stamp Act, the non-importation agreement, had been more efficient than all the others and was peculiarly applicable to the present emergency, the notion was

eagerly embraced; and, at a general meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, [October 28, 1767,] resolutions were proposed and adopted to discontinue the importation of commodities from England, and especially of all those on which the new duties were laid, until not only the act imposing them, but all the late revenue acts, likewise, should be repealed;—and, as a subsidiary measure, to promote by every possible effort the growth of domestic manufactures and the practice of industry and economy. These resolutions were propagated throughout America, and, from the first, zealously executed in New England, where a considerable change of manners now began to appear. Of late years a taste for gay and expensive pleasures had been gaining ground among the descendants of the Puritans, especially in Massachusetts; and several attempts were made, though ineffectually, to procure a repeal of the law which prohibited theatrical entertainments. But now a general simplicity of dress and living was diligently cultivated, and even the taste for expensive funerals, which the law had vainly attempted to restrain, was sacrificed to the practice of habits which were justly accounted the firmest as well as the most respectable bulwarks of American freedom. But it is easier to induce mankind in general to pursue liberty with passionate zeal, than to merit and secure it by patient fortitude and virtue.





FANEUIL HALL.

AFFAIR OF THE SLOOP LIBERTY—BOSTON RIOTS.



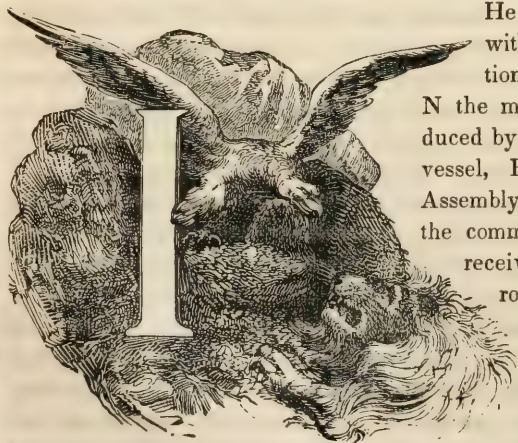
ADDITIONAL cause of offence and quarrel arose in America from the operation of the act by which a board of customs was established at Boston. Paxton, one of the commissioners, had long been an object of general dislike to the people of Massachusetts, on account of the zeal with which he seconded all the pretensions of British prerogative; and only his absence from the province during the Stamp Act riots had saved him from a share of the popular vengeance on that occasion. He and his colleagues now enforced the trade laws with a rigour hitherto unknown, and which contributed not a little to increase the prevailing inquietude and irritation. At New York there was printed and circulated a manifesto or proclamation, assuring the inhabitants that commissioners of customs would soon be established there as well as at Boston, and summoning every friend of liberty to hold himself in readiness to receive them with the same treatment which had been bestowed upon "a set of miscreants under the name of stamp-masters, in the year 1765." All the efforts of

the governor to discover the authors of this inflammatory publication proved ineffectual. In this province the spirit of liberty was no way depressed, nor was even the conduct of public business obstructed, by the act of parliament restraining the Assembly from the exercise of legislative functions. With a plausible show of obedience to the letter of the statute, the Assembly forbore to enact formal *laws*; but whenever money was needed for public purposes, they passed *resolutions*, to which the people lent a prompt and cheerful obedience; and thus the act, though sufficient to exasperate, proved quite impotent to punish.

It had been the practice in every quarter of British America for the officers of the customs to allow merchants and shipmasters to enter in the custom-house books only a part of their imported cargoes, and to land the remainder duty-free. To this practice, which became so inveterate that the colonists regarded the advantage accruing from it as a right rather than an indulgence, the commissioners now resolved to put a stop. A sloop called the Liberty, belonging to Hancock, having arrived at Boston, laden with wine from Madeira, [June 10, 1768,] the captain, as usual, proposed to the tidewaiter who came to inspect the cargo, that part of it should be landed duty-free; but, meeting a refusal, laid violent hands upon him, and, with the assistance of the crew, locked him up in the cabin till the whole cargo was carried ashore. The next morning he entered a few pipes of the wine at the custom-house, as having formed all his lading; but the commissioners of the customs, insisting that the entry was deceptive, caused the sloop to be arrested. To secure the capture, it was proposed that the vessel should be removed from the wharf and towed under the guns of the Romney man-of-war; and, by the assistance of the Romney's boats, this was accordingly performed, in spite of the opposition of a great assemblage of people, who, finding their remonstrances disregarded, assaulted the custom-house officers with a violence that had nearly proved fatal to their lives. [June 12.] On the following day, the populace, again assembling before the houses of the collector, comptroller, and inspector-general of the customs, broke their windows, and then, seizing the collector's boat, dragged it through the town and burned it on the common. Their violence, whether satiated or not, was checked at this point by the flight of the commissioners and other officers of the customs, who, learning that renewed assemblages of the people were expected, and believing or affecting to believe that farther outrages were meditated against themselves, hastily left the place, and took refuge, first on board the ship of war, and afterwards in Castle William. [June 13.] The city, meanwhile, resounded with complaints of the insult that was offered to the inhabitants in removing the sloop from the wharf, and thus proclaiming apprehensions of a rescue. These complaints were sanctioned by the Assembly, who declared that the criminality of the rioters was extenuated by the irritating and un-

precedented circumstance of the seizure ; but added, nevertheless, that, as the rioters deserved severe punishment, they must beseech the governor to direct that they should be prosecuted, and to proclaim a reward for their discovery. The rioters, however, had nothing to fear ; nor was any one of them ever molested. A suit for penalties was afterwards instituted against Hancock in the Court of Admiralty ; but the officers of the crown, finding it beyond their power to adduce sufficient evidence of facts, which, though everybody knew, nobody would attest, abandoned the prosecution and restored the vessel. The conduct of the officers in taxing the people, by implication, with the purpose of rescue, was generally condemned. It was, indeed, remarked by the few who ventured to defend it, that a rescue had actually taken place eighteen months before. But to this the advocates of the people replied, that the popular temper had undergone a change since then,—as was verified by the fact that no subsequent rescue had been attempted ;—a fact the more certain, though the less significant, as in reality no seizure in the interim had been made. Unluckily, about a month after the arrest of Hancock's vessel, a schooner, which was seized with a smuggled cargo of molasses, and left at the wharf under the care of the custom-house officers, was boarded during the night by a numerous body of men, who easily overpowered and confined the officers, and carried the cargo on shore. The inhabitants in general were greatly scandalized to find their recent declarations so completely falsified ; and the selectmen of Boston, sending for the master of the schooner, ordered him to surrender the molasses directly under pain of the displeasure of the town.

He obeyed this injunction without a moment's hesitation.



N the midst of the ferment produced by the seizure of Hancock's vessel, Bernard acquainted the Assembly of Massachusetts with the communication which he had received from Lord Hillsborough. [June 21.] The patriotic spirit of this body was additionally roused and invigorated, instead of being depressed, by the intelligence ;

and it was farther sustained by the arrival of friendly and approving letters from the Assemblies of Virginia, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Georgia. They easily repelled the charges levelled against the conduct of the former Assembly, and by a great majority of voices refused to rescind its proceed-

ings. "When Lord Hillsborough knows that we will not rescind our acts," said Otis, in a speech which was highly extolled by the popular party, and denounced as a treasonable effusion by the partisans of Britain, "he should apply to parliament to rescind theirs. *Let Britain rescind her measures, or her authority is lost for ever.*" Several members who had in the former session opposed the resolution for the circular letter, now voted against rescinding it, protesting that they would not submit even to royal dictation in the discharge of their legislative functions. The Assembly addressed a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, recapitulating the several votes and resolutions which had passed in the former session relative to the circular letter,—showing that this matter was transacted in the meridian of the session, in full convocation, and in conformity with the sentiments of a large majority of the members,—and defending, in terms forcible and manly, yet decent and respectful, the transaction which was said to have given so much offence to the king. To the governor, they finally voted an address, of which the tenor was so firm and spirited that it merits more particular commemoration. [June 30.] "It is to us incomprehensible," they declared, "that we should be required under peril of dissolution to rescind the resolve of a former house, when it is evident that that resolve has no existence but as a mere historical fact. Your Excellency must know that the resolve is, to speak in the language of the common law, not now executory, but to all intents and purposes executed. If, as is most probable, by the word *rescinding* is intended the passing a vote in direct and express disapprobation of the measure taken by the former house, as illegal, inflammatory, and tending to promote unjustifiable combinations against his majesty's peace, crown, and dignity, we must take the liberty to testify and publicly to declare that we hold it to be the native, inherent, indefeasible right of the subjects, jointly or severally, to petition the king for the redress of grievances, provided that the same be done in a decent, dutiful, loyal, and constitutional way, without tumult, disorder, and confusion. If the votes of this house are to be controlled by the direction of a minister, we have left to us but a vain semblance of liberty. We have now only to inform you that this house have voted *not to rescind*; and that on a division on the question, there were ninety-two nays, and seventeen yeas." That the people might know their friends, the Assembly ordered at the same time that the names of the voters on both sides of the question should be printed and published. The list of the majority was circulated with demonstrations of honour and applause; the list of the minority was placarded with testimonies of contempt and derision. On the following day, the governor dissolved the Assembly. [July 1.] Partly for this act of power, which, though enjoined to him by a royal mandate, was produced by his own misrepresentations, and partly on account of the intelligence which was received from England of his continual solicitations that a military force should be despatched to Massachu-

setts, most of the towns and corporations in this province united in declarations, which were published in the newspapers, denouncing Bernard as a traitor and enemy of the country.

It seemed as if every attempt to vindicate the newly extended prerogative of the parent state was fated to produce only a responsive and more successful effort of the colonists to assume an attitude more and more nearly realizing a practical independence of British authority. The Stamp Act, among other consequences, produced in the convention at New York the first demonstration of the readiness of the provinces to *unite* in opposition to the prerogative of Britain; the act of parliament which professed to restrain the powers and functions of the New York Assembly served in effect to enlarge them; the act imposing duties on tea and other articles elicited the remarkable proceedings which we have witnessed in Massachusetts; and now the arbitrary dissolution of the Massachusetts Assembly, by the command of a minister, who ignorantly or wilfully misrepresented its transactions, produced a measure still bolder and more decided. Governor Bernard having, in answer to several applications, declared that he would not, without his majesty's command, again assemble the representatives of the people till the month of May in the following year, when, in conformity with the provincial charter, a new Assembly must necessarily be convoked, — a strong desire was manifested by the people to counteract this arbitrary suspension of democratical authority by an irregular exertion of it. In compliance with the wishes of their fellow-citizens, the selectmen of Boston proposed to all the corporations and parishes in Massachusetts a convention of committees of their members to deliberate on constitutional measures for obtaining redress of their grievances. This project of an Assembly of popular representatives, convened without the express authority of law, and simply by virtue of the inherent rights of the people, was countenanced by the wealthier inhabitants of the province, who were sensible alike of the dangers of chilling or stimulating the ardour by opposing the desires of their countrymen, and were willing to court their suffrages to sit in the convention, in order to retain in their own hands the management of this new and untried political organ. To what extremity the present temper of the people was capable of precipitating them was strikingly betokened at a general meeting of the citizens of Boston in the beginning of September, at which it was resolved, that, *as there is a prevailing apprehension in the minds of many of a war with France*, all the inhabitants of the province should be warned forthwith to provide themselves with arms and ammunition, in order to be ready to repel sudden danger.

In consequence of the applications of the selectmen, a convention of committees, chosen by ninety-six towns and eight districts of Massachusetts, assembled at Boston. [September 22, 1768.] Many persons regarded this proceeding with alarm: and some considered it tantamount to

an act of high treason. The members of the convention were sensible of the arduous and delicate predicament in which they were placed, and of the expediency of strict and guarded moderation in the exercise of undefined functions and authority. They began by disclaiming all power or pretext of legislation. In resolutions which they framed and published, and in a petition which they presented to the governor for the convocation of an Assembly, they made warm professions of loyalty to the king, expressed their aversion to standing armies, and also to popular tumults and disorders, and their readiness to assist in suppressing riots and preserving peace; and strongly recommended patience and good order to their countrymen. The governor refused to receive their petition, or otherwise recognise them as a legitimate assemblage; adding, that, as a friend of the province, he counselled them to desist from the dangerous and criminal course in which they were engaged. The convention, having prepared and transmitted a petition to the king, expressed in the most temperate and respectful language, after a short session, dissolved itself. The British ministers, agreeing with Bernard in regarding the convention as a criminal association, refused to permit the petition from it to be presented to the king, who was thus confined to the knowledge merely that such a convention had been held, without being made acquainted with its actual language and demeanour.



BERNARD, Hutchinson, the commissioners of the customs, and other partisans of royal prerogative, had for some time urgently solicited from the British government the detachment of a strong military force, which they represented as absolutely necessary to the vigour and even the existence of legitimate executive power in Massachusetts. [September 27, 1768.] It was supposed or pretended by some of the leading popular politicians, that the flight of the commissioners of the customs from Boston was a mere politic device to reinforce this solicitation. In effect, the very day after the Massachusetts convention was dissolved, [September 28,] two British regiments, escorted by seven armed vessels, arrived at Boston from Halifax. The first operation of the fleet was to assume a position which commanded the town; and, presently after, the troops, amounting to upwards of seven hundred men, under cover of the guns of the ships, landed without opposition, and marched, with muskets charged, bayonets fixed, and every other symptom of martial preparation, into the common. In the evening, the selectmen of Boston were required by the royal functionaries to provide quarters in the town for the two regiments; but they peremptorily refused. A temporary shelter in Faneuil Hall was, however, permitted to one regiment which was destitute of camp equipage. On the following day, the state-house, by order of the governor, was opened for the recep-

tion of the soldiers, and two field-pieces, along with the main-guard, were stationed in its front. Boston presented the appearance of a garrisoned town. An ostentatious display was made of the presence and alertness of a military force; and every arrangement in the distribution of this force seemed to be studiously calculated to provoke the indignation of the citizens, whose temper, never remarkable for tolerance, was already chafed into a very keen susceptibility of provocation. The lower apartments of the state-house, which had been used by the merchants as an exchange, the chamber of the Assembly, the court-house, Faneuil Hall—places which were hitherto the seats and organs of justice, freedom, and commercial convenience—were now converted into a military citadel. Though the Assembly was dissolved, the council continued its sittings; and it was not without disgust, that, in repairing to their chamber, the counsellors found themselves compelled to pass the guards placed at the door of the state-house. The common was covered with tents; soldiers were continually marching and countermarching to relieve the guards; and the sentinels challenged the inhabitants, as they passed at night in the streets. The votaries of liberty resented this vexatious obtrusion of military power; and all devout persons were shocked to see the solemnity of Sunday profaned, and the religious exercises of the people disturbed by the exhibition of military parade and the unholy clangour of drums and other martial music. After the troops had obtained quarters, the council were required to provide barracks for them in conformity with the act of parliament; but they resolutely declined to lend any assistance to the execution of that obnoxious statute. General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, leaving his head-quarters at New York, came for a while to Boston to support the requisition of the governor of the council [October]; but, finding his urgency fruitless, he contented himself with hiring the houses of individual inhabitants for the accommodation of the troops. The people in general were disgusted and offended, but not overawed by the presence of the soldiers; nor were their sentiments altered by the large additions soon after [November 10] made to the military force at Boston, which, before the close of the year, amounted to four thousand men.

By this impolitic demonstration did the British ministers attempt to invigorate the force of government at the extremity of the empire, while divisions and frequent fluctuations in the cabinet weakened its influence at home, and while England itself was a scene of riot, disorder, and violent opposition to established authority. Of the disorders which arose at this time in England, the chief ostensible cause was the persecution waged by the ministers against the celebrated John Wilkes, a profligate, unprincipled man, who, in a season of public ferment and agitation, usurping the all-atoning title of a patriot, performed this part with such spirit and ability

as to render him the idol of the people, and to provoke the government to vindictive measures so unworthy and illegal as still farther to animate the general affection for Wilkes and the corresponding rage against his adversaries. The cry of "Wilkes and liberty," with which all England now resounded, and continued for some years after to resound, was re-echoed by numerous voices in the colonies; and the accounts of the embarrassed situation of the ministry and the convulsions in the parent state, transmitted by the colonial agents to their countrymen, doubtless, tended to fortify the spirit of American resistance.

All the rigorous measures of the ministry with regard to the colonies received the sanction of the parliament. In the close of this year, the House of Lords passed a censure on the non-importation agreements lately resumed in New England, as factious and menacing combinations,—which had no other effect than to render this engine of resistance more popular in America. In the commencement of the following year [1769] the same aristocratical branch of the British legislature embraced resolutions condemning all the recent proceedings of the people of Massachusetts; and particularly declaring the election of deputies to a popular convention, and the assembling of that convention, daring insults offered to his majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government, for which it was requisite that the principal actors should be brought to condign and exemplary punishment. These resolutions were communicated to the House of Commons, whose accession to them was demanded by the Lords. This was opposed by several members, and among others by Pownall, who had formerly been governor of Massachusetts, by Colonel Barré, and by Edmund Burke, who had recently commenced, in public life, a career on which his large capacity and fervid genius have shed a brilliant and dazzling lustre. They warmly censured the late severities employed by the ministry against Massachusetts, and declared their conviction that the people of this province were unjustly treated. "Away with these partial, resentful trifles," said Barré, addressing himself to the ministers, "calculated to irritate, not to quell nor appease,—inadequate to their purpose, unworthy of us! Why will you endeavour to deceive yourselves and us? You know that it is not Massachusetts only that disputes your right; but every part of America. From one end of the continent to the other, they tell you that you have no right to tax them. My sentiments of this matter you well know. Consider well what you are doing. Act openly and honestly. Tell them that you *will* tax them; and that they *must* submit. Do not adopt this little, insidious, futile plan. They will despise you for it." Pownall declared, that, from his acquaintance with the character, sentiments, and resources of the Americans, he was convinced that they could not be coerced into submission to oppressive laws; that, although they were a sober, patient, and loyal people, espe-

cially in Massachusetts, where he had resided, they might be exasperated beyond farther endurance; and that they would undoubtedly contend for their rights recognised by charter and inherited by them as British subjects, till either they recovered them or were annihilated by superior force. "That spirit," said he, "which led their ancestors to break off from every thing which is near and dear to the human heart, has but a slight and trifling sacrifice to make at this time; they have not to quit their native country, but to defend it; not to forsake their friends and relations, but to unite with and stand by them in one common union." The House of Commons, however, sanctioned and espoused the resolutions of the Lords; and both houses, in a joint address to the king, expressed their perfect satisfaction with the measures he had pursued; tendered the strongest assurances of effectual support to him in such farther measures as might be found necessary to maintain a due execution of the laws in Massachusetts; and besought him to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring information of all treasonable offences committed within the province since the 30th of December, 1767, and to transmit the names of the offenders to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for bringing them to trial *in England*, in conformity with the provisions of the statute of the thirty-fifth of Henry the Eighth. The last part of this address, which proposed the transportation from Massachusetts of persons whom the government might reckon offenders, to be tried before a tribunal in England, gave the highest offence to the colonists, and provoked their severest animadversions.





THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE—AFFAIR OF THE GASPEE.



NOTHING could be more unwise or illiberal than the plan, if plan it may be called, of policy pursued by the British government in the controversy with America. It was varied only by alternations of unjust encroachment, haughty menace, and concession so tardily yielded and so insolently expressed, as to be always inefficacious, and generally affronting. Where it announced rigour, it served to rouse and exasperate the Americans; where it affected lenity, it encouraged without conciliating them. Its illiberality arose from the character of the king, and the temper of the British parliament and nation; its incoherence and imbecility may be traced partly to the composition, and partly to the fluctuations of the British cabinet. Each successive administration, inheriting the spirit of its predecessors, or controlled by the temper of the court or nation, but regardless of the credit of the measures of former cabinets, and willing to evade any share of their unpopularity, repealed them with a readiness that inspirited, and yet with an insolence that provoked the colonists; assigning as the sole reasons of repeal motives of English interest and convenience, which arraigned the wisdom of the authors of those measures, guarded the dignity of the repealing cabinet, and soothed the pride of the nation. The lessons so plainly taught by the introduction and the repeal of the Stamp Act, instead of operating as a warning, were perversely used as a model, to which the British government with stead-

fast pride continued ever after to accommodate its policy, which was always wise too late, and vibrated between the opposite traits of rashness in repeating irritating measures, and delay in applying remedial ones, which were invariably deferred till the relative evils had become incurable. It seemed as if the first false step made by Grenville had pledged his country to persist in a perilous experiment, in which the chances of success were additionally diminished by frequent changes in the instrumental process, arising mainly from the fluctuating composition of the cabinet. Those changes, it is true, were promoted in some degree by the violent resistance of the Americans to every form in which the overture of bereaving them of their liberties was repeated; but this circumstance was either never clearly perceived or never justly appreciated by the British ministers, who, with amazing folly, believed, that by abandoning an assault upon American liberty in one quarter, they would facilitate an attempt upon it in another. With strange disregard or misconception of the most notorious properties of human nature, they believed, or at least acted as if they believed, that all the indignant and courageous spirit aroused in a brave and free people by an obnoxious measure must be instantly dissipated or assuaged by its repeal; that provocations might be repeated without producing any increase or accumulation of hostile and impatient sentiment; and that it was always in their power, by a change of policy, however tardy, however ungracious, however flattering to the efficacy of American resistance, at once to disband all the swelling host of angry passions from whose collected fury and victorious force or menace they were compelled to retreat. Yet every observant man, who has witnessed the rise and progress of a revolution, must have remarked that a nation excited to violent resistance of oppression is less gratified by immediate success than disquieted by a craving demand for some object whereon to wreak its exuberant energy and unexpended rage. What would have been the entire effect of a deliberate espousal and steady prosecution of lenient and liberal policy, it is impossible to define; but we may safely conclude that most probably it would have promoted the interest, and certainly it would not have impaired the honour and dignity of Great Britain. A uniform course of rigorous assertion of authority, on the other hand, would have accelerated a critical struggle, of which the retardation was highly favourable to the interests of American liberty. By the course (for truly it is an abuse of language to term it a plan) which was actually pursued, the Americans were thoroughly aroused by attacks on a great variety of points, animated by partial successes, strengthened by the lapse of time, and confirmed in obstinacy of purpose by protracted and indecisive contention.

Every principle of good policy, deducible from the issue of the Stamp Act, manifestly inculcated that Britain should either desist altogether from attempts to tax America, or at least should impose no tax obnoxious to the

general opposition, or defeasible by the general resistance of the colonists. A second and similar failure in an experiment of such importance was by all means to be avoided; and Townshend, indeed, had vainly imagined that by his Tea-duty Act he at once asserted the authority of Britain, and obviated the scruples and objections of America. But, with the present ministry, this measure possessed no claim of parental or kindly regard sufficient to counterbalance the difficulties occasioned by the vehement opposition of the Americans, and the remonstrances of the British merchants who suffered from the non-importation agreements. Reckoning the authority which they administered defied, and actuated by a sense of offended dignity, they embraced vindictive measures against the colonists, on account of the mode in which they had conducted their opposition to a statute for which the cabinet itself entertained little concern or respect. They even warmly opposed a proposition for the repeal of this statute, which, with strange inconsistency, was introduced in the close of the same session of parliament that produced the violent address to the king against the province of Massachusetts. On this occasion, it was contended by the ministers and their friends, with sincere and exalted folly, that repeal, though warranted and even enjoined by general principles of national policy, was forbidden by the peculiar circumstances of the juncture; and Lord North, in particular, declared, that, "however prudence or policy may hereafter induce us to repeal the late act, I hope we shall never think of it *till we see America prostrate at our feet.*" Yet, no sooner was the parliamentary session concluded, than the ministers gave notice to the provincial agents and other persons interested in American affairs at London, that in the following year the grievances of America should be certainly redressed; and in the course of the summer, Lord Hillsborough, in circular letters to all the colonies, signified the intention of himself and his colleagues "to propose in the next session of parliament taking off the duties on glass, paper, and colours, *upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce;*" and declared that the cabinet "entertained no design to propose to parliament to lay any farther taxes on America for the purpose of raising a revenue."

Lord Botetourt, on receiving this intelligence, hastened to communicate it to the Virginian Assembly (which he reconvoled) in a speech so courteous and conciliatory, and expressive of so much warmth of regard for America, that his language gave to the tidings it conveyed more influence than was due to their own intrinsic grace; and yet the Assembly, though they returned an affectionate and respectful answer to his communication, expressed hope and confidence in a tone that implied fear and distrust. When the impression produced by Lord Botetourt's gracious manners had subsided, they recorded in their journals a protest expressive of their conviction that partial remedies were incompetent to heal the existing distem-

pers. To the Americans in general the intelligence transmitted by Lord Hillsborough was far from satisfactory. The purposed exception of the duty on tea from repeal, and the professed design of repealing the other duties upon mere commercial principles, excited anew their jealousy, and confirmed them in the opinion that the groundwork of the present grievances was not to be abandoned, but to be reserved for a future opportunity of fresh essays for the imposition of internal taxes boundless in extent and endless in duration. No sooner was the tenor of Lord Hillsborough's letter made known in Massachusetts, than the merchants and traders of Boston, at a general meeting, unanimously resolved that the projected repeal was intended merely to gratify the British manufacturers, and was inadequate to repair or remedy the grievances of America; and they renewed their former agreement to import no more goods from Britain till the late revenue acts should be totally repealed. So little of pacific influence did Lord Hillsborough's communication exert, that, in Pennsylvania, a much stronger demonstration of aversion was elicited by the terms of the proposed repeal than had been provoked by the measure itself which was to be partially abrogated. A committee of the principal merchants of Philadelphia, in a letter addressed to the merchants of London, protested that the system of government disclosed by all the measures of the present reign was such as *the Americans* could not tamely submit to; [November 25, 1769;] that this system tended to sap the foundations of liberty, justice, and property in America, and to strip her citizens of every blessing essential to the dignity and happiness of human life; that these were not merely the ideas of speculative politicians, but the sentiments and language of the people in general; for in no country was the love of liberty more deeply rooted, or the knowledge of the rights of freemen more widely diffused, than in America; that nothing short of a repeal of all the late revenue acts, and the restoration of that state of things which existed prior to the commencement of these innovations, now could or would satisfy the minds of the people; that Britain by her fleets and armies might overawe the towns, and by her severe restrictions, her admiralty courts, and custom-house officers, ruin the trade of America; but that, while every American farmer was a freeholder, the spirit of liberty would continue to prevail, and all attempts to divest them of the privileges of freemen must be attended with consequences injurious both to the colonies and to the parent state.

The little confidence reposed by the Americans in the British cabinet, and in its promises of a redress of grievances, was still farther impaired by a change which the ministry soon after underwent, in the secession from its ranks of Lord Camden, who resigned the seals, [January, 1770,] and of Dunning, the celebrated constitutional lawyer and friend of liberty, who had been solicitor-general. But before the projected measure of the

cabinet was carried into effect, a circumstance occurred in America fitted to counteract the efficacy even of a much greater stretch of conciliation. The British senate had been assured by Franklin that a military force despatched to America, though it would not find, would easily create a rebellion ; but more credit was given by the present ministers to the representations of Bernard, Hutchinson, Oliver, Paxton, and other partisans of prerogative, that an impending rebellion could be averted only by the exhibition of military power. Ever since the arrival of the troops at Boston, the inhabitants of the city regarded the presence of these instruments of despotic authority with an increasing sense of indignity ; and reciprocal insults and injuries paved the way for a tragical event which made a deep and lasting impression of resentment in America. An affray, which commenced between an inhabitant of the town and a private soldier, having been gradually extended by the participation of the fellow-citizens of the one and the comrades of the other, terminated to the advantage of the soldiers, and inflamed the populace with a passionate desire of vengeance, which, it has been justly or unjustly surmised, was fomented by some persons of consideration, who hoped that the removal of the troops would be promoted by a conflict between them and the towns-people. [March 2, 1770.] A corresponding animosity was cherished by the soldiers, some of whom were severely hurt in the affray. They began to carry clubs in their hands when they walked in the streets, gave other symptoms of willingness to renew the conflict, and evinced the most insulting contempt for the citizens, to whom their presence was already sufficiently offensive. After the lapse of three days from the first affray, [March 5,] and after various symptoms had betrayed that some dangerous design was harboured on both sides, a party of soldiers, while under arms in the evening, were assaulted by a congregation of the populace, who pressed upon them, struck some of them, loaded them with insults, terming them *bloody-backs* (in allusion to the barbarous practice of flogging in the British army) and cowards, and tauntingly dared them to fire. The conduct of the soldiers was far from blameless. They had previously by studied insult provoked the rage of the people, and now exasperated it by retorting the verbal outrages, which they possessed the most fatal means of avenging. One of them at last, on receiving a blow, fired at his assailant ; and a single discharge from six others succeeded. Three of the citizens were killed, and five dangerously wounded. The town became instantly a scene of the most violent commotion ; the drums beat to arms ; thousands of the inhabitants flocked together, and beheld the bloody spectacle of their slaughtered fellow-citizens with a rage that would have prolonged and aggravated the calamities of the night, if Hutchinson, the deputy-governor, and the other civil authorities, had not promptly interfered, and, arresting the soldiers who had fired, together with their commanding officer, and loudly blaming

them for firing without the order of a magistrate, held forth to the people the hope of more deliberate vengeance, and prevailed with them to disperse. The next morning, [March 6,] Hutchinson convoked the council, which was engaged in discussing the unhappy event, when a message was received from a general assemblage of the citizens, declaring it to be their unanimous opinion, that nothing could restore the peace of the town and prevent further conflict and carnage, but the immediate removal of the troops. Samuel Adams, who communicated the desire of his fellow-citizens, expressed it in the tone of command and menace. After some hesitation, Hutchinson and the commander of the forces, who each desired to throw the responsibility of the measure upon the other, perceiving that it was inevitable, consented to embrace it; the troops were withdrawn, and the commotion subsided. One of the wounded men died; and the four bodies of the slain were conducted to the grave with every ceremonial expressive of public honour and affection by an immense concourse of people, followed by a long train of carriages belonging to the principal inhabitants of the town.



APTAIN Preston, who commanded the party of troops engaged in the fatal affair, and all the soldiers who had fired, were committed to jail, and arraigned on an indictment of murder.

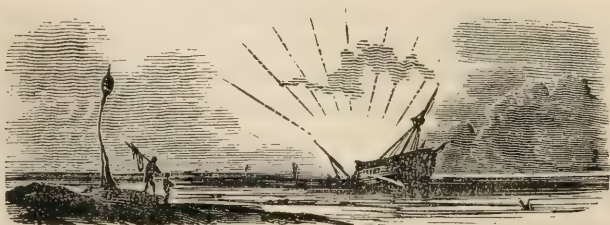
Their trial was awaited with earnest expectation, and for some time with passionate hope or stern satisfactory conviction in the public mind that it would terminate fatally for the accused. Considering the mighty cloud of passion, prejudice, and exaggeration, through which their conduct was viewed, such an event would have merited more regret than reprobation. Captain Preston, though entirely innocent, was exposed to peculiar danger from the generosity with which, in vindicating his men when first reproached by the civil authorities, he neglected to exculpate himself from the charge implied in their questions, of having authorized and ordered the firing; and the odium under which he laboured was not a little increased by the publication, at London, of a partial and irritating representation of the unhappy transaction, derived from statements furnished by himself, but distorted by the intemperate zeal of injudicious friends. But the defence of the prisoners was undertaken by two of the most eminent lawyers and determined patriots in Massachusetts,—Josiah Quincy, jun., whom we have already noticed, and John Adams, a kinsman and intimate friend of Samuel Adams, and who afterwards held the high office—the highest that a friend and champion of human liberty and happiness has ever filled—of President of the United States of America. These men were not less eager to guard the justice and honour of their country from reproach, than to defend her liberty from invasion; and they exerted themselves in defence of their

clients with a manly eloquence and reasoning worthy of their cause, and worthily appreciated by the integrity, justice, and good sense of the jury. Robert Treat Paine, to whom the public voice assigned the office of prosecutor, discharged this arduous duty with an uprightness and ability becoming a sound lawyer and wise patriot. Preston was acquitted; as were likewise all the soldiers except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter. This event was truly honourable to Massachusetts. Some British politicians, indeed, are said to have regarded it merely as an act of timidity, or a mechanical adherence to legal rules. But, (as an ingenious American writer has finely observed,) in this forbearance of the people, on an occasion where truth and reason, combating violent passion, pronounced the bias of their feelings unjust and wrong, there was exhibited a force and firmness of character which promised to render them unyielding and invincible when supported by a sense of justice and right. The vigour with which extreme injustice is resisted corresponds not unfrequently in direct proportion with the patient fortitude exerted in the endurance of its initial manifestations. Though the issue of the trial was generally approved in Massachusetts, the anniversary of the *massacre*, as it was termed, was observed with much solemnity; and the ablest of the provincial orators were successively employed to deliver annual harangues calculated to preserve the irritating remembrance fresh in the popular mind.

Various affrays, though of a less serious description, occurred between the British troops at New York and the populace of this city, where much discontent was excited by the conduct of the Assembly, in consenting at length to make provision, though only occasionally and reluctantly, for the accommodation of the soldiers. Some violent writings having been published on this subject, addressed to *the betrayed inhabitants of New York*, McDougall, a Scotchman, the publisher, was committed to jail on a charge of sedition; but his imprisonment was alleviated and dignified by visits and demonstrations of regard which he received from great numbers of people, including some of the principal gentlemen and ladies of the province; and the government finally liberated him without having ventured to bring him to trial.

An act of violence committed by the colonists of Rhode Island, though less memorable in respect of its intrinsic importance than the insurrection of the Regulators in North Carolina, excited more general attention from its significance as an indication of the height to which the general current of American sentiment was rising. [1772.] The commander of the *Gaspee*, an armed British schooner stationed at Providence, had exerted much activity in supporting the trade laws and punishing the increasing contraband traffic of the Americans; and had provoked additional resentment by firing at the Providence packets in order to compel them to salute his flag, by lowering theirs as they passed his vessel, and by chasing them

even into the docks in case of refusal. The master of a packet conveying passengers to Providence, [June 9,] which was fired at and chased by the Gaspee for neglecting to pay the requisite tribute of respect, took advantage of the state of the tide (it being almost high water) to stand in so closely to the shore that the Gaspee in the pursuit might be exposed to run aground. The artifice succeeded; the Gaspee presently stuck fast, and the packet proceeded in triumph to Providence, where a strong sensation was excited by the tidings of the occurrence, and a project was hastily formed to improve the blow and destroy the obnoxious vessel. Brown, an eminent merchant, and Whipple, a ship-master, took the lead in this bold adventure, and easily collected a sufficient band of armed and resolute men with whom they embarked in whale-boats to attack the British ship of war. At two o'clock the next morning, [June 10,] they boarded the Gaspee so suddenly and in such numbers, that her crew were instantly overpowered, without hurt to any one except her commanding officer, who was wounded. The captors, having despatched a part of their number to convey him together with his private effects and his crew ashore, set fire to the Gaspee and destroyed her with all her stores. The issue of this daring act of war against the naval force of the king was as remarkable as the enterprise itself. The British government offered a reward of five hundred pounds, together with a pardon if claimed by an accomplice, for the discovery and apprehension of any person concerned in the treasonable attack on the Gaspee; and a commission under the great seal of England appointed Wanton, the Governor of Rhode Island, Peter Oliver, the new Chief Justice of Massachusetts, Auchmuty, the Judge-Admiral of America, and certain other persons, to preside upon the trial of the offenders. But no trial took place. Nobody came forward to claim the proffered reward; some persons, who were apprehended in the hope that they might be induced by threats and terror to become witnesses, were enabled by popular assistance to escape before any information could be extracted from them; and in the commencement of the following year, the commissioners reported to the British ministry their inability, notwithstanding the most diligent inquisition, to procure evidence or information against a single individual.





TEA RIOT.

TEA RIOT—AFFAIR OF THE HUTCHINSON LETTERS.

THE British government having rashly determined to enforce the Tea-duty Act,—of which the most considerable effect hitherto was a vast importation of smuggled tea into America by the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Swedes, —attempted to compass by policy what constraint and authority had proved insufficient to accomplish. The measures of the Americans had already occasioned such diminution of exports from Britain, that the warehouses of the English East India Company contained above seventeen millions of pounds of tea, for which it was difficult to procure a market. The unwillingness of the company to lose their commercial profits, and of the ministry to forego the expected revenue from the sale of tea in America, induced a compromise for their mutual advantage. A high duty was imposed hitherto on the exportation of tea from England; but the East India Company were now authorized by act of parliament to export their tea free of duty to all places whatever. [May, 1773.] By this contrivance it was expected that tea, though loaded with an exceptionable tax on its importation into America, would yet readily obtain purchasers among the Americans; as the vendors, relieved of the British export duty, could afford to sell it to them even cheaper than before it was made a source of American revenue.

The crisis now drew near when the Americans were to decide whether they would submit to be taxed by the British parliament, or practically support their own principles, and brave the most perilous consequences of their inflexibility. One common sentiment was awakened throughout the whole continent by the tidings of the ministerial device, which was universally reprobated as an attempt, at once injurious and insulting, to bribe the Americans to surrender their rights and bend their own necks to the yoke of arbitrary power. A violent ferment arose; the corresponding committees and political clubs exerted their utmost activity to rouse and unite the people; and it was generally declared, that, as every citizen owed to his country the duty at least of refraining from being accessory to her subjugation, every man who countenanced the present measure of the British government should be deemed an enemy of America. To the several committees was intrusted the power of launching this dangerous proscription. Some of the popular leaders expressed doubts of the prudence of actual resistance to a measure of so little intrinsic importance, and preferably urged that the people should be restrained from violence till the occurrence of an opportunity of exciting and directing their force against some invasion of American liberty more momentous and alarming. But to this suggestion it was reasonably and successfully replied, that such an opportunity might never occur again; that Britain, warned by the past, would avoid sudden and startling innovations; that her policy would be, by multiplying posts and offices, and either bestowing them on her partisans or employing them to corrupt her antagonists, to increase her force proportionally faster than the force of the patriotic party would increase by the growth of the American population; that she had latterly sent out as her functionaries a number of young men, who, marrying into provincial families of influence and consideration, had weakened the force of American opposition; and that *now* was the time to profit by the general irritation of the people and the blunders committed by Britain, in order to precipitate a collision which sooner or later was inevitable, and to prevent a seeming accommodation of the quarrel which would only deteriorate the interests of America.

The East India Company, confident of finding a market for their tea, reduced as it now was in price, freighted several ships to America with this commodity, and appointed consignees to receive and dispose of it. Some cargoes were sent to New York, some to Philadelphia, some to Charleston, the metropolis of South Carolina, and some to Boston. The inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia prevailed with the consignees to disclaim their functions, and forced the ships to return with their cargoes to London. The inhabitants of Charleston unladed the tea, and deposited it in public cellars, where it was locked up from public use and finally perished. At Boston, the consignees, who were the near kinsmen of Gover-

nor Hutchinson, at first refused to renounce their appointments, [November 5;] and the vessels containing the tea lay for some time in the harbour watched by a strong guard of the citizens, who, from a numerous town-meeting, despatched peremptory commands to the ship-masters not to land their obnoxious cargoes. After much delay, the consignees, alarmed by the increasing violence of the people, solicited leave from the governor to retire, but were encouraged by him to persist. They proposed then to the people that the tea should be landed, and preserved in some public store or magazine; but this compromise was indignantly rejected. At length the popular rage broke through every restraint of order and decency. From the symptoms of its dangerous fervour the consignees fled in dismay to the Castle; while an assemblage of men, dressed and painted like Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels and threw the tea into the ocean. [December 16.] It was remarked with some surprise, that during the whole of this transaction the civil and military force of government, including the garrison of Castle William and several ships of war in the harbour, remained completely inactive. The governor, indeed, issued a proclamation forbidding the people to assemble in factious meetings. But the council, when their protection was implored by the consignees, refused to interfere at all in the matter; and though, after the outrage was committed, they condemned its perpetration, and invoked legal vengeance on all who had been engaged in it, the futility of this demonstration was obvious to every eye. To procure legal proof that would implicate even a single individual was notoriously impossible. The conduct of the East India Company, in assisting the policy of the British government, excited strong displeasure in America. This sentiment was manifested in a singular manner in Rhode Island, where a confederacy of respectable women united in resolutions to abstain from and discourage the use of tea procured from the East India Company. Learning that an inhabitant of the province had imported some of the obnoxious commodity, they requested him to return it; and he instantly complied. Thus again was another notable scheme of the British government rendered completely abortive.

The people of Massachusetts were the more easily excited to the violence we have remarked by the disclosure which took place, in the summer of the present year, of the secret correspondence of Hutchinson and some other kindred politicians with the British ministry. According to the defensive statement published by Franklin of his own share in this transaction, a person of character and distinction in England, whom he refused to name, (perhaps the ex-governor Pownall,) after having repeatedly assured him that all the measures of the British government the most offensive to America had originated from, and indeed greatly fallen short of the suggestions and solicitations addressed by native Americans to the British ministry, at length verified this statement by exhibiting a series of letters

(how procured by himself was never explained) addressed to persons holding official situations in England, from Hutchinson, Oliver, and other individuals, representing all the popular transactions in America under the most irritating colours, and warmly pressing an alteration of the provincial constitutions, and the support of British prerogative by military power. Franklin, struck with surprise, as he affirmed, at this discovery, and indulging all the latitude of political passion, solicited and obtained leave to send the letters to Massachusetts, on condition that they should be communicated only to a few of the leading politicians of this province, and neither printed, copied, nor generally divulged. He declared that he considered a disclosure of the contents of these letters a debt he owed to his constituents, and the production of the original documents essential to the verification of his statement of their contents. How the letters reached, and whether by fair and honourable means, (which is hardly possible,) the hands of the individual from whom he received them, is left a matter of conjecture and uncertainty by the obscurity which still prevents that individual from being distinctly or satisfactorily recognised. Various persons were exposed to the suspicion of having purloined the letters; and a duel, originating in a dispute on this subject, having taken place between Whately, a London banker, brother of a former secretary of the treasury, and Temple, the Deputy-governor of New Hampshire, Franklin, in order to prevent farther bloodshed, and exonerate innocent persons from suspicion, volunteered the avowal of his share in the transaction. His profession of having been actuated by a sense of duty to his countrymen in Massachusetts was sarcastically disputed by antagonists, who maintained, more plausibly than reasonably, that this sentiment was inconsistent with the condition by which he restricted, or rather attempted to restrict, the communication of the letters to a few individuals, and to withhold this important disclosure from the main body of his constituents. But the condition attached to the exhibition of the papers was prescribed to Franklin, and perhaps originated from an apprehension of provoking the populace of Boston to some act of violence against the person of Hutchinson, if the matter were suddenly blazed abroad.

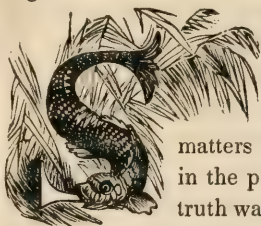


FRANKLIN was farther reproached by his antagonists with treachery, in prying into and disclosing the *private letters* (for they were not official despatches) of individuals without their permission, and for the purpose of stimulating the resentment of the colonists against the British government, in whose service he himself at the time held an office of trust. In answer to this charge, he insisted

that the correspondence of public officers relative to public affairs, and containing statements which formed the source of great public measures, was

not a private, though it might be, as in the present case it had been, a secret transaction; that its secrecy was highly injurious both to Britain and America, inasmuch as the parent state was deceived by partial and clandestine representations; while the colonists, unacquainted with these calumnies, were unable to vindicate themselves, and, ignorant of the real source of the harsh measures recently employed against them, harboured against Britain a resentment more justly merited by a few individuals in America; and that he hoped, by disclosing the letters to the popular leaders, to induce them to employ their influence to moderate the displeasure of the people against the parent state. But in reality the policy of the British government was more the cause than the effect of the communications it received from its provincial functionaries; the popular leaders in Massachusetts were already informed of the general tenor of Hutchinson's correspondence with the British court; and Franklin's argument, were it as sound as it is plausible, would sanction that specious but pernicious axiom of casuistical morality, that upright intentions may justify dishonest actions, and the generosity of the proposed end extend the protection of its own glory, to the character, however ambiguous, of the means pursued for its attainment. Yet that he really cherished the view which he professed, subtle and chimerical as it appears, is rendered probable by the fact, that for two years more he continued to hope and endeavoured to promote a reconciliation between Britain and America; and that during this period he repeatedly expressed, not merely indulgence, but approbation, of the conduct of his son, the royal governor of New Jersey, who was a staunch supporter of British prerogative,—a sentiment which he could not reasonably have entertained, if he had expected that the controversy between British prerogative and American liberty would terminate in a civil war. It was farther defensively urged by Franklin, that copies of many letters which were intended to be secret, written both by himself and other friends of the Americans in England, were procured and conveyed to Britain by the partisans of British prerogative in America; and however unsatisfactory to the pure, elevated, and inflexible requisitions of theoretical morality, this consideration will be allowed by all practical politicians, not indeed completely to exonerate Franklin from blame, but to suggest a forcible apology for his conduct. For it is, and I hope always will be, accounted a proposition repugnant to sense and honour, that any individual, however situated, can laudably, or even blamelessly, peruse and communicate the contents of letters which have passed between other living men not engaged in war with his country, and have reached his own hands by a channel which he declines to explain. Nothing but the blind rage or blinding casuistry of political passion could colour even for a moment so extravagant a proposition. The controversy to which this affair gave rise was unnecessarily complicated by the question of whether the

letters deserved to be regarded as private or official communications,—a point, comparatively speaking, of very little importance. The honour of the means by which they were procured, and the worth and honour of the ends to which they were applied, are the only questions deserving of regard.



SHORTLY after the letters were received in Boston, some expressions unguardedly or artfully dropped by one or two of the persons to whom they were imparted, caused a rumour to arise of matters deeply interesting to the public weal which it was in the power of certain individuals to disclose. The real truth was distorted by mystery and alarm; the public mind became exceedingly agitated; and at length the Assembly, interposing, demanded a disclosure of the letters, which were accordingly delivered up to them by the custodiers. Possessed now of the testimony of Hutchinson's perfidy, (for such was the light in which they viewed his conduct,) they desired him to inform them if he acknowledged the authorship of the letters which purported to be his. He requested that they might be sent to him for examination; but the Assembly declined to comply with his request, and deputed a committee of their own body to exhibit the letters to him; and to this deputation he acknowledged that he had written them. The Assembly thereupon caused the letters to be made public, and, having passed resolutions [June 15] strongly condemnatory of Hutchinson and Oliver, transmitted a petition to the king complaining of these individuals for calumniating his subjects to his ministers, and praying him to remove them from their official situations in the province. This petition was presented by Franklin, as the provincial agent; and the cause was appointed to be tried before the privy council. Franklin assured the ministers that they were now presented with an opportunity of re-establishing harmony between Britain and America, by a gracious reception of the complaints of the colonists, and sacrificing to their indignation the insidious counsellors by whom the international quarrel had been fomented; and from the language of the Earl of Dartmouth, successor of Lord Hillsborough, he was led for a while to hope that this conciliatory experiment would be attempted.

But Franklin had become the object of strong suspicion and dislike to the prevailing party in the British court and cabinet, who highly resented his sarcastic strictures in the newspapers upon their colonial policy, and were informed by their partisans in America that his letters to the popular leaders were replete with the most treasonable counsels and malicious instigations. Besides, the line of conduct which he recommended to the ministry on the present occasion was such as honour and shame alike forbade them to embrace. It was impossible that they should consent to

punish two of their partisans for communications which they themselves had encouraged them to make, and had sanctioned by the corresponding measures they adopted. In truth, Hutchinson and Oliver had rather flattered than inspired the imperious disposition of the British court. After some delay, the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly was discussed before the privy council, [January 29, 1774;] when Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, (afterwards Lord Loughborough,) attending as the counsel for Hutchinson, discharged a torrent of insulting sarcasm and outrageous invective and ribaldry against the character and conduct of Franklin, whose venerable appearance and illustrious reputation could neither check the flow of the pleader's witty malice, nor deter the lords of the council from testifying, by laughter and applause, the entertainment which this unworthy and indecent scene afforded them. A more decorous and temperate harangue would have proved far more injurious to the cause and character of Franklin. But, as usual, intemperate attack produced indiscriminate vindication; and the partisans of American liberty were provoked to extol Franklin's conduct with unmerited encomium, because their antagonists had assailed it with disproportioned reprobation. The discussion terminated by a judgment of the privy council, acquitting Hutchinson and Oliver from blame, and rejecting the petition of Massachusetts. On the following day, Franklin was dismissed by the British government from the office of postmaster-general of America. These proceedings, and especially the elaborate malignity of insult heaped upon a man whom they so highly admired and respected, sank deeply into the minds of the Americans. Another act of British power, that was directed with the most childish absurdity against the scientific repute of Franklin, awakened the liveliest derision and disdain in America. For the king shortly after, transported by the blindest abhorrence of the American philosopher, for whom he had once professed esteem, actually caused the electrical *conductors* invented by Franklin to be removed from the palace of Buckingham House, and replaced by instruments of far less skilful construction and efficient capacity.

But the triumph of Hutchinson was short. He had now become so generally hateful to his countrymen, that it was impossible for the British government, with the slightest regard to the interest of its own service, to retain him any longer as the representative of the king in Massachusetts. The strong measures, besides, which the government was provoked to embrace by the intelligence of the destruction of the East India Company's tea at Boston, required that a more vigorous and less odious hand should be employed in their execution. Hutchinson accordingly was commanded soon after to repair to England, professedly to communicate information to the ministers with regard to the state of the colonies. Along with Tryon, who was afterwards recalled from New York, and Carleton, the governor

of Canada, he was desired by the cabinet to declare his opinion whether the Americans, in the last extremity, would venture to resist the arms of Britain. Hutchinson confidently predicted that they would either not fight at all, or at most offer no farther opposition than what a few troops could easily quell. Carleton protested that America might certainly be conquered, but that a considerable army would be necessary for this purpose; and that, for himself, he would not venture to march against New York or Boston with a smaller force than ten thousand men. Tryon declared that Britain would require large armies and long efforts to bring America to her feet; that her power was equal to any thing; but that *all* that power must be exerted in order to *put the monster in chains*. The representations of Hutchinson were the most congenial to the sentiments and the temper of the British government; and, unfortunately for England, they were corroborated by the kindred folly and ignorance of many British statesmen and officers. "The Americans are a degenerate race of Europeans,—they have nothing of the soldier in them," was the customary language of men who were destined by their own defeats to illustrate the valour which they depreciated, and who learned too late to consider the Americans as a regenerated race of Europeans, in whom the energy of freemen more than supplied the mechanical expertness of severely disciplined slaves. General Clarke, with an impudence equalled only by the absurdity of his language, declared in a company of learned men at London, and in the hearing of Dr. Franklin, that, with a thousand British grenadiers, he would undertake to march from one end of America to the other, and shamefully mutilate all the male inhabitants, partly by force and partly by a little persuasion. Another general officer asserted, in the House of Commons, that "*The Yankees* (a foolish nickname which now began to be applied to the Americans) *never felt bold*." The speeches of other military officers in Parliament, and of the prime minister, Lord North, conveyed ideas equally calculated to delude their countrymen and to inflame by contumely all the rage and courage which injustice and injury had already kindled in the Americans. "*Believe me*, my lords," said the Earl of Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, in the House of Peers, "the first sound of a cannon will send the Americans a running as fast as their feet can carry them." Unfortunately for his country, he *was* believed. The extraordinary and injudicious delay and hesitation, which contributed to defeat the subsequent military operations of Britain in America, have been ascribed to these representations, and to the conviction they promoted, that only a distinct and certain view of their own danger was requisite to obtain from the Americans an abandonment of every pretension that could possibly induce a conflict with the force of Britain. The British government, and the nation in general, deluded by ignorance, prejudice, offended pride, and false views of interest, were now fully animated with that haughty spirit

which precedes and produces disappointment and calamity; and the evil genius of England seemed to rise in almost every breast. While the delusion lasted, Hutchinson was caressed by the court, and rendered so giddy by vain expectation, that, in letters to America, he announced his approaching elevation to a British peerage. A short time, however, sufficed to open the eyes of the ministry and the nation, so far at least as to render the folly and mischief of *his* counsels glaringly apparent. He was permitted thenceforward to hide his disgrace and the misery that preyed on his closing life in a retirement near London, undisturbed by ambitious prospect, and uncheered by a single ray of court favour. He lived to see Britain, to whose predominance he was so much devoted, involved in disgrace and disaster, and his native America irrecoverably alienated from her and wasted with fire and sword, by the conduct and policy which he had abetted; and died before the conclusion of the struggle, oppressed with a load of mortification, and heart-broken by the deaths of children whom he tenderly loved





BOSTON PORT BILL—FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.



THE dispute between the mother country and her colonies had now attracted so much interest and attention in Europe, and the national spirit and pride of the English people were so much provoked by the undisguised defiance of an inferior and dependent state, that, even if it had been the wish, it was no longer in the power, of the

king's ministers to overlook an open contravention of the sovereign authority, or to refrain from vindicating this prerogative with a rigour and energy proportioned to the affront it had received. In this position of the ministry and temper of the nation, the intelligence which was received of the recent events in America, and especially of the destruction of the tea at Boston, was communicated to both houses of parliament by a message from the king, [March 7, 1774,] in which the American colonists were reproached with attempting at once to injure the commerce and subvert the constitution of Great Britain. Although it was manifest, from the documents which accompanied the royal message, that the opposition by which the sale of the tea in America had been defeated was common to all the colonies, yet the ministers and a great majority of the parliament, exasperated at the peculiar violence displayed at Boston, determined to select this town as the sole or at least the primary object of legislative vengeance. It was reckoned that a partial blow might be dealt to America with much greater severity than could be prudently exerted in more extensive punishment; and it was, doubtless, expected that the Americans in general, without being irritated by personal suffering, would be struck with terror by the rigour inflicted on a town so long renowned as the bulwark of their liberties. Without even the decent formality of requiring the inhabitants of Boston to exculpate themselves, but definitively assum-

ing their guilt, in conformity with the despatches of a governor who was notoriously at enmity with them, the ministers introduced into parliament a bill for suspending the trade and closing the harbour of Boston during the pleasure of the king. [March 14, 1774.] They declared that the duration of this severity would depend on the conduct of those on whom it was inflicted; for it would assuredly be relaxed, as soon as the people of Boston should make compensation for the tea that was destroyed, and otherwise satisfy the king of their sincere purpose to render due submission to his government. The bill, on its first introduction into the House of Commons, encountered little opposition; only a few members vaguely remarking that America was altogether in a very distempered condition, and that a malady so general and formidable demanded remedial applications, not partial and violent, but delicate, temperate, and of diffusive efficacy; and though a more special and forcible opposition, exerted in long debates, attended the progress of the measure, yet it was carried in both houses of parliament without a single division in either.* It was deemed inexpedient by obstinate resistance to weaken a blow which the government, supported by a majority, was determined to inflict. Several Americans, resident at London, presented ineffectual petitions to both houses against the bill. Bollen, the agent for the council of Massachusetts, tendered a petition, desiring to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons, in behalf of the council, as well as of himself and other inhabitants of Boston, against a measure so injurious to their native country and its commerce. But the house refused even to permit his petition to be read; assigning a nice and subtle technical objection to the representative functions which he claimed, and which yet had been recently recognised in other parliamentary transactions. This proceeding gave an air of insolent injustice and of vindictive precipitation to the policy of the British government, and was heavily censured, not only by the partisans of America, but by all prudent and impartial men. It was rendered the more irritating to the people of Massachusetts, by the recollection, that the same governor, whose charges they were now precluded from gainsaying, had been indulged in the utmost latitude of defence, when *his* conduct was arraigned and *they* were his accusers.

The Boston Port Bill was but the first step in the march of coercive policy which the British ministry were now determined to pursue. It was

* Shortly after the bill was passed, there appeared in the English newspapers the following epigram:-

“ TO THE MINISTRY.

“ You’ve sent a rod to Massachuset,
Thinking the Americans will buss it;
But much I fear, for Britain’s sake,
That this same rod will prove a snake.”

followed shortly after [April, 1774] by an act which introduced the most important alterations into the structure of the provincial government of Massachusetts, and bereaved this people of the most valued and considerable of the privileges which were assured to them by the charter granted after the Revolution of 1688. By this second legislative measure, it was enacted that the provincial council, heretofore elected by the representative Assembly, should henceforth be appointed by the crown; that the royal governor should enjoy the power of nominating and removing judges, sheriffs, and all other executive officers whose functions possessed the slightest importance; that jurymen, hitherto elected by the freeholders and citizens of the several towns, should in future be nominated and summoned by the sheriffs; and that no *town-meetings* of the people should be convoked without a permission in writing from the royal governor, and no business or matter be discussed at those meetings beyond the topics specified and approved in the governor's license. The town-meetings, (as they were called,) against which the latter provision was directed, were not less valued by the Americans than dreaded by the British government, which regarded them as the nurseries of sedition and rebellion. Their institution was coeval with the first foundation of civilized society in New England, and their endurance had sustained only a short interruption during the reign of James the Second, and the tyrannical administration of his minister, Sir Edmund Andros; and while they presented the image, they partly supplied the place, of that pure democratical constitution which was originally planted in Massachusetts, and the modification of which, by the second provincial charter that followed the British Revolution, had always been to a numerous party among the colonists the subject of regretful or indignant remembrance. In losing this privilege, the people of New England beheld themselves stripped of the last remaining vestige of those peculiar advantages which were gained by the courage and virtue of their forefathers; and, in invading it, the British government palpably assimilated its own policy to that of a reign which had provoked successful revolt, and which was now universally reproached as tyrannical.

It was anticipated by the British ministers that tumults and bloodshed might probably ensue on the first attempt to carry the new measures into execution; and, not satisfied with the control which by the second statute they usurped over the administration of justice, they proceeded still farther to insure impunity to their functionaries by framing a third act of parliament, [April 21, 1774,] which provided, that, if any person were indicted for murder or for any other capital offence committed in aiding the magistracy of Massachusetts, it should be competent to the governor of this province to remit the accused party for trial either to another colony or to Great Britain. It was in vain that Edmund Burke, Colonel Barré, and

other liberal politicians, (who had also ineffectually opposed the second statute,) raised their warning voices against this measure of superfluous insult and severity, and appealed to the recent issue of Captain Preston's trial as a refutation of the suspicions by which American justice was impeached. "I regret your error," said an aged member of the House of Commons to his colleagues, "and I regret to see that it is partaken by the people. But you will soon be undeceived. If there ever was a nation running headlong to its ruin, it is this." Again were the ministers seconded, as before, by large majorities in both houses of parliament. Among other active supporters of the measure was Lord George Sackville Germaine, who, for his conduct at the battle of Minden in the preceding reign, was by the sentence of a court-martial branded with cowardice and incapacity, and disabled from ever again exercising military command, but who had now become a favorite and minister of George the Third. The three acts were proposed and carried in such rapid succession as contributed greatly to enhance their inflammatory operation in America, where they were regarded as forming a complete system of tyranny. "By the first, (exclaimed the organs of popular opinion in all the American States,) thousands of innocent persons are robbed of their livelihood for the act of a few individuals; by the second, our chartered liberties are annihilated; and by the third, our lives may be destroyed with impunity." The Boston Port Bill, says an American writer, distinguished no less by the personal aid than by the literary celebrity which he conferred on the independence of his country, might rather have provoked rage than promoted union among the provinces; but the arbitrary mutilation of important privileges recognised by a solemn charter, decreed without a trial, and by the mere despotic will of the British parliament, convinced every political thinker in America that the cause of Massachusetts was substantially the cause of all the American commonwealths.



ON the day when the operation of the Boston Port Bill was appointed to commence, [June 1,] all the commercial business of the capital of Massachusetts was concluded at noon, and the harbour of this flourishing town was closed, till the gathering storm of the Revolution was to reopen it. At Williamsburg, in Virginia, the day was devoutly consecrated to the religious exercises recommended by the Assembly. At Philadelphia it was solemnized by a great majority of the population with every testimonial of public grief; all the inhabitants, except the Quakers, shut up their houses; and after divine service, a deep and ominous stillness reigned in the city. In other parts of America it was also observed as a day of mourning; and the sentiments thus widely awakened were kept alive and exasperated by the distress to which the inhabitants of Boston were reduced by the continued operation of the Port

Bill, and by the fortitude with which they endured it. The rents of the landholders in and around Boston now ceased or were greatly diminished; all the wealth vested in warehouses and wharves was rendered unproductive; from the merchants was wrested the commerce they had reared, and the means alike of providing for their families and paying their debts; the artificers employed in the numerous crafts nourished by an extensive commerce shared the general hardship; and a great majority of that class of the community who earned daily bread by their daily labour were deprived of the means of support. But, animated still by that enduring and dauntless spirit of freedom which had been the parent principle of the New England communities, the inhabitants of Boston sustained the pressure of this calamity with inflexible fortitude. Their virtue was cheered by the sympathy, and their sufferings were mitigated by the generosity, of the sister colonies. In all the American states contributions were made for their relief. Corporate bodies, town-meetings, and provincial conventions, from all quarters, transmitted to them letters and addresses, applauding their conduct and exhorting them to perseverance.

Although republican government was neither established nor even as yet openly affected in America, the prospect of it was beginning to dawn on the minds of men, and to educe that public spirit which no other form of civil polity is equally qualified to inspire. Among other erroneous calculations of the British ministers, they had expected that the Boston Port Bill would prove a source of jealousy and disunion within the province of Massachusetts, by scattering among the neighbouring towns the benefits of all the commerce that was previously confined to the metropolis. But this policy was regarded with a generous disdain in Massachusetts, and produced only increased union and firmness of purpose among her people. The inhabitants of Marblehead offered to the Boston merchants the use of their harbour, wharves, and warehouses, together with their personal services in lading and unlading goods free of all expense. The citizens of Salem concluded a remonstrance against the British measures, addressed to General Gage, in this honourable and patriotic strain:—"By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and even were it otherwise, we must be lost to every idea of justice, and dead to all the feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought of raising our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbours." A great, though hitherto dependent country, of which the inhabitants thus resolutely withstood the power of the parent state, and approved themselves incapable alike of being intimidated by danger, impelled by distress, or seduced by interest, to a desertion of the cause of liberty, was ripe for national independence. The public agitation was not a little increased by

the publication of another pamphlet written by Jefferson, in which sentiments, approaching, if not amounting, to assertion of independence, were expressed with a fearless vigour and distinctness that greatly endeared the author to his countrymen, and caused him to be included in an act of attainder against certain of the leading patriots of America, which was introduced into one of the houses of the British parliament, but suppressed by the course of events, which recommended more cautious policy.

In the midst of the ferment thus renewed in America, the Assembly of Massachusetts, which had been adjourned from Boston to Salem by General Gage, [June 7,] revived a project which formerly emanated from its councils, and the resumption of which we have seen recently suggested by the Assembly of Virginia. It was resolved, that a general congress, or convention of committees delegated by all the North American States, was highly expedient, and, indeed, urgently necessary, for the purpose of concerting proper measures for the recovery and establishment of the just rights and liberties of the Americans, and for "the restoration of that union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all good men." In prosecution of this resolve, a committee of five of the most distinguished patriots of Massachusetts was appointed to meet with the committees that might be delegated by other provinces, at Philadelphia, in the month of September; and authenticated reports of these proceedings were transmitted from Salem to all the representative Assemblies in America. The necessity, or at least the advantage, of the proposed congress was universally acknowledged by the friends, more or less ardent and determined, of American liberty; and as these formed everywhere the great bulk of the population, the measure originated by Massachusetts was gradually adopted by every colony from New Hampshire to South Carolina;—that is, by twelve of the existing North American States; Georgia, the thirteenth and youngest, not yet taking an active part in the political transactions, which, nevertheless, she watched with no indifferent eye. In several of the states, the royal governors endeavoured to prevent the election of deputies to the congress, by refusing to convoke the Assemblies; but in all these cases the inhabitants formed provincial congresses, by which deputies to the Continental Congress were elected. When the resolve to appoint deputies was carried in the Assembly of South Carolina, a proposition was introduced immediately after by some of the members, for instructing the delegates to what point it was admissible for them to pledge the concurrence of the province in the general measures to which its accession might be invited. John Rutledge warmly combated this proposition, insisting, that, unless the delegates were unshackled by restraint, and suffered to exercise their judgments with manly freedom, their power of serving the country would be inadequate to the exigencies of the pending

crisis ; and when the members around him, rather subdued by his energy than aroused to partake it, anxiously inquired, "What ought we to do then, with these delegates, if they make a bad use of their power?" he replied, with his usual decision and impetuosity, "*Hang them.*" The commissions or instructions, however, which were communicated to the respective committees of delegates by the provinces which they severally represented, directed their attention merely to the re-establishment of the rights and liberties of America as a colonial possession of Britain, and invested them ostensibly with no other function but that of deliberating, and reporting the counsels matured by their united deliberations. But all the ardent friends of America, all the partisans of Britain, and all, in short, except those whose penetration was obstructed by divided hope and purpose, plainly perceived that the formation of a general deliberative council for America at a crisis like the present, as it was an essential requisite, was also a bold and deliberate approximation to united revolt.

General Gage had now, by an imprudently overstrained exertion of the high powers intrusted to him by the British government, rendered himself nearly as odious to the people of Massachusetts as any of the preceding governors of this province. Soon after his arrival, two regiments of infantry, with a park of artillery, were landed at Boston, and encamped on the common ; and this armament was gradually reinforced by sundry regiments from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and Quebec. Gage was desirous of having barracks erected for the accommodation of his troops ; but even among the numerous labourers who were deprived of the means of support by the operation of the Port Bill, not one could be found willing to accept the governor's offers of employment. Resenting the popular odium to which they found themselves exposed, the soldiers retorted by insolence of behaviour, and even by acts of violence, against various individuals who had signalized themselves by the warmth or steadiness of their opposition to British policy ; and Isaiah Thomas, a patriotic printer, whom Hutchinson had ineffectually prosecuted, was now constrained to remove by night his printing-press from Boston, by the threats and preparations of the soldiers to destroy it. The provincial committee of correspondence, having revived and extended the ancient non-importation agreement, bestowed on their association the title of *A Solemn League and Covenant*,—a name of evil omen to British monarchy, and which provoked Gage to issue a proclamation reproaching the compact as illegal and even treasonable. He took occasion at the same time to warn the people against *religious hypocrisy*,—an insinuation which was resented as an insult to the whole province. Daily some additional instance occurred of the determined purpose of the inhabitants to obstruct the views and recent arrangements of the British government. The grand and petty juries, summoned to attend the

courts of law and perform their important functions, firmly refused to serve under a constitution which they denounced as a tyrannical violation of the provincial charter; and the judges, who dared not venture to fine or even censure them, assumed the right of deciding causes without the intervention of a jury,—a proceeding which served only to increase the general aversion and impatience at the existing condition of things. In some places, the people assembled in numerous throngs, and so completely filled the court-houses and blocked up every avenue to them, that neither the judges nor their attendants could obtain admission; and when the sheriffs commanded them to make way for the court, they answered, “that they knew no court independent of the ancient laws of their country, and none other would they acknowledge.” They would submit to a suspension of regular government, rather than permit the streams of justice to flow in the new channel prescribed by the recent acts of parliament, or reconduct them forcibly in the old one sanctioned by their charter.

The jealousy excited by successive arrivals of British troops at Boston was increased by the position of a British guard on the peninsular avenue called Boston Neck, and by the diligence with which the troops were employed in repairing and manning the fortifications at that entrance of the town. It was with the utmost difficulty that the popular leaders restrained the explosion of an immediate revolt throughout the province, on the discovery that Gage had despatched a body of the troops during the night to Charlestown, [September 1,] near Boston, and had seized all the gunpowder in the arsenal at that place. To gratify and yet regulate the popular sentiment, and to prevent the inhabitants of this province from *breaking the general line of American opposition by rushing forward precipitately to premature conflict*, (such was the language and the counsel of the more cautious politicians of Pennsylvania,) town-meetings in utter disregard of British law were held in various parts of Massachusetts, and from them the counsels of a vigorous and yet prudent preparation for the extremity of civil war were with more or less disguise addressed to the people. Gage threatened to disperse these meetings with his troops; but his threats were contemned, and his power defied. The selectmen of the towns assured him that he mistook the meaning of the act of parliament with regard to town-meetings; that it prohibited only the fresh convocation of such assemblies; and that those which he now threatened to disperse had not been so convoked, but were held in virtue of adjournments decreed by meetings which had been legally convoked prior to the parliamentary prohibition.

The most remarkable demonstration at this period occurred in an assembly of the inhabitants of the county of Suffolk, [September 6,] by which, among many other spirited resolutions, it was declared, “that *no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the recent*

acts of parliament, but that they should be rejected as the attempts of wicked administration to enslave America." This assembly farther declared, that the decrees of judges acting in submissive conformity to the recent violation of the provincial constitution were entitled to no respect whatever; and that, to obviate the inconvenience attending a suspension of justice, it was now the patriotic duty of creditors to exercise forbearance, and of debtors to fulfil their engagements with all possible diligence. They recommended to all collectors of taxes, and other officers having public money in their hands, to retain it until the government of the province should be placed on a constitutional basis, and to their countrymen at large, a prompt and strict attention to their duties as militia-men,—adding, that, for themselves, they were determined to act merely on the defensive, so long as such conduct could be justified by reason and the principles of self-preservation, *but not a moment longer*. They concluded by exhorting the people to avoid all riot and disorder, and, by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince their enemies, that, in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, the conduct of the Americans should be "such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free, of every age and of every country." These resolves, which in deliberate boldness exceeded any that had yet been embraced in America, were immediately forwarded to the Continental Congress now assembled, and were explicitly sanctioned by this great American council.

On the 5th of September, the general Congress, elected by the twelve oldest and most powerful States of America, assembled at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. "Such," said the British statesman, Edmund Burke, at the time, "has been the unhappy effect of the measures pursued, perhaps somewhat too avowedly, and for that reason the less wisely, for reducing America by division, that those twelve colonies, clashing in interests, frequently quarreling about boundaries and many other subjects, differing in manners, customs, religion, and forms of government, with all the local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions incident to neighbouring states, are now led to assemble by their delegates in a general diet, and taught to feel their weight and importance in a common union." Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen president of the Assembly, which was forthwith organized for the transaction of business with all the formalities of a regular legislature. In this Assembly, which consisted of fifty-five members, the wealth, the talent, the spirit of the Americans,—all the particulars, in short, that command the respect and constitute the character and force of a nation,—were justly and fully represented. In point of the number of their deputies, the States were not equally represented; and as their relative importance was not accurately known, it was arranged that the representatives of each province should give one single vote upon



CARPENTER'S HALL.

every question discussed by the Congress. It was farther determined that the meetings of the Congress should be held with closed doors, and that not a syllable of its transactions should be published except by order of a majority of the states. This judicious regulation, among other advantageous results, withheld from public view every symptom of doubt or divided purpose and opinion among the members of the Congress. The most eminent and respected citizens of the various colonies were now for the first time assembled together. Known to each other by reputation and correspondence, but personally unacquainted; conscious that the eyes of their agitated countrymen, together with the rising expectation and interest of Europe, were earnestly fixed on them, and that the liberties of three millions of people and the destiny of the greatest commonwealth in the world were staked on the wisdom and vigour of their conduct,—they were deeply and even painfully impressed with the solemn responsibility that attached to the functions they had undertaken. A long and embarrassing silence that followed the organization of the Assembly was broken by Patrick Henry, who, with calm yet earnest and majestic eloquence, depicted his country's wrongs, and rekindled in his colleagues the ardour and emulation which had been for a while suspended, not by mean timidity, but by a generous awe and profound conception of the grand and swelling scene, of which the conduct and issue reposed on their present deliberations. The debates and other transactions of the congress were

now conducted with a happy mixture of firmness, prudence, talent, and despatch. The utmost credit and respect were imparted to their resolves by a unanimity chiefly the fruit of concessions made with profound policy by the more ardent and (in principle) uncompromising partisans of liberty, who already cleaved to the purpose of American independence with fixed and undiverted aim. Nevertheless, some concessions were extorted or dexterously obtained from the other party in the Assembly; and in certain of their proceedings we recognise an industrious zeal to inflame the spirits and augment the numbers of the opponents of British prerogative, exerted at the expense of a departure from the strict line of candour and integrity. But when was it seen that even the most meritorious party, in a great political quarrel, uniformly bounded its exertions within the limits of honour and moderation; accounted truth and virtue dearer than success, or even equally dear; or refrained from indulging and fomenting that propensity, peculiarly incidental to political strife, which prompts its partakers to impute every possible and imaginable depravity to their adversaries? So equally were the talents requisite to the discharge of their functions distributed among the members of this Congress, that the leading orators invariably proved, and, indeed, acknowledged themselves inferior in the arts of written composition to their less eloquent colleagues.

The Congress having determined, in opposition to the wishes of the more ardent party, to restrict their attention to such American grievances as had been inflicted subsequently to the year 1763, proceeded to frame and publish a Declaration of the Rights of America; a memorial to all their American countrymen; an address to the king, and one to the inhabitants of Great Britain; a letter to the people of Canada; and a variety of other declarations, resolves, counsels, and remonstrances,—in the composition of which Richard Henry Lee, John Jay, (who espoused the cause of his country with all the ardour of youth, while the dignity and gravity of his deportment gave him the influence of riper years,) and Philip Livingston particularly distinguished themselves. Livingston was the inheritor of a name highly renowned in the Church of Scotland, and which was destined to heighten and enlarge its honourable lustre in America. The Congress asserted in those writings all the claims and rights which we have already so frequently particularized, and demanded the repeal of every statute by which those rights were invaded. To the king they appealed as a sovereign whose true interest and glory were inseparable from the liberty and happiness of which his ministers were attempting to bereave them. To the people of Britain they earnestly vindicated the noble value which they attached to a full share in the system of the British constitution, and represented the danger portended to the whole system by the extinction of liberty, its vital principle, in so large and flourishing a department of the empire. “Place us,” they declared, “in the situation

in which we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored." To the Americans, among other grievances, they enumerated the late Quebec Bill, which they denounced as a wicked attempt to establish the Romish faith and a model of tyranny within the British empire, for the gratification of a French colony recently conquered at the expense of the blood and treasure of the ancient colonies of Britain. Yet, in their letter to the Canadians, they endeavoured to provoke the discontent of this people by the most plausible and ingenious comments on the Quebec Bill; assuring them that the restored system of French law to which they were attached could not possibly be administered to their satisfaction by English functionaries; and urging them to make common cause with the British Americans, and elect deputies to the Continental Congress. Similar invitations were addressed to the colonies of St. John's, Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the Floridas. The Congress also framed an agreement for the strictest abstinence from all commercial intercourse whatever with Britain, which they warmly recommended to the universal adoption of their countrymen; with the additional advice, that the names of all persons rejecting or violating the agreement should be proclaimed in the newspapers, as enemies to the rights of America. With willing conformity to the instructions of many of their constituents, they reprobated the slave trade as a practice equally injurious and dishonourable to America, and urged an instant and entire dereliction of farther importation or purchase of slaves.

During the whole session of the Congress, a constant communication was maintained by expresses between Boston and Philadelphia. Apprized, by letters from the Massachusetts committee of correspondence, of the operations of General Gage in surrounding Boston with fortifications and intercepting its intercourse with the country, the Congress first addressed a letter to the general, requesting him to desist from such measures, and then voted a resolution, approving the resistance of the inhabitants of Massachusetts to the late acts of parliament, and declaring, that, if a forcible execution of these acts should be attempted, "*in such case all America ought to support Massachusetts in her opposition.*" They recommended, notwithstanding, to the people of that province a demeanour guardedly peaceable towards Gage and his troops, and a firm perseverance in the line they had adopted of *acting on the defensive*. They declared, at the same time, that all persons accepting or obeying authority conferred by the statutes which violated the charter of Massachusetts "ought to be held in abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism which is preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature, and compact have given to America." Yet, in this and all the other compositions which issued from the Congress, an extraordinary loyalty to the king, and a vehement solicitude for the restoration of ancient harmony with

Great Britain, were repeated in professions, certainly more politic than sincere on the part of many of the members, who had long regarded a peaceful accommodation of the quarrel as impossible.

Of the debates which occurred within the walls of the Congress no complete or authentic report was preserved; but, from some detached particulars that have been transmitted, it appears that the probability and the consequences of a war with Britain were deliberately discussed. On one occasion, when some of the more scrupulous and temporizing party endeavoured to moderate the fervour of their colleagues by reminding them that the British fleets would find little difficulty in battering and destroying all the seaport towns of America, Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina, thus replied to the alarming suggestion:—"Our seaport towns, Mr. President, are composed of brick and wood. If they are destroyed, we have clay and timber enough to rebuild them. But, if the liberties of our country are destroyed, where shall we find the materials to replace them?" An estimate was made by the Congress of the total population of the twelve provinces which its members represented, and which, on a very moderate computation, were reckoned to contain 3,026,678 free inhabitants. It is impossible to peruse the recorded transactions of this Congress, without being impressed with the highest admiration both of the firm and elevated tone, and of the energetic and elegant diction, in which the rights and the purposes of America are expressed. Lord Chatham declared, that, notwithstanding his ardent admiration of the free states of antiquity, the master-spirits of the world, he was constrained to acknowledge, that, in solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conduct, the American Congress was second to no human assembly of which history has preserved a memorial. After a session of eight weeks, the Congress decreed its own dissolution [October;] but not without bequeathing the advice that another Congress should be held on the 10th of May in the ensuing year, at Philadelphia, unless the redress of American grievances were previously obtained; and that all the colonies should elect deputies as soon as possible, to be in readiness to form the new Congress, if events should render its convocation necessary or expedient.

The counsels and resolves of the Continental Congress obtained the cordial sanction and acquiescence of the provincial Congresses and legislative Assemblies of all the states except New York, whose Assembly, unexpectedly, declined to recognise them. In this province, the unequal distribution of property tended to foster an aristocratic spirit very remote from the general taste and temper elsewhere prevalent in North America. The city of New York had long been the head-quarters of the British troops maintained in this quarter of the empire; and many of the oldest and wealthiest families in the province were connected with persons of rank, influence, and Tory principles in Great Britain. Hence, the party attached

there to the royal government was peculiarly distinguished by its numbers and other elements of social consideration. Yet the apparent secession of this province from the American cause on the present occasion was much more prejudicial to the British government, by which its importance was greatly overrated, than to the other American states, which, though displeased, were no way daunted or spirit-stricken by the occurrence. The British government was continually deluded by its Tory friends in America. The most staunch and zealous of these partisans customarily exaggerated every trifling instance of success, in order to illustrate the value of their own services; while others of them, in whom patriotic attachment was at bottom much stronger than Tory predilections, long continued to oppose and reprobate every approach of their countrymen to that revolt, which, when no longer avoidable, they themselves partook. In all the other provinces there was demonstrated for the Congress a degree of respect and deference which seemed to invest it with the character more of a legislative body than a council; and its recommendations were as generally and punctually carried into effect as the laws of the most respected government and best regulated state have ever been. Every particular in its language and tone that savoured of determined resistance was copied and re-echoed with zealous homage, and even enhanced by the exaggeration which is incident to imitators. Shortly after its recommendation of abstinence from all commercial intercourse with Britain was published, a brig, laden with tea, arrived from London at Annapolis, in Maryland. Alarmed by the rage and menaces of the people, the shipmaster implored the counsel and protection of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, an eminent lawyer, fast rising into a patriotic distinction which every added year of his long life deservedly enhanced, who advised him to burn the vessel and cargo, as the surest means of allaying the popular excitement. This counsel was followed; the sails were set, the colours displayed, and the brig burned amidst the acclamations of the multitude.





THE MINUTE MAN

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

IN Massachusetts, the aspect of public affairs became daily more inauspicious to peace and reconciliation. The semblance, indeed, of subordination to the British crown was maintained; but so hollow and unsubstantial was this semblance, that every attempt of the governor to exert his authority served only to show how withered and decayed were the bands which yet in theory connected the colonists and their domestic institutions with the royal prerogative. Gage had issued writs for the convocation of an Assembly at Salem, on the 5th of October; but, alarmed by the temper of the people and the increasing spread of discontent, he judged it expedient to countermand the writs by a proclamation suspending the meeting of the Assembly. The legality of this proclamation, however, was generally denied in Massachusetts; and the new representatives, to the number of ninety, assembling on the day originally appointed, and neither the governor nor any substitute attending, they resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and soon adjourned to Concord. Here they made choice of Hancock to be their president, and appointed a committee to present to the governor a remonstrance against all his recent measures, concluding with an earnest request that he would desist from the construction of the fortress which he was erecting at the entrance of Boston, "and restore that place

to its neutral state." Gage, who, though capable of dissimulation, possessed a hotter temper than befitted his elevated station and difficult predicament, took fire at this language; he expressed the warmest displeasure at the supposition of danger from English troops to any but the enemies of England; and desired the committee to convey to the congress his warning counsel that they should hasten to desist from their illegal proceedings. Disregarding his admonition and defying his power, the provincial congress adjourned to Cambridge, where, relieved from all doubts of the general support of America, they embraced and pursued measures of unexampled boldness and vigour. They appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the immediate defence of the province; gave orders for the enlistment of a number of the inhabitants to be in readiness, at a minute's warning, to appear in arms; elected three general officers (Preble, Ward, and Pomroy) to command these minute-men and the provincial militia, in case of their being called to active service; and appointed a council of safety and a committee of supplies. One of the secretaries whom they elected was Benjamin Lincoln, afterwards a general in the American service, and highly distinguished as a gallant and indefatigable partisan of his country's cause. Reassembling after an adjournment of a few weeks [November], the same congress, sensible that their countrymen applauded their measures, and that their constituents were prepared to yield implicit obedience to their decrees, passed an ordinance for the equipment of twelve thousand men to act on any emergency, and for the enlistment of a fourth part of the militia as minute-men; appointed two additional general officers, Thomas and Heath; and sent delegates to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to request the co-operation of these provinces in completing an army of twenty thousand men. A committee was likewise appointed to correspond with the inhabitants of Canada; and circular letters were addressed to all the clergymen of Massachusetts, requesting their assistance to avert impending slavery.

And now all America was aroused by expectation of awful conflict and mighty change. New England, upon which the first violence of the storm seemed likely to descend, was agitated by rumours and alarms, of which the import and the influence strikingly portrayed the sentiments and temper of the people. Reports, that Gage had commanded his troops to attack the Massachusetts militia, or to fire upon the town of Boston, were swallowed with the avidity of rage and hatred, and instantly covered the highways with thousands of armed men, mustering in hot haste, and eager to rush forward to death or revenge. Every thing betokened the explosion of a tempest; and some partial gusts announced its near approach, and proved the harbingers of its fury. In the close of the year, there reached America a proclamation issued by the king, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Great Britain. The inhabitants of Rhode Island no sooner

received intelligence of this mandate, than they removed from the public battery about forty pieces of cannon; and the Assembly of the province gave orders for procuring arms and martial stores, and for the immediate equipment of a military force. In New Hampshire, a band of four hundred men, suddenly assembling in arms, and conducted by John Sullivan, an eminent lawyer and a man of great ambition and intrepidity, gained possession by surprise of the castle of Portsmouth, and confined the royal garrison till the powder-magazine was ransacked and its contents carried away.

The accounts received in Britain of these transactions produced no disposition on the part of the British government to relax the system of coercive measures which it had recently undertaken. In a speech from the throne, [November 30,] the king acquainted the parliament that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a highly criminal nature; that these proceedings were countenanced and encouraged in his other colonies, and unwarrantable attempts were made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdom by unlawful combinations; and that he had taken such measures and given such orders as he judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the acts passed in the commencement of the year with regard to Massachusetts. Addresses which approved and re-echoed this speech were proposed in both houses; and, though they produced warm debates, they were carried by large majorities. In spite of this apparent firmness of purpose, the British cabinet could not contemplate without some hesitation and perplexity the extension to the other provinces of America of those rigorous measures which had been inflicted with so little of beneficial effect upon Massachusetts; and the parliament was adjourned for the Christmas holydays, without having taken any farther step in relation to colonial affairs. But the intelligence, received during this interval, of the meeting and transactions of the American congress precluded farther indecision, and imperatively demanded either an instant retraction of the resisted prerogative of Britain, or a vigorous and decisive retort of the blow which her authority had received. The consideration of American affairs was accordingly the first business to which the attention of the reassembled parliament was directed. [January 20, 1775.] At this critical juncture, Lord Chatham, after a long retirement from public life, resumed his seat in the House of Lords; and, venerable alike from age, achievement, and renown, endeavoured, with all the remaining energy of his commanding spirit and impressive eloquence, to dissuade his countrymen from attempting to subdue the Americans by military force. He enlarged on the ruinous events that were impending on the nation in consequence of the project, equally unjust and impracticable, of taxing America; he pronounced a glowing panegyric on the American congress and its

transactions; arraigned the whole ministerial system of American politics; and moved that an address should be presented to the king, to advise and beseech him, that in order to open a happy way to the settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities in that country, and preventing, above all, some sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, he should command General Gage to remove the troops from that town as speedily as the rigour of the season would permit. This motion was supported by the Marquis of Rockingham and Lords Camden and Shelburne, but rejected by a great majority of the peers. Yet a respectable minority, in both houses of parliament, was warmly, though ineffectually, seconded in their efforts for conciliation, by petitions from many of the English merchants and manufacturers, and particularly from the towns of London and Bristol.

A few days after, [January 26,] a petition was tendered to the House of Commons from Bollan, Franklin, and Lee, as the agents for the provinces of America, stating that they were directed by the American Continental Congress to present a memorial from it, the contents of which it was in their power to illustrate by much important information; and praying to be heard at the bar in support of the memorial. A violent debate ensued. The adherents of the ministry, while they refused to hear and discuss the complaints of America, insultingly censured them as containing nothing but *pretended* grievances; and a large majority united in rejecting the application. Lord Chatham still persisted in indulging hopes of conciliation; and to this end, with a very unwarrantable reliance on the moderation and placability both of the British government and of the Americans, presented to the House of Lords [February 1] the outlines of a bill, which he entitled, *A provisional Act for settling the Troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative Authority and superintending Power of Great Britain over the Colonies*. He proposed, on the one hand, to legalize the convocation of a new American congress, which should first acknowledge the supreme legislative power of the British parliament, and then allot to the crown a certain and perpetual revenue, applicable, under parliamentary direction, to the alleviation of the national debt,—and on the other, to restrict the jurisdiction of admiralty courts in America within its ancient limits, and to suspend all the British statutes of which the Americans had latterly complained. This distinguished statesman had recently cultivated the acquaintance, which in the plenitude of his power he formerly slighted, of Dr. Franklin; who, less affected by the eclipse of Lord Chatham's official grandeur than the fallen minister himself was, regarded him with undiminished admiration, and willingly met his advances to intimacy. He imparted the outlines of his bill to Franklin, whose opinion was, that, although inadequate to the wishes of the Americans, it would conduce to tranquillize them, and serve as the basis of fur-

ther treaty. When the measure was broached in the House of Peers, Lord Sandwich, one of the ministers, assailed it with violent and disdainful abuse; refused to believe it the genuine production of any British nobleman; and, turning with a significant look to Franklin, who was present, declared it was doubtless the production of an American, and of one well known as the most bitter and mischievous enemy of Great Britain. Lord Chatham, in reply, vindicated his project, and claimed the whole responsibility attached to its composition; but added, withal, that, if he were the first minister of Britain, he would not be ashamed to seek the counsel and assistance of one so well versed in American affairs as Franklin, whom he eulogized as the just object of the world's admiration, and an ornament not merely to the British empire but to human nature. We have seen, indeed, that these were not the views he entertained and was governed by when he actually *was* the first minister of Britain. The issue of the debate was, that the bill was rejected without even being allowed to lie on the table of the house. This result, together with the subsequent conduct of the British government, induced Franklin to think that his farther tarriance at London was not likely to prove useful to his constituents. After a last vain endeavour, in conjunction with Lord Howe, with David Barclay, a Quaker and descendant of the celebrated Barclay of Urie, and with Dr. Fothergill, to promote an adjustment of the differences between Britain and her colonies, he returned, in the spring of the present year, to America, where his fellow-citizens of Pennsylvania straightway elected him a member of the Second Continental Congress.

During the latter part of Franklin's agency at the British court, he had enjoyed the society and zealous co-operation of his countryman, Josiah Quincy, jun., who, though hovering on the brink of an early grave, yet burning with unquenchable patriotism, was attracted to England rather by vast impetuous desire than by reasonable probability of serving the interest of America. This accomplished and most enthusiastic man, who now beheld Europe for the first time, was struck with admiration amounting to astonishment, but unmingled with dread, at the strength and extent of Britain's military resources and establishments. His zeal for the extreme of American resistance and his confidence in its efficacy, so far from being daunted, were inflamed by his residence at London; and that sentiment and conviction he laboured, with more of fiery energy and daring than of sound judgment and prudence, to impart to his friends at Boston, to whom the statements and counsels conveyed in his letters were as dangerous and might have proved as pernicious as the opposite errors inculcated by Hutchinson on the British ministers. Transported by generous but deluding passion beyond the bounds of sober reason, he hearkened too readily to the vehement and indeliberate language of Englishmen whom sincere liberality or mere party spirit induced to espouse the claims of America, and, thus mis-

led, did not hesitate to assure his countrymen that the only danger they were exposed to arose from the opinion entertained of them both by friends and foes in Europe, that they were an abject and cowardly race of men; that this injurious opinion had been recently confirmed by their forbearance (which he had always blamed) to inflict vengeance by their own hands on the person of Hutchinson; and that they possessed a numerous and powerful band of friends in England, who were only deterred from openly declaring themselves by distrust of American firmness, but who, if they saw the Americans brave the shock of but one single encounter with the British troops, would instantly wrest the helm of government from the present ministers, and not only redress every grievance of America, but even concede her political independence. He continually reminded the Americans, that no nation had ever achieved its deliverance from oppression and dependence by a bloodless contest; and protested that *now*, when they were united together in an extraordinary degree, was the fit time for attempting an inevitable appeal to the sword. To all British overtures of conciliation he urgently counselled them to answer that they would treat only with arms in their hands, and not begin to treat till Britain had retracted every measure they complained of, and practically avowed their independence by withdrawing all her land and naval forces from America. The amiable, magnanimous, and enlightened, though intemperate author of these rash counsels and suggestions, left Britain to return to his country about the same time with Dr. Franklin, but breathed his last just as he came within sight of the American coast. His name, once high in the rolls of European chivalry, is now one of the glories of New England.

Notwithstanding the urgency of the crisis, some days elapsed before the British ministers followed up their triumph over Lord Chatham's policy by suggesting any proposition of their own. The system which in the interim was digested in the cabinet reflected little credit on the wisdom or consistency of the counsels from which it emanated. A joint address was finally [February 9] moved and voted from the Lords and Commons to the king; returning thanks for the communication of documents relative to the state of the British colonies in America; declaring their opinion that a *rebellion* actually existed in the province of Massachusetts; beseeching the king to pursue the most effectual measures for assuring due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; and solemnly pledging themselves with their lives and fortunes to support his majesty in the maintenance of the just rights of his crown, and of those of the two houses of parliament, against all rebellious attempts to infringe them. In the course of the debates that arose on this occasion, three noblemen, who had been members of the cabinet by which, in 1767, the taxation of America was resumed, protested openly, and to the amazement of the whole nation

that they had neither shared nor approved that measure, and that they regarded it as the cause of all the actual and impending calamities of the empire.

On the day after the address was voted, Lord North, the prime minister, introduced into the House of Commons a bill for restraining the trade and commerce of the provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands, and prohibiting those provinces from pursuing any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. He observed that the penal acts of the preceding year were confined to Massachusetts alone; but declared that the other New England States had subsequently aided and abetted their offending neighbours, and were, besides, so near to them, that the intentions of parliament would be frustrated, unless the restraints he now proposed were extended to the whole of New England. This measure was opposed with great warmth of zeal and vigour of argument, as alike inhuman and impolitic. "You are provoking a rebellion," it was urged, "by one class of statutes; and then recruiting the rebel army by another." Many petitions were presented from various parts of Britain against the bill; and the English Quakers particularly, in an earnest remonstrance against its cruelty, deprecated the attempt to destroy by famine a body of people whom they pronounced to be as loyal and meritorious as any of the subjects of the British crown. The most urgent petitioners against the measure were those English merchants who had lent money to American planters on the security of mortgages of their landed estates, and who looked forward with equal alarm to the independence and to the impoverishment of America. After much opposition in both houses, the bill was passed into a law. [March 30.] But while it was yet in dependence, Lord North suddenly announced, and prevailed with the parliament to sanction, an overture which he termed a *conciliatory proposition*, by which it was proclaimed that parliament would forbear to tax any colony which should make provision for contributing its proportion of the expenses attending the common defence of the empire, and for the support of civil government and the administration of justice within its own confines. This was a concession somewhat vague and equivocal in its import; for it neither recognised nor denied the distinction between internal and external or commercial taxation. Yet, tendered but a few years before, it might have prevented or retarded the American Revolution. Introduced as it was, at this late stage of the controversy, when passion had controlled speculation and effaced nice distinctions, and incorporated as it was with a system of increased rigour towards America, it neither could nor was seriously intended to produce reconciliation. Indeed, the minister, while he actually weakened the force of his menaces by this show of hesitation, was so much afraid of seeming to yield, that he rendered the present overture worse than powerless by

openly acknowledging that it was designed to divide America and to unite all domestic parties in Great Britain. This impolitic sincerity was calculated to affront the Americans, who needed not its assistance to see clearly through so palpable a device. The proposition was conveyed to the several colonial governors in a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth; but it was treated with contempt by a people too much impressed with the expediency



of union, and too well aware of the nature and state of the contest in which they were embarked, to be deceived by an overture that was conciliatory only in name.

CAROLY had the bill been passed for restraining the trade of New England, when intelligence was received that the inhabitants of the Middle and Southern States of America were supporting their Northern brethren in

every measure of resistance. This produced an additional edict for extending the restraints of the former one to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Whatever were the views that prompted the discrimination thus exercised by the British government,—the exemption of New York, Delaware, and North Carolina from this penal enactment was considered in America as calculated to promote disunion; and the three exempted colonies, spurning the proffered grace, voluntarily declared their participation in the restraints imposed upon their neighbours: so infelicitous were the rulers of Britain in all their measures, and so little acquainted with the disposition and temper of the people of America. There are seasons, as it has been often and justly remarked, when all circumstances seem to conspire towards the nourishment and increase of maladies, whether physical or political. At the very time when the parliament was enacting the restraining laws, the Assembly of New York was preparing a petition to parliament for redress of grievances; and it both enraged and astonished those who had recently vaunted the submissive loyalty and moderation of this province, to find its Assembly peremptorily declare, “that exemption from internal taxation, and the exclusive power of providing for their own civil government and the administration of justice in the colony, are esteemed by them their undoubted and unalienable rights.” The body politic, composed of the parent state and her colonial progeny, was now so gangrened and overcharged with evil humours, that no imaginable system of remedial policy could have arrested or even considerably modified the headlong pace with which it was advancing to dissolution; and the political physicians of Britain, to whom the treatment of the case was confided, had, in reality, no other choice

than to suffer that great catastrophe to ensue as the natural issue of the malady, or themselves to accomplish it by the instrumentality of hopeless operation.

While the additional restraining act was in progress through the House of Commons, a petition and memorial, couched in very strong terms, was transmitted by the Assembly of Jamaica in defence of the claims and conduct of the Americans. In support of this and other applications of a similar tenor, Glover, (the author of *Leonidas*,) as agent for the West India planters and merchants, delivered an able and eloquent speech at the bar of the house; but wisdom and wit were exerted in vain to stem the swollen current of regal ambition and national pride. A project of conciliating the Americans by expressly conceding their right to administer their own domestic taxation, proposed to the House of Commons by Edmund Burke and illustrated by the richest display of his admirable genius and unrivalled oratory, was rejected by a great majority of voices.

It was an unfortunate circumstance for the British government, and a strong reason for dissolving its colonial dominion, that it was disabled by distance from adapting its measures to the actual and immediate posture of affairs in America. Months elapsed between the occurrence of events in the colonies and the arrival of the relative directions from England; and every symptom of the political exigence had frequently undergone a material change, before the concerted prescription, wise or unwise, was applied. Before the recent proceedings in parliament could produce any effect or were even known in America, the quarrel had made a fearful stride; and the odious rigour and despised pretences of conciliation which those measures disclosed were announced to a people already roused to fury by the shock of war and the effusion of blood.

The example of Massachusetts in preparing for defence was followed by the other provinces; and warlike counsels were boldly broached in the provincial Assemblies and Congresses. When [March 23] some members of the Virginian Assembly urged the postponement of these preparations, reminding their colleagues of the power of Britain and the comparative weakness of America, and insisting that it would be time enough to fly to arms when every well-founded hope of peace had entirely vanished,—Patrick Henry, with vehement and victorious eloquence, contended that *that time had already come*. “It is natural,” said he, “to man, to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are prone to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that enchantress till she transforms us into beasts. *There is no longer any room for hope. We must fight.* I repeat it, sir, we *must* fight. An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us. They tell us that we are weak, and unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be when our supineness shall have enabled *our enemies* to bind us

nand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make use of those means which the God of nature has placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as ours, are invincible by any force which *our enemy* can send against it. Nor shall we fight our battles alone. That God who presides over the destinies of nations will raise up friends to aid us. The battle is not to the strong alone; but to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, we have no longer a choice. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged; their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable,—and let it come! Gentlemen may cry, ‘Peace, Peace!’—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms.” These last words proved prophetic.

The Provincial Congress, which had now [1775] superseded the General Court of Massachusetts, assembling in the beginning of February, published an address, acquainting the people that, from the large reinforcements of troops that were expected at Boston, the tenor of intelligence from Britain, and other indications, they had reason to apprehend that the sudden destruction of the colony was intended; and urging in the strongest terms the militia in general, and the minute-men in particular, to spare neither time, pains, nor expense, to perfect themselves in military preparation. They also passed resolutions for procuring and making firearms and bayonets; and decreed an issue of provincial bills of credit to the amount of fifty thousand pounds. The military preparations which they recommended were diligently pursued, and artillery and provisions were collected at various places. General Gage was not an inattentive spectator of these proceedings. Having learned that some military stores belonging to the colonists were deposited in Salem, he despatched Colonel Leslie from Castle William, on the 26th of February, with one hundred and forty soldiers in a transport to seize them. The troops, landing at Marblehead, proceeded to Salem; but not finding there the object of their expedition, they advanced along the road leading to Danvers, whither the stores had been removed, and reached the drawbridge laid across the river. Here a number of the country people were assembled, and on the opposite side the American Colonel Pickering had mustered thirty or forty armed men, and, having drawn up the bridge, stood prepared to dispute the passage of the river. Leslie commanded them to lower the bridge; but, as they peremptorily refused, he was preparing to cross the river in some boats that were moored to the shore, when the people, who had gathered around him, perceiving his intention, sprang into the boats and scuttled them with axes. The day of this occurrence was a Sunday; and, as most of the neighbouring inhabitants were at church, this circumstance (as Gage was supposed



LESLIE'S EXPEDITION LANDING.

to have anticipated) prevented the diffusion of alarm and diminished the concourse of armed Americans. A conflict, nevertheless, was on the point of ensuing, when it was averted by the prudent interposition of Barnard, one of the Congregational ministers of Salem, who, finding Leslie determined to cross the river, but willing, if this point were yielded, to content himself with marching thirty paces beyond it and then return without attempting farther progress, prevailed with his countrymen to indulge the British with this empty triumph, which, indeed, could have been pushed no farther, as the stores were already removed, during the delay that had been created. At length the bridge was lowered; and Pickering with his men, still facing the British troops, retired to the line they had measured and marked. Leslie and his soldiers, after advancing to the stipulated point, returned and embarked for Boston. Thus ended the first military enterprise of the Revolutionary War,—without effect and without blood shed; but not without additionally kindling the spirit, the vigilance, and the jealousy of the Americans, and inflaming the bitter animosity progressively created between them and the British soldiery. They declared that Gage and his troops (doubtless encouraged by secret orders from Britain) had treated them as rebels, before the British government itself dared to affix this stigma upon them; and that the previous seizures of arms on their own part in New Hampshire and Rhode Island were merely retaliatory measures and defensive preparations. In such circumstances, an

expedition as harmless as the last was not likely again to occur; and it needed less the sagacity of Patrick Henry to foresee, than his spirit and intrepidity firmly to contemplate, the more serious trial which the resolution of the people of Massachusetts was soon to undergo.

A magazine of military stores had been collected with silent but laborious assiduity at the inland town of Concord, about sixteen miles from Boston, when Gage, apprized of this circumstance, resolved to destroy the hostile apparatus. For this service he detached at night [April 18] Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, who, at the head of eight hundred grenadiers and light-infantry, commenced a secret and expeditious march for Concord. Although several British officers, who dined at Cambridge on the preceding day, had taken the precaution to post themselves at various points on the road leading to Concord, in order to intercept any expresses that might be sent from Boston to alarm the country, yet sundry messengers, despatched for this very purpose, contrived to elude their vigilance and communicated an alarm, which was rapidly spread by church-bells, signal guns, and volleys of small arms. Reuben Brown, a citizen of Concord, actually rode a hundred miles in the space of twenty-four hours, in order to disseminate the intelligence. The British troops, arriving at Lexington on the following morning at five o'clock, found about seventy of the minute-men of that town assembled in arms on the parade. [April 19.] Major Pitcairn, who commanded the British van, approaching the Americans, exclaimed,—“Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse!” This order, which they refused to obey, was followed by a discharge from the British troops, whose fire, huzza, and rapid advance, compelled the scanty band of their adversaries to an instant flight. The fire continued after the dispersion, whereupon the fugitives stopped, rallied, and returned it. Eight Americans were killed and several were wounded in this affray. The British detachment now pressed forward to Concord. Here the inhabitants, roused by the signals of alarm, were drawn up in order of defence; but observing the number of the regulars to be more than they could prudently encounter, they retired across the north bridge to some distance from the town, and waited for reinforcements. A party of British light-infantry followed them and took possession of the bridge, while the main body of the troops entered the town and hastened to execute their commission. They had leisure to spike two cannons, and to cast into the river five hundred pounds of ball and sixty barrels of flour; and this paltry result was all the advantage derived from a violent and sanguinary enterprise that was to kindle the flames of war between two nations. Meanwhile the provincial militia were reinforced; and Major Buttrick, of Concord, assuming the direction of them, advanced towards the bridge. Unaware of the occurrence at Lexington, and anxious that the Americans should not be the aggressors, he commanded his followers to refrain from



AFFAIR OF LEXINGTON.

giving the first fire; and this mandate, so difficult to agitated and undisciplined men, he enforced by the example of his own lively yet calm and collected courage. As he advanced, the British detachment which occupied the bridge retired to the Concord side of the river; and on his nearer approach, they fired and killed a captain and one of the privates of the American militia. The Americans instantly returned the fire; a skirmish ensued, and the regulars were forced to give ground with some loss. They were soon joined by their main body, and the whole force commenced a precipitate retreat. All the inhabitants of the adjoining country were by this time in arms; and they attacked the retreating troops in every direction,—some pressing on their rear, and some firing upon them from behind stone walls and other coverts. Thus harassed during a retreat of six miles, the British re-entered Lexington, where, most opportunely for them, they were joined by Lord Percy, who arrived with a detachment of nine hundred men and two pieces of cannon. After halting two hours at Lexington, the troops, now amounting in number to about seventeen hundred, resumed their march; and the Americans, instantly renewing their attacks, continued to pour an irregular but galling fire upon the enemy's front, flanks, and rear. The close discharge of musketry by expert marksmen exposed the troops to considerable danger, and produced a good deal



PROVINCIAL TROOPS HARASSING THE BRITISH ON THEIR RETREAT FROM
CONCORD.

of confusion; but though unable to repel or even effectually retort the assaults they sustained from every quarter, the British kept up a brisk retreating fire on their assailants. A little after sunset they reached Bunker's Hill, where, exhausted with the labours of this disastrous day, they remained during the night, shielded from farther attack by the guns of the Somerset man-of-war, and next morning re-entered Boston. Of the Americans engaged in this affair, fifty were killed and thirty-four wounded. Of the British, sixty-five were killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. To their wounded prisoners the Americans behaved with the utmost tenderness and humanity, and they apprized Gage that he was at liberty to send the surgeons of his own army to minister to them.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, being at this time assembled, promptly despatched to England an account of the conflict that had taken place, with depositions intended to prove that the British were the aggressors. They also transmitted an address to the inhabitants of Britain, in which professions of loyalty to the king were united with assurances of a determination not tamely to submit to the persecution and tyranny of his evil ministers. "Appealing to Heaven," they warmly protested, "for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free."

As the controversy between Britain and her colonies was to be finally

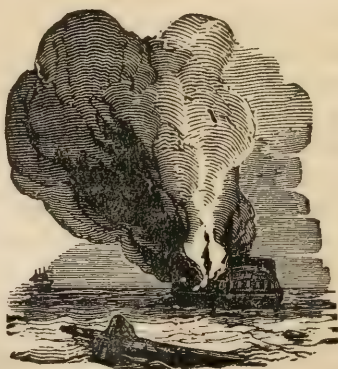
decided by an appeal to arms, it was a circumstance of great moment at the American cause, that the first bloodshed by which this dire prospect was illustrated occurred in New England, where the people were so much connected with each other by consanguinity and by similarity of manners, condition, and of religious and political sentiments, that the slaughter of a single individual was resented with wide-spread concern and indignation.

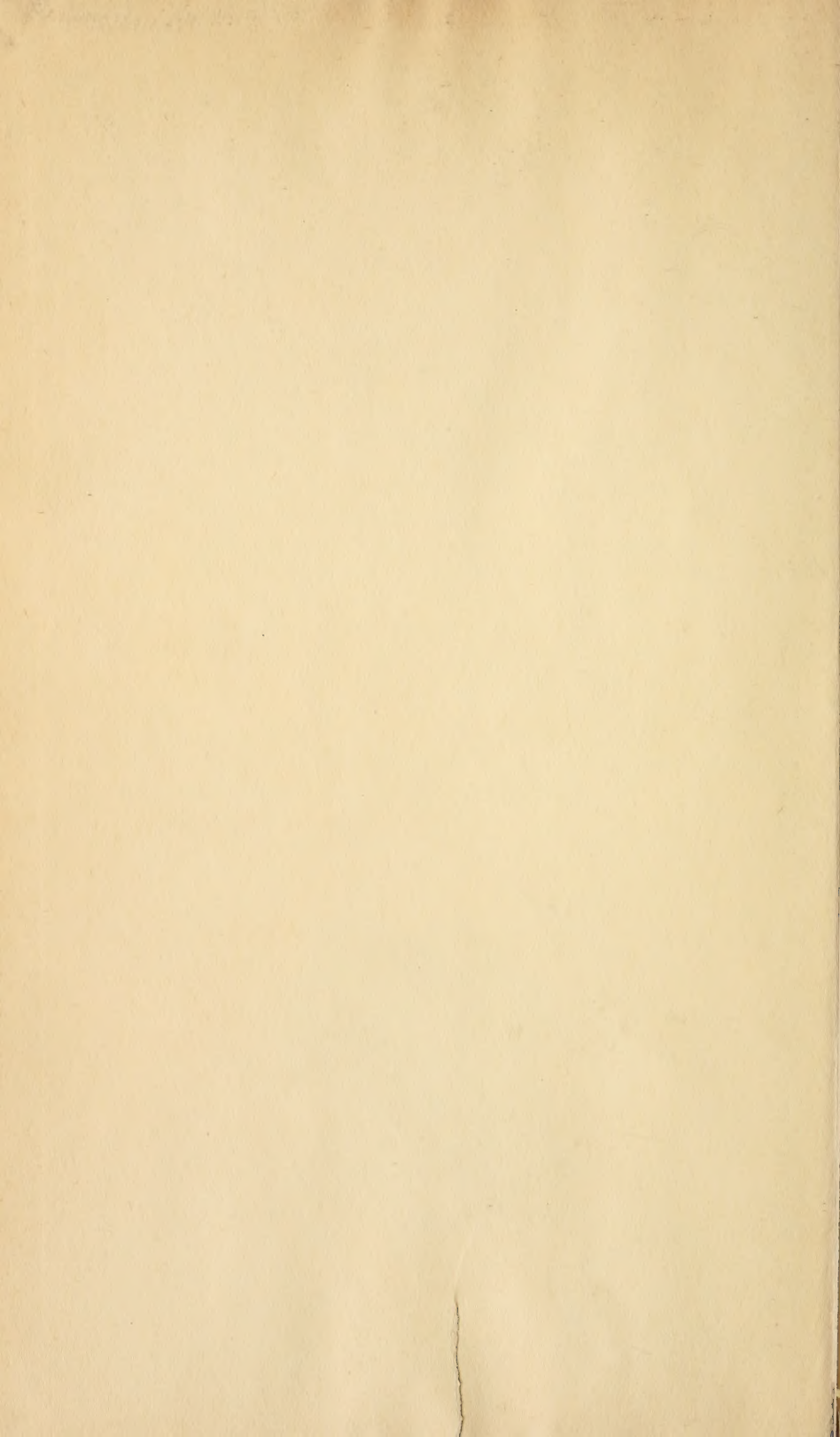
The affair of Lexington proved accordingly the signal of war. When the tidings reached Connecticut, the young men of this province, burning with rage and valour, flew to arms, and desired to be conducted to the assistance of Massachusetts; and aged parents, sharing the zeal of their sons, charged them to *behave like men or never to return*. Israel Putnam, one of the most intrepid of mankind, and the most experienced and respected officer in Connecticut, received the intelligence as he was ploughing the fields which he had often before defended against French and Indian foes. It was the sentiment of all who ever witnessed the achievements or partook the campaigns of this gallant veteran, that *Putnam dared to lead where any dared to follow*. He instantly unyoked his team; and, with that prompt but inflexible determination which invariably characterized his life and conduct, cast all private cares and concerns behind him, and marched at the head of a numerous body of his countrymen to the neighbourhood of Boston. Thither also promptly repaired three regiments furnished by New Hampshire, one of which was commanded by John Stark, a native of this province, who afterwards attained the rank of general in the American army, and achieved a high reputation in the Revolutionary War. There was now assembled an insurgent force of twenty thousand men, who formed a line of encampment from Roxbury to the river Mystic, and kept the British troops blockaded within the peninsula of Boston. A kindred spirit of courageous preparation broke forth in others of the American States. Troops were raised, and funds provided for their support; the public money in the provincial treasuries was seized; and forts, magazines, and arsenals were secured by the provincial militia. At New York, the precarious ascendancy which the Tories had been able to obtain was instantly and entirely swept away by the flow of popular spirit and sympathy provoked by the Lexington conflict; and the public voice of the province now proclaimed the determination of its people to espouse the quarrel and share the fate of their American countrymen. Shortly after that conflict, a numerous body of the citizens of Baltimore enrolled themselves voluntarily in the American army before Boston, and, to prevent the minds of the people from being relaxed or dissipated, the provisional government of Maryland prohibited assemblages for fairs, cock-fighting, and horse-racing. They exerted, at the same time, the most honourable and generous efforts to protect from popular rage persons known or supposed to be disaffected to the American cause. General Gage, meanwhile cooped up in Boston,

expecting an attack from the provincial troops by which he was begirt, and dreading the co-operation they might receive from their friends in the city, offered to all persons who might desire it a free egress from Boston, on condition of an entire surrender of their arms. Though the condition was fulfilled, many of the citizens and their families who desired to quit the place were detained by Gage, who pretended that some arms were still concealed, and who in reality was overawed by the vehemence with which the American Tories protested against the surrender of hostages, whose presence alone, they believed, restrained the besiegers from setting fire to the town.

It was readily perceived by all who now reckoned war inevitable, that the possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point would confer an important advantage on America, and, indeed, was indispensable to her security. Struck with this consideration, some of the principal inhabitants of Connecticut conceived the bold design of seizing those fortresses by surprise. About forty volunteers (of whom the most notable was David Wooster, afterwards a distinguished general in the American service) repaired accordingly from Connecticut to Bennington, in the territory of Vermont, where the projectors of the expedition had arranged to meet Colonel Ethan Allen, a man of singularly daring spirit, and possessed of great influence in that district, whom they intended to engage to conduct the enterprise, as well as to raise among the hardy mountaineers around him the necessary complement of force for its execution. Allen, readily entering into their views, met them with two hundred and thirty men at Castleton, where they were unexpectedly joined by Colonel Benedict Arnold, a bold and active American officer, who, having conceived the same project, was admitted to act as an auxiliary to Allen, with whom the chief command remained. Proceeding on their adventurous expedition, Allen and his followers arrived in the night of the 9th of May on the banks of Lake Champlain opposite to Ticonderoga. Embarking in boats, which were procured with some difficulty, Allen and Arnold crossed the lake with eighty-three of their men, and accomplished a landing near the fortress without being discovered. The two colonels, after contending who should enter first, advanced together abreast, and made their way into the fort at the dawn of day. [May 10.] All the garrison were buried in sleep, except a sentry, who attempted to fire upon the party; but his piece missing fire, he retreated through the covered way to the parade. The Americans rushed after him, and, having formed themselves in a hollow square, gave three huzzas which instantly aroused the garrison. A slight and brief skirmish with cutlasses or bayonets ensued. De la Place, the commander, was required to surrender the fort. "By what authority?" he asked, with no unreasonable surprise. "I demand it," replied Allen, "in the name of the great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress." This extraordinary summons

was instantly obeyed; and the fort, with its valuable stores and forty-nine soldiers, was surrendered without farther resistance. Colonel Seth Warner was then despatched with a party of men to Crown Point, and he easily succeeded in gaining possession of this place, in which a sergeant and twelve privates formed the whole of the garrison. The important pass of Skenesborough was surprised and occupied at the same time by a detachment of volunteers from Connecticut; and here a number of soldiers and several pieces of cannon were taken. A British sloop of war, lying off St. John's, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, was boarded and captured by Arnold, who commenced in this manner a career of brilliant but short-lived glory, too soon clouded by private vice, vanity, and prodigality, and finally tarnished by public treachery and dishonour. And thus the Americans, without the loss of a single man, acquired by a bold and decisive stroke two important posts, a great quantity of artillery and ammunition, and the command of Lake George and Lake Champlain. The Continental Congress learned this enterprise with mingled sentiments of exultation and anxiety. Dreading the appearance of aggression in widening the breach between Britain and America, they recommended to the provincial committees of New York and Albany to cause the artillery and stores to be removed from Ticonderoga to the south end of Lake George, and to make an exact inventory of them, "in order that they may be safely returned, when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, so ardently wished for on our part, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation."





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